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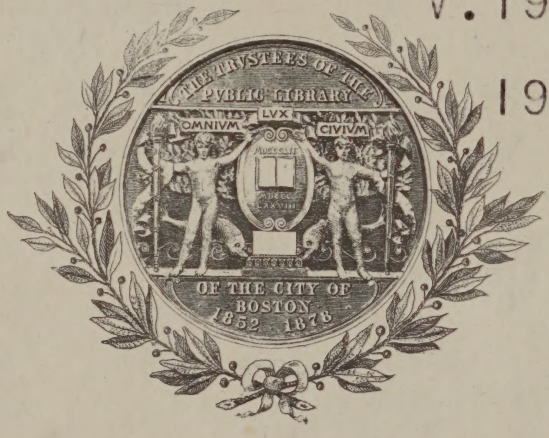

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190

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London: Great Britain's Nervousness; Does England Look for American Sympathy? America and the "Weltpolitik"; Holbein's "Duchess of Milan"; Roosevelt's Tribute to Sir Horace Plunkett. Constantinople: The Danger of Young Turkey; How Abdul Hamid Fell; The Young Turks and the Constitution; Proscriptions; Treatment of Albanians. Washington: The Tariff of the Conservatives; The Payne-Aldrich Bill; The Tax on Earnings.

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Chief Clerk Department of Justice, Washington, D. C., studied law at the National University Law School of Washington, receiving the degree of LL.B. in 1899 and the degree of LL.M. in 1900; he was awarded two scholarship prizes—one for the best senior examinations and one for the highest grades on the entire course. He was admitted to the bar of the District of Columbia in 1900.

CHARLES F. SPEARE

was educated at Harvard University. For the past ten years he has been engaged in journalistic work in New York City, and for the greater portion of that period he has occupied the position of financial editor of "The Evening Mail." He has given special attention to the subject of European investment conditions, and particularly to the history of American investments in Europe. He has published several pamphlets on this topic, which are regarded as authoritative. Mr. Speare has contributed a number of financial and economic articles to various magazines.

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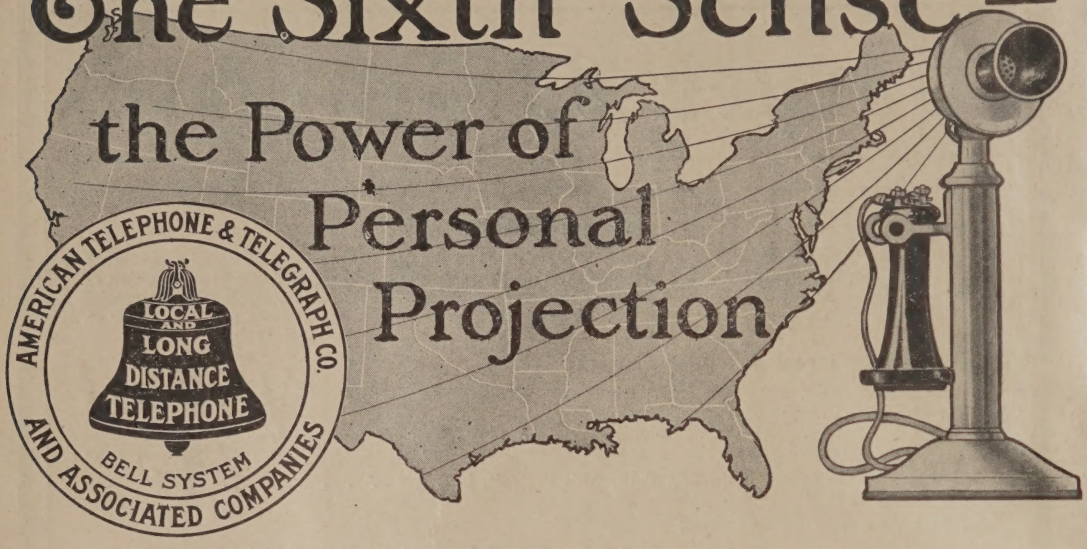

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INDEX

TO THE

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OF THE

North American Review

ACWORTH, W. M. The Position of English Railways, 367.
Aerial Navigation, The Law of, 101.
Africa, White Slaves in, 46.
Agrarian Revolution in the Middle West, The, 376.
ALLEN, PHILIP LORING. States with Ideas of Their Own, 515.
American Opinion and British Rule in India, 773.
American "Tramp" Question and the Old English Vagrancy Laws, The, 605.
ANGERT, EUGENE H. Is Mark Twain Dead? 319.
Anomalous Position of the Unmarried Woman, The, 338.
Approach of Halley's Comet, The, 194.
Argentina.—The Individuality of the South-American Republics, 793.

BAKER, BERNARD N. What Use is the Panama Canal to Our Country without American Ships? 577.
BALLANTINE, W. G. Oliver Wendell Holmes, 178.
BARBER, Captain F. M. Government Ownership of Diplomatic and Consular Buildings, 359.
BARTHOLDT, RICHARD. Bond Issues for Permanent National Improvements, 289.
BEAR, WILLIAM E. British Farmers and the Fiscal Question, 23.
BELMONT, Mrs. OLIVER H. P. Woman's Right to Govern Herself, 664.
BISLAND, ELIZABETH. The Tyranny of the Pill, 819.
Blind Sight, 652.
Bolivia. — The Individuality of the South-American Republics, 791.
Books Reviewed.—118, 258, 407, 537, 700, 836.
Bond Issues for Permanent National Improvements, 289.
Brazil. — The Individuality of the South-American Republics, 797.
BRITANNICUS. Divorce in America and England, 296.
British Farmers and the Fiscal Question, 23.
BROOKS, SYDNEY. The New Ireland, 524; American Opinion and British Rule in India, 773.
Brussels Sugar Convention, The, 347.

Calvin, John, Lawyer, 212.
CAMPBELL, HENRY M. Representative Government *versus* the Initiative and Primary Nominations, 222.
Canada. — The Georgian Bay Canal, 647.
Canadian Navy, A, 765.
Cardinals, Why America Has Not Six, 444.
Catholic Laity and the Republic, The, 34.
CATHOLIC LAYMAN, A. The Catholic Laity and the Republic, 34.
Chile.—The Individuality of the South-American Republics, 792.
Christianity, Socialism and, 145.
Christ in Modern Thought, 433.
Church and Socialism, The, 145.
CLAPP, Hon. M. E. Have We Mislaid a Valuable Possession? 330.
CLARK, Rev. FRANCIS E. The Individuality of the South-American Republics, 785.
Colombia.—The Individuality of the South-American Republics, 789.

COLQUHOUN, ARCHIBALD R. The German Hegemony of Europe, 241.
Comet; *see* Halley's Comet.
CONANT, CHARLES A. The New Corporation Tax, 231.
Conflicting Duties of the Interstate Commerce Commission, The, 464.
Corporation Tax, The New, 231.
CORTESI, SALVATORE. Why America Has Not Six Cardinals, 444.
COTTON, Sir HENRY. The Unrest in India, 392.
Cotton Tax and Southern Education, The, 688.
Courts; *see* United States Courts.
Cuba.—Have We Mislaid a Valuable Possession? 330; Cuba's Claims to the Isle of Pines, 594.
Cuba's Claims to the Isle of Pines, 594.

DAWSON, W. J. The Modern Short Story, 799.
Declaration of London, The, 479.
DE QUESADA, GONZALO. Cuba's Claims to the Isle of Pines, 594.
Direct Primary, The, 1.
Divorce in America and England, 296.
Domestic Science in the Schools and Colleges, 200.

Ecuador.—The Individuality of the South-American Republics, 790.
EDITOR, THE. The Power of Tolerance, 107.
Editor's Diary. — Vagabondage, 143; Snakes, 281; On the Burning up of Boys, 431.
England. — British Farmers and the Fiscal Question, 23; The German Navy and England, 250; Divorce in America and England, 296; The Position of English Railways, 367; The Declaration of London, 479; The Social Hegemony of England, 488; The American "Tramp" Question and the Old English Vagrancy Laws, 605; A Canadian Navy, 765; American Opinion and British Rule in India, 773; World-Politics, 126, 269, 417, 566, 711, 846.
Esperanto Congress at Barcelona, The, 693.
Esperanto Notes.—July, August, September, December.

Federal Finance, The Relations of State and, 615.
Fiction of Eden Phillpotts, The, 15.
FIELD, ORIN JUDSON. The United States Courts, 74.
FORD, HENRY JONES. The Direct Primary, 1.
Foreign Investments of the Nations, 82.
Fortifying Principle in Swinburne, The, 93.
FOX, LYTTLETON. The Law of Aerial Navigation, 101.
France.—Sale of American Securities in, 811; World-Politics, 571.
FRENCH, Colonel WILLARD. A Permanent Tariff and Efficient Revenue System, 57.

Gateways of Literature, The, 675.
Georgian Bay Canal, The, 647.
German Hegemony of Europe, The, 241.
GERMAN NAVAL EXPERT, A. The German Navy and England, 250.
German Navy and England, The, 250.
Germany. — Germany Among the Nations, 241; The German Hegemony of Europe, 241; The German Navy and England, 250; World-Politics, 422.
Government Ownership of Diplomatic and Consular Buildings and their Equipment, The, 359.
GRANT, Rev. PERCY STICKNEY. Socialism and Christianity, 145.
GRAY, HELEN SAYR. Domestic Science in the Schools and Colleges, 200.
Greece.—World-Politics, 851.
GRIFFIN, WATSON. A Canadian Navy, 765.
GROSSCUP, PETER S. Prosperity with Justice, 721.

Halley's Comet, The Approach of, 194.
Hardy, Thomas, The Novels of, 502.
HARVEY, GEORGE. The Power of Tolerance, 107.
Have We Mislaid a Valuable Possession? 330.
HIGGINSON, THOMAS WENTWORTH. White Slaves in Africa, 46.
Holmes, Oliver Wendell, 178.
HOWELLS, W. D. The Fiction of Eden Phillpotts, 15.
"Hudson's River," 308.

India.—The Unrest in, 392; American Opinion and British Rule in, 773.
Individuality of the South-American Republics, 785.
Initiative and Primary Nominations, The, 222.
International Law; *see* Declaration of London.
Interstate Commerce Commission, The Conflicting Duties of the, 464.
Ireland, The New, 524.
Isle of Pines.—Have We Mislaid a Valuable Possession? 330; Cuba's Claims to the Isle of Pines, 594.
Is Mark Twain Dead? 319.
Italy.—World-Politics, 716.

Japanese Merchant Marine, The, 67.
JOHNSON, ROBERT UNDERWOOD. Saint-Gaudens, 826.
JONES, Mrs. GILBERT E. Some Impediments to Woman Suffrage, 158.
Journalism, Sensational, and the Remedy, 587.

LARKIN, RALPH B. The Approach of Halley's Comet, 194.
LARNED, Colonel CHARLES W. Blind Sight, 652.
Law of Aerial Navigation, The, 101.
Literature, The Gateways of, 675.
Local Option and After, 628.
London, The Declaration of, 479.

Macaulay Fifty Years After, 735.
MACNAGHTEN, RUSSELL E. Local Option and After, 628.
Mark Twain.—Is Mark Twain Dead? 319.
MATTHEWS, BRANDER. The Gateways of Literature, 675.
MAXEY, EDWIN. The Japanese Merchant Marine, 67.
McLEAN, S. J. The Georgian Bay Canal, 647.

Merchant Marine.—The Japanese Merchant Marine, 67; What Use is the Panama Canal without American Ships? 577.
Middle West, The Agrarian Revolution in the, 376.
MINTON, Rev. HENRY COLLIN. John Calvin, Lawyer, 212.
Modern Short Story, The, 799.
MOXOM, Rev. PHILIP S. Christ in Modern Thought, 433.

National Bond Issues; *see* Bond Issues.
NEWCOMB, H. T. The Conflicting Duties of the Interstate Commerce Commission, 464.
New Corporation Tax, The, 231.
Novels of Thomas Hardy, The, 502.

Panama Canal without American Ships, The, 577.
Panama.—The Individuality of the South-American Republics, 787.
Paraguay.—The Individuality of the South-American Republics, 795.
PAVEY, FRANK D. Sale of American Securities in France, 811.
PENFIELD, FREDERIC C. Spain's Commercial Awakening, 753.
PENNYPACKER, SAMUEL W. Sensational Journalism and the Remedy, 587.
Permanent Tariff and Efficient Revenue System, A, 57.
Peru.—The Individuality of the South-American Republics, 790.
PHELPS, WILLIAM LYON. The Novels of Thomas Hardy, 502.
Phillpotts.—The Fiction of Eden Phillpotts, 15.
Pines, Isle of.—Have We Mislaid a Valuable Possession? 330; Cuba's Claims to the Isle of Pines, 594.
Position of English Railways, The, 367.
Power of Tolerance, The, 107.
Primary.—The Direct Primary, 1; The Initiative and Primary Nominations, 222.
Prosperity with Justice, 721.

Railways, The Positon of English, 367.
REED, EDWIN C. The Esperanto Congress at Barcelona, 693.
REINSCH, PAUL S. The Declaration of London, 479.
Relations of State and Federal Finance, The, 615.
Representative Government *versus* the Initiative and Primary Nominations, 222.
Revenue System; *see* Tariff, 57.
ROSS, JOSEPH B. The Agrarian Revolution in the Middle West, 376.
Russia.—World-Politics, 275.

Saint-Gaudens, 826.
Sale of American Securities in France, 811.
SCHUYLER, MONTGOMERY. "Hudson's River," 308.
SELIGMAN, EDWIN R. A. The Relation of State and Federal Finance, 615.
Sensational Journalism and the Remedy, 587.
SHIPMAN, CAROLYN. The Anomalous Position of the Unmarried Woman, 338.
Short Story, The Modern, 799.
Social Hegemony of England, The, 488.
Socialism and Christianity, 145.
Some Impediments to Woman Suffrage, 158.
South-American Republics, The Individuality of the, 785.
Southern Education, The Cotton Tax, and, 688.
Spain's Commercial Awakening, 753.
SPEAR, CHARLES F. Foreign Investments of the Nations, 82.
STANTON, THEODORE. Student Activities, 170.
Startling Growth of State Power, The, 454.
State and Federal Finance, The Relations of, 615.
State Power, The Startling Growth of, 454.
States with Ideas of Their Own, 515.
STOKER, BRAM. The American "Tramp" Question and the Old English Vagrancy Laws, 605.
Student Activities, 170.
Suffrage.—Some Impediments to Woman Suffrage, 158; Woman's Right to Govern Herself, 664.
Swinburne, The Fortifying Principle in, 93.

Tariff.—A Permanent Tariff and Efficient Revenue System, 57; The Tariff Make-Believe, 535.
TAYLOR, BENJAMIN. The Brussels Sugar Convention, 347.
TAYLOR, HANNIS. The Startling Growth of State Power, 454.
THAYER, WILLIAM R. Macaulay Fifty Years After, 735.
THOMAS, DAVID Y. The Cotton Tax and Southern Education, 688.
To a Greek Head Called Aphrodite, 402.
Tolerance, The Power of, 107.
Tramp Question; *see* American "Tramp" Question.
Turkey.—Constantinople, 132.
Twain, Mark.—Is Mark Twain Dead? 319.
Tyranny of the Pill, The, 819.

United States.—The Direct Primary, 1; A Permanent Tariff and Efficient Revenue System, 57; The United States Courts, 74; Some Impediments to Woman Suffrage, 158; The Initiative and Primary Nominations, 222; Bond Issues, 289; Divorce in America and England, 296; Have We Mislaid a Valuable Possession? 330; Government Ownership of Consular Buildings, 359; The Agrarian Revolution in the Middle West, 376; The Startling Growth of State Power, 454; The Conflicting Duties of the Interstate Commerce Commission, 464; States with Ideas of Their Own, 515; The Tariff Make-Believe, 535; The Panama Canal without American Ships, 577; Cuba's Claims to the Isle of Pines, 594; The Relations of State and Federal Finance, 615; Prosperity with Justice, 721; World-Politics, 139, 427.

United States Courts, The, 74.
Unrest in India, The, 392.
Uruguay.—The Individuality of the South-American Republics, 795.

Vagrancy Laws; *see* STOKER, BRAM.
VAN RENSSELAER, Mrs. SCHUYLER. To a Greek Head Called Aphrodite, 402.
Venezuela.—The Individuality of the South-American Republics, 798.

Waterways.—Bond Issues for Permanent National Improvements, 289.
WETMORE; see BISLAND, ELIZABETH.
What Use is the Panama Canal to Our Country without American Ships? 577.
WHIPPLE; *see* SHIPMAN, CAROLYN.
White Slaves in Africa, 46.
WHITMAN, SIDNEY. The Social Hegemony of England, 488.
Why America Has Not Six Cardinals, 444.
WILLCOX, LOUISE COLLIER. The Fortifying Principle in Swinburne, 93.
WILSON, WOODROW. The Tariff Make-Believe, 535.
Woman.—Some Impediments to Woman Suffrage, 158; The Anomalous Position of the Unmarried Woman, 338; Woman's Right to Govern Herself, 664; Woman Suffrage, Some Impediments to, 158.
World-Politics.—London, 126, 269, 417, 566, 711, 846; Constantinople, 132; Washington, 139, 427; St. Petersburg, 275; Berlin, 422; Paris, 571; Rome, 716; Athens, 851.

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THE DIRECT PRIMARY.

BY HENRY JONES FORD, PROFESSOR OF POLITICS IN PRINCETON UNIVERSITY.

THE master force which impels the direct primary movement now sweeping over the country is desire for popular control of government. Only partisans and reformers would be interested in it if it were offered simply as a means by which a public man, enjoying popular favor, could beat down his party opponents. The idea which commends the direct primary to the masses, and which rallies them to the support of its advocates, is that it is a means of giving power to the people. I purpose in this article to analyze this proposition, which presents the aspect of the case that concerns political science.

Analysis to be useful must be precise. So we must settle at the outset just what is meant by "power" and by the "people." Alexander Hamilton in "The Federalist," No. 33, defined power as "the ability or faculty of doing a thing." The "people" are primarily the collective mass of citizenship, but as a term of American politics it denotes the electorate. So when the direct primary proposition is stated in its exact significance, it means that those who will have the faculty or ability of doing the thing under the conditions in which action shall be taken will be those who will actually determine candidacy for public office. This is the reality contained in the proposal that the selection of party

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candidates shall be intrusted to the mass of the party electorate. As in all other occupations or activities open to the mass of the people, there will be a differentiation of function among the units of that mass according to aptitude and opportunity. In this respect politics does not differ from art, literature, trade or commerce. They are special differentiations of function in the mass of citizenship.

All this is so elementary that it might seem that, in going into such details, one is explaining the evident and illustrating the obvious. Yet current discussion of this subject is such as to show the necessity of elementary explanation. One continually hears the declaration that the direct primary will take power from the politicians and give it to the people. This is pure nonsense. Politics has been, is and always will be carried on by politicians, just as art is carried on by artists, engineering by engineers, business by business men. All that the direct primary, or any other political reform, can do is to affect the character of the politicians by altering the conditions that govern political activity, thus determining its extent and quality. The direct primary may take advantage and opportunity from one set of politicians and confer them upon another set, but politicians there will always be so long as there is politics. The only thing that is open to control is the sort of politicians we shall have. We can never put the politicians out of business, although we can put the reformers out of business. That fact may seem ironical in view of the opprobrium now resting upon politicians and the credit enjoyed by reformers; but when political conditions are sound, reformers find their occupation gone. President Lowell of Harvard University, in his recent work on "The Government of England," remarks that "England has little that resembles either of the two correlative types of men common in American public life, the spoilsman and the reformer." If the outcry against politicians as a class were just, the reformers as a class would be more censurable, as they create the conditions that breed the spoilsmen. In general, the character of public men is determined by the conditions of their political activity. This principle was perfectly well understood by the Fathers. In the debates in the Convention of 1787, John Francis Mercer of Maryland said: "It is a great mistake to suppose that the paper we are to propose will govern the United States. It is the men

whom it will bring into the government and interest in maintaining it who are to govern them. The paper will only mark out the mode and the form. Men are the substance and must do the business." Similar expressions abound in "The Federalist," that classic treatise on political philosophy originally produced for the instruction of the people of New York, from whose principles they have deviated only to their injury. It is not the intentions with which measures are proposed, but the conditions they actually introduce, that really count in producing results. This principle was formulated by Alexander Hamilton ("The Federalist," No. 11) as a fundamental law of politics as follows: "Every institution will grow and flourish in proportion to the quantity and extent of the means concentred towards its formation and support." This principle is known as "Hamilton's law of political development." It is universal in its application. If graft flourishes in American politics, it is due to the existence of ample provision for that institution in our political arrangements. Therefore, when any reform is proposed, we should form our judgment of its merits not by the pretences accompanying it, but by scrutiny of the conditions it will establish and by consideration of the sort of men it will tend to bring into power—that is to say, the kind of politicians it will breed.

When the direct primary is thus tested, its true character is revealed. Its pretence of giving power to the people is a mockery. The reality is that it scrambles power among faction chiefs and their bands, while the people are despoiled and oppressed. The fact that the thing is done in the name of the people, and with the pretence that it is done for the people, ought not to obscure the patent facts of the situation. It is clear that if diamonds were handed out one mile up in the air only those having airships could actually be on hand to get them. If they were handed out to first comers at a distant point in the public highway those having automobiles would practically monopolize the gift-taking. If they were regularly handed out to first comers at designated times and places in the city only those having time, means and opportunity of being first in line would actually get them, no matter how emphatically it might be announced that they should be free to all. Precisely the same holds good when offices of valuable emolument and lucrative opportunity are periodically scrambled. The hand-out may be nominally free to all, but in

practice it goes to those able to obtain positions of advantage, whether by force, fraud, cajolery or favor. The existence of such methods inevitably develops systematic and organized means of controlling the distribution and appropriating its benefits. Hence we have the boss and the machine, as regular institutions of American politics, permanent in their nature, however the personnel of their official staff may change from time to time under stress of competition. We are always pulling down bosses, because transient combinations of would-be bosses and reformers may develop strength enough to overthrow a particular boss or a particular machine. But while bosses and machines come and go, the boss and the machine are always with us. From the standpoint of the public welfare, it is the system that is important and not the individuals who act in it.

The direct primary does not remove any of the conditions that have produced the system, but it intensifies their pressure by making politics still more confused, irresponsible and costly. In its full application it is the most noxious of the reforms by which spoilsmen are generated, for it parallels the long series of regular elections with a corresponding series of elections in every regular party organization. The more elections there are, the larger becomes the class of professional politicians to be supported by the community. Hamilton's law is as constant as any law of physics, and is indeed a corollary of the axioms of physics. The evil consequences are abundantly exemplified by current political phenomena. Many are so subtle and so diffused that it is impossible to catalogue them, but some salient features of the situation may be noted, with specific instances. The following are among the effects of the direct primary:

1. *Graft.*—Nothing is more common than to hear it spoken of as an adventitious blemish upon American politics, whereas it is innate. It is an inevitable outcome of the system; and so long as the system endures, it will flourish in accordance with Hamilton's law. Take the case of the people of New York City, for instance. The law puts upon the community the task of filling the following administrative and judicial positions under the forms of popular election: *State:* Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, Secretary of State, Controller, Treasurer, Attorney-General, Engineer and various judicial offices; *County:* Clerk, Sheriff,

Register, District Attorney, Surrogate, Justices; *City:* Mayor, Controller, President of the Board of Aldermen. The New York City budget for 1909 contains an item of $1,035,130 merely for the annual expense of holding these elections, and this is but a small part of the aggregate expense. Every candidate for a nomination must spend money. Campaign work costs heavily. Then on the eve of the election comes "dough day," when the party captain in each district receives money for expenditures in getting out the vote. Altogether the expense runs into many millions of dollars every year.

Now, there is no source of wealth but the industry and resources of the community, and hence, in one way or another, the community must bear the expense of filling the offices. So when the system is such as to entail great expenditures, it falls heavily upon the community. And that is not all. In addition to supplying the funds for electioneering outlay, the community must support a vast staff of professional politicians. This is an infliction under which the people continually groan, but the matter is settled not by their likes or dislikes, but by the conditions, and the conditions are such as to afford vast employment for engineers and stokers in running political machines, the most monstrous and complicated that the world has ever seen. So long as the system is tolerated, its incidents will have to be endured.

In the popular magazines of late there has been much about the superior economy and efficiency of democratic rule in Switzerland, New Zealand and some other countries. Well, there is a reason. And the biggest reason is that their institutions are not subjected to the graft pressure to which American institutions are subject. Not one of the offices mentioned in the foregoing schedule of New York elections is filled by popular election in Canada, England, Switzerland, Australia, New Zealand or in any other country where democratic government is genuine and not counterfeit; nor, indeed, in any other civilized country in the world. Their system of responsible appointment saves the people the many millions of dollars imposed by our system of irresponsible elections, and the advantage thus obtained in the way of public economy is immense.

The direct primary necessarily intensifies graft pressure by multiplying elections. It proposes to parallel regular elections by an antecedent series of party elections to nominate candidates.

The typical effect of the system is accurately set forth in the following extract from a Texas paper, the "Krebs Banner":

"It costs a big pile of money to run for office in the new State of Oklahoma. This is to a very large extent blamed on the primary election system. The results show, it is claimed, that only wealthy men had any chance in the race for Governor or United States Senator. One candidate for Governor is reported to have spent approximately $75,000 and another $50,000 in the primary election campaign. Dr. —— of Enid, and —— —— of Guthrie, men of moderate means, got out of the race because they could not keep the financial pace set by the other candidates. Two or three of the leading candidates in the Senatorial race, it is said, spent from $30,000 to $100,000 in the campaign for the primary nomination. When it is borne in mind that the nominees of the Democratic primaries will have to make another thorough and expensive campaign to win in the 'sure enough' election over the Republicans, it becomes evident that, if the Democrats are to win, it will be at a terrible cost to the leading officers. To win the Governorship will, it is estimated, cost the successful candidate $75,000 more or less, to secure a job paying $4,500 a year, hardly as much as the 'Krebs Banner' makes for its publisher, and much smaller honors. And in the case of the United States Senator, it is but little better than the Governorship, though with vastly superior opportunities for getting ahead of the game by grafting."

There are all sorts of ways "for getting ahead of the game." Public men are frequently subject to attack upon charges of this character. Even the Governor of Oklahoma, a product of the direct primary, has not been exempt. Opinions will differ, of course, as to the merits of any particular case. But it is clear that, when conditions are such that administrative positions can be obtained only by large expenditure, there will be a strong inducement to find ways and means of reimbursement and compensation. The system necessarily means graft, and in all ages graft has been associated with it.

2. Irresponsibility.—The whole system of filling administrative and judicial positions under the forms of popular election is a violation of the constitutional principles upon which our government was founded. The fundamental principle of constitutional government is that responsibility shall attach to every act of power. Hence the Fathers attached paramount importance to the principle of executive unity, which provides a definite location of power. The Fathers were in the habit of citing as a maxim of constitutional government that "the executive is most easily confined when it is one." In pursuance of this principle,

the Constitution of the United States provides that "the executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America." The power which any Federal attorney, marshal, commissioner, collector, postmaster or other Federal agent exercises is delegated by the President, and may be revoked by the President in his discretion, so that when public opinion acts upon the Presidential office it acts upon the whole administration. Political force flows full and strong in one effective channel. Under the system existing in our States, this force is dissipated among many channels, producing the morass in which we continually flounder in our State politics. Responsibility is too vague, diffused and uncertain to be effectual. Power is not definitely located anywhere. Just such consequences of the violation of the principle of executive unity were predicted by the Fathers. In "The Federalist," No. 63, written either by Hamilton or Madison, it is pointed out that, paradoxical as it may seem, there may be a want of "due responsibility in the government to the people arising from that frequency of elections which in other cases produces this responsibility."

If we turn to private business for an illustration this paradox will become easily intelligible. Suppose the shareholders of a bank should themselves elect its president, its cashier, its secretary, its auditor, its head bookkeeper, its janitor, and in addition a board of directors to pass its by-laws. Suppose that then, in addition, the shareholders in each district of its business field should elect its principal agents likewise as independent authorities. Would any responsibility for business results be left anywhere by this multiplicity of elections? Well, that is the kind of situation which is produced in the public business by the electoral arrangements peculiar to the American State. Responsible government is destroyed.

In this situation, by a prodigy of political talent, a system of party responsibility has been evolved. It is a poor substitute for representative government, for it is unconstitutional in its structure and oligarchic in its authority. It secures its revenues by processes of extortion, justified by custom in consideration of its necessities. Corporations serve as its toll-takers, turning over to it large sums and receiving legislative favor and official protection in return. They act in this capacity willy-nilly, for the conditions are such that they must feed the brute or his teeth

and claws will be on them. Notice what a ferocious onslaught was made on the railroad corporations all over the country when they cut off the supply of free passes to the politicians under the compulsion of the Federal law! So those charged with large trusteeship, having interests closely intermingled with public interests, find it necessary to spend money for political power and influence. A president of the American Sugar Refining Company, in testifying before a Committee of the United States Senate, blurted out the naked truth about the system. He said: "It is my impression that wherever there is a dominant party, wherever the majority is large, that is the party that gets the contribution, because that is the party which controls the local matters." He explained that such contribution was made because the company had large interests to protect, and he added: "Every individual and corporation and firm, trust, or whatever you call it, does these things and we do them" (Senate Report, No. 606, Fifty-third Congress, second session, pp. 351, 352).

This virtual taxing power, conceded by custom to party organization, rests upon an unconstitutional control which is a product of conditions imposed upon the community by reformers. Those conditions have determined the characteristics and shaped the activities of the politicians. The class interests of the politicians are ordered and graduated in a way that suggests the feudal system and, indeed, is its homologue both in its origin and in its nature. It is a system of personal connection founded on reciprocal duty and service, with its own peculiar code of ethics, stringently enforced. It introduces a principle of responsibility that is gross and imperfect, but is nevertheless genuine. Party organization has a corporate interest that may be reached and acted upon by public opinion, and be held to some responsibility for results. Party government in America is, in fact, a broad-bottomed oligarchy whose administration is costly, negligent and incapable, but which at least sets up barriers against the anarchy and terrorism that always in the past have been the outcome of ochlocratic methods. In Greece, Rome and mediæval Italy the distribution of authority among independent authorities, by means of popular elections, made the state the scene of frequent civil wars. Apart from the United States, the only modern country which tried that system was revolutionary France. The scheme of local government devised by the Constituent Assembly

and promulgated by the decree of December 14th, 1789, was based upon the principles of the direct primary and the recall asserted with logical completeness. All administrative officials were chosen by the citizens meeting in primary assemblies, and these might reassemble to recall and replace obnoxious officials. Special precautions were taken, so far as statute law can go, to make these provisions practically effective. The faction fighting that ensued soon brought about the state of things known in history as The Terror. In the present French Republic, elections are absolutely confined to the choice of representatives. America is the only country that has even been able to maintain tolerable conditions of public order when authority is split up and scattered among factions. This unique achievement stands to the credit of American politicians, and the fact is recognized by philosophical observers. Bagehot in his classic treatise on the English Constitution says that, if Americans "had not a genius for politics, if they had not a moderation in action singularly curious where a superficial speech is so violent, if they had not a regard for laws such as no great people have yet evinced and infinitely surpassing ours—the multiplicity of authorities in the American constitution would long ago have brought it to a bad end."

Our political class is inordinately numerous and inordinately expensive; but the only effectual way of curtailing their number and diminishing the burden of their support is to have less for them to do. Elections should be reduced in number. The direct primary proposes to give the politicians more to do. It provides for a series of elections in advance of the present series. And, at the same time, it strikes down party responsibility by providing that party agents shall no longer hold their posts by efficiency, as now, but by faction favor. The practical effect will be to substitute for existing boss rule a far more corrupt, degraded and impervious sort of boss rule. The change will be analogous to that which took place in the mediæval Italian republics, when local oligarchies were succeeded by professional *condottieri,* heedless of aught save their own gains.

A transformation of this order through the direct primary is noted by the Commission that recently reported a new charter for Boston. The Commission in its report on existing conditions says:

"The direct primary system was no doubt intended to abolish partisanship in municipal government, but in its practical working there is no longer the partisanship of a great organization bound theoretically by party principles and having some regard for its political responsibility in the State at large. It is a partisanship of ward organizations, calling themselves Republican or Democratic, as the case may be, but representing no municipal policies capable of formulation. . . . It has made it artificially difficult to secure good nominations; it has debarred the best and most representative citizens from participation in the government; it has increased the power of money in elections; it has practically handed the city over to the ward politicians. It tends to create bad government, no matter how strongly the people may desire good government, and to discredit the capacity of the people when congregated together in great cities to administer their municipal affairs."

That is the characteristic tendency of the direct primary everywhere. If the people do everything themselves, then they have only themselves to blame when things go wrong. In practice, government constituted on such principles means the irresponsible rule of faction. Outrages may be perpetrated for which no party organization would dare to assume responsibility. The case is illustrated by certain facts given by Judge Ben B. Lindsay, of Denver, in a pamphlet entitled "The Rule of Plutocracy in Colorado." On the principle that the people should do everything themselves, the grant of a franchise to a street railway company was submitted to the direct vote of the people. Judge Lindsay charges that the proposition as submitted was shaped in the interest of the railway company, and he says that "no more arrogant and outrageous lawlessness in stealing the property of others was ever enacted." Influential politicians of all parties and public officials were employed by the corporation to carry the proposition at the polls. Judge Lindsay says that the market value of the company's securities was increased $5,000,000 as the result of the election, so that as a business proposition the company stood to win largely even if it took millions to carry the election. Indeed, he estimates that the perpetual franchise the company aimed to secure "would be cheap at $500,000,000." He denounces the behavior of the politicians and public officials who took fees from the company to work in its interest as treachery to the people. But what legal offence did they commit, so long as they did not practise bribery? The responsibility did not rest with them, but with the people. They were employed as advocates—an entirely legitimate occupation. That the trans-

action was one of public debauchery, as he claims, may be admitted, but the debauchery inheres in the system. The hired advocates did what, on the principle of the direct primary, they had a perfect right to do. Judge Lindsay makes a detailed contrast between the terms obtained under this system and the terms obtained by Toronto in providing street railway service. There the public treasury receives a percentage of the gross income of the railway company, on a rising scale from eight per cent. up to twenty per cent. when the income reaches three million dollars. In addition, the stipulations of the contract require the company to sell tickets at the rate of eight tickets for twenty-five cents during morning and evening hours and twelve for twenty-five cents for school children. Judge Lindsay points to this as an example of what might and should be done, but he fails to draw the moral that to get Toronto results American cities should resort to Toronto means. Well, in Toronto there is no direct primary, no initiative and referendum, and no elections to fill administrative or judicial posts; but there is responsible government. Nothing is further from the truth than to describe the direct primary as a democratic institution. It is the negation of democratic rule, and nothing of the sort is found where democratic government really exists.

Plutocracy.—The rule of bosses and party machines, while a poor substitute for democratic government, is better than any other substitute available in the conditions to which American politics has been subjected. It is at least an integrating force and makes towards responsible government. The bosses correspond to "the undertakers," who are described by Lecky in his "History of England in the Eighteenth Century" as an oligarchy founded upon personal connection and "dexterity in party management." He observes that "this oligarchical connection was unpopular with the people on account of its narrowness and corruption," but he remarks that its overthrow resulted in more corruption than its ascendancy, and he holds that its influence in "binding many isolated and individual interests into a coherent and powerful organization was a real step towards parliamentary government." Since boss rule represents power founded on organized personal connection, it may admit poor men to its sphere and may select poor men for its candidates. Thus it has frequently occurred that poor men of ability have been raised to

high office by dint of personal ability, and party interest is thus made subservient to public interests. The case of Abraham Lincoln is typical. But when power is conditioned upon ability to finance costly electioneering campaigns, plutocratic rule is established. One of the maxims of the Fathers was that power must exist and be trusted somewhere. Responsible government exactly defines the somewhere, but that crown of representative institutions has yet to be attained in the United States. As the late Speaker Reed frankly declared: "We have at present irresponsible government, so divided that nobody can tell who is to blame." In this situation party organization performs a great service, because it roughly locates power somewhere, thus assuming a vague but real responsibility for the behavior of government. The direct primary impairs this responsibility by making power the football of faction. Power will rest somewhere just the same, but few will know where, so that it will be released from any responsibility for results. The behavior of legislative bodies will be peculiarly exposed to irresponsible influence. It is already plain that the direct primary affords means of setting up secret control. The investigation of the last Senatorial election in Wisconsin showed that various members of the Legislature were employed as electioneering agents. A wealthy candidate, as an incident of his canvass, could get a Legislature deeply under his influence by pecuniary favors. This would be a development quite in accord with historical precedent. The magnate and his clients were a familiar political factor in the government of the Roman commonwealth when it was conducted on the lines that are now imitated in the American state.

Ochlocracy. — Historically, plutocracy and ochlocracy — the money power and the government of the mob—always appear together. It is a favorite theory of reformers that, if there were no organized control, the people would select their wisest and best for public office. This is mere sentimental cant. Favor decides choice when selection is not accompanied by direct and immediate risk of consequences. On May 7th, 1903, Governor Pennypacker vetoed a bill for popular election of mine inspectors. He said:

"Their selection is to be made by the people at an election. The majority of the people, however, have no technical knowledge of mines and

are engaged in other pursuits. The selection would be likely to be made upon other considerations than those of the technical capacity of the miners. They would in all probability be determined by association, by political relations and by all those influences which affect the ordinary voter. To state the proposition is enough in itself to show that this would not be likely to result in securing competent mine inspectors. No one would think of determining the selection of a physician or an engineer to run a railroad train, or the occupant of any other station requiring technical information by a popular vote at an election. In fact the selection of mine inspectors would seem properly to belong to the Executive Department of the government."

In the last New York State campaign, Governor Hughes, on similar grounds, opposed the appointment of members of the Public Service Commission by popular election. He said: "In theory commissioners might be elected, but in practice they would really be appointed by irresponsible men." These sensible comments are just as applicable to any other administrative function.

At the direct primary in Atlanta, Georgia, in June, 1908, the contest for the nomination to the office of coroner was between a blind musician and a one-armed Confederate veteran. The issue seemed to be whether blindness or lameness established the stronger claim to popular favor. The blind man won. In an interview published in the "Atlanta Journal," he explained that he sought the office because he needed the money. "It has always been my ambition," he said, "to go to Munich and complete my studies in music. That, of course, takes money, and the surest and fastest way of making the necessary money, as I see it, is through the coroner's job."

The system, of course, means that if the public business is attended to the people have to support one class of officials to do the work and still another class to attend to the electioneering. Some queer mix-ups occur in the differentiation of these functions. The "Memphis Commercial Appeal," on November 18th, 1908, reports an instructive development. A Grand Jury of Shelby County, Tennessee, complained to the court that no indictments were forthcoming on presentments made. The following facts were disclosed: It had been the practice for a deputy sheriff to frame the indictments. During the campaign the candidate for sheriff was so aggrieved by remarks made by the successful candidate for attorney-general that he would not allow the deputy sheriff to prepare indictments until an acceptable

apology was made. The "Commercial Appeal's" account of the affair concludes as follows:

"Sheriff —— said that he was perfectly willing for Mr. —— to write indictments, and that at any time the demand he had made was complied with by Gen. ——, the grand jury work would be restored to its former status.

"Gen. —— says that he and his assistants will write the indictments, and that arrangements will soon be made by which the grand jurors will have all the work they can attend to on each meeting-day. The work is yet new to the attorney-general and both assistants, but they declare that they will master it in a short while."

The sort of influence which the direct primary exerts on the administration of justice is illustrated by this extract from the "Kansas City Times" of August 5th, 1908:

"CARTHAGE, *Missouri, August 4.*—Carthage is at a standstill in the —— murder mystery. Although at least two plausible theories of the affair have been entertained by the authorities, there has not been an arrest yet. The primary elections have diverted the attention of the officers from murder to politics. While the murderer of Dr. —— goes unapprehended, Carthage plays politics. Sheriff —— —— and —— ——, the constable, who have been working on the case, have suspended operations until after the primaries."

Space will not admit of further details, of which I have a copious supply drawn from actual experience. Mention, however, should not be omitted of one feature of the system, and that is the way in which it oppresses the poor. The recent investigation of social conditions known as "The Pittsburg Survey" directs attention to the large sums obtained by elective justices and constables by petty prosecution. The men who secure these offices are usually chiefs of local political gangs, whose influence is aggrandized by the direct-primary system. Candidates for high office solicit their support and pool interests with them. The poor are helpless against such combinations, and their only chance of tolerable security is to commend themselves to boss protection by political service as in the feudal period. In the sequence of cause and effect there may be at one end the well-meaning reformer and at the other end the poor ground down by a system they can neither comprehend nor withstand. I have yet to find an instance in which the direct primary has actually tended to promote good government, and it is only by some dire confusion of thought that good men can advocate such a pernicious nostrum.

HENRY JONES FORD.

THE FICTION OF EDEN PHILLPOTTS.

BY W. D. HOWELLS.

In old times before fiction was yet a quick-firing, self-feeding machine-gun, but was a single-barrelled piece which after being deliberately loaded, carefully sighted and skilfully aimed delivered its shot in the very diaphragm of the patiently expectant public, this or that novel might be honestly described as a literary event. Many novels are still so boasted in a variety of terms by the publishers' advertisements, which borrow the inspiration of prophecy and the language of analytic criticism to proclaim the event in anticipation of the fact. Many novels are thus proven even epoch-making events, though the epochs are so brief that the reader has no time to grow gray in them, but is hustled forward to a series of succeeding epochs by other events while still in the flush of his first youth. The effect with the maturer witness is so vertiginous that he hesitates to recognize for himself any recent fiction as an event, far less epoch-making, and one must let so admirable a story as Mr. Eden Phillpotts's last one come and go (the phrase bears me helpless beyond my meaning, for I hope "The Three Brothers" is not soon to go) without attempting to tag it with the familiar and once-valued label. But here I have a question of conscience, somewhat of the difficult and recondite sort which Mr. Phillpotts likes to deal with, or does deal with, whether he likes it or not; and my question is whether I had not better own, at the start, that all this author's books are as new to me as the newest, and are therefore for me, at least, epoch-making, if I prize them as I must say I do. It is open to me either to make this confession, and leave the reader to account for the fact as he may, or to conceal it, and take the chances of its escaping in the course of my proposed comment. I prefer to make the confession not only

because it is fairest to the reader who ought to know the man behind the criticism, but also because the truth is on the whole the only safe thing even for a critic.

Let us say, or let us suppose, then, that I have come to Mr. Phillpotts's books, for the first time almost simultaneously with the appearance of his last, and that the fault is as largely mine as the fault ever can be with a reviewer. Let us put aside the pretty problem, which I would like him to solve, of a nature feeling the peculiar charm, the feminine lure of uncandor, but turning in sheer alarm to the repulsive embrace of veracity as its sole refuge. Only a few weeks ago I read so good a short story of Mr. Phillpotts's that I decided to lose no more time in reading everything of his that I could lay hands on. I have since laid hands on nearly everything he has written, and if I have not read everything the blame is not wholly mine. Some of the things done in his process of finding himself and realizing his place in nature and art are not worth considering with the things done since. They need not be named, but may be grouped for censure and dismissal as sins committed while the author was still in the illusion that stories did not grow but were to be made out of romantic adventures and factitious persons. For any Anglo-Saxon author to outgrow this illusion amidst the praises of that criticism which so little represents Anglo-Saxon intelligence is very much; but several authors, of late years, have done it, and prospered on in the face of flattery. I do not think of any more conspicuous instance of survival into the life and light of reality than that of the very vigorous and penetrating imagination which has given us "The Three Brothers," "The Mother of the Man," "The Portreeve," "The Virgin in Judgment," "The Children of the Mist," "The Whirlwind," "The Secret Woman." These all have to do with nature and human nature as the author has known them in the region of Devonshire which he has made his own as Thomas Hardy has made Wessex his. There are other books of Mr. Phillpotts's which deal in the same air with the same sort of character, but with varying degrees of inferiority. They are not masterly, to say the least, and the ones I have named are masterly, though they are not equally masterpieces. I should like the reader to join me in judging him by them, for I believe that an author should be judged by his best. His less than best is, in a manner,

not done; or if this will not hold, then his less than best is not to be taken into account, unless in future work he recurs to the make of it.

In my acquaintance with the first of his masterpieces my opinion of our author came with an ease that ought to have made me suspicious, for nothing that comes easy is quite right. I said to myself, "He is a minor Thomas Hardy," and this though right was not quite right. He is a minor Thomas Hardy, but much more. He has a like joy in the face and heart of the earth, and he gets very close to the secret that remains hers, however we try to surprise it. But somehow the last mystical meaning of our great mother is withheld from him, that indicible charm which Hardy imparts to us almost as wordlessly as it was imparted him. Mr. Phillpotts gives us noble landscapes, honest, faithful, impressive, which he clearly does from loving to do them and which are as far as could be from what a simpler age than this used to prize as "word-painting." His stories abound in them; each book begins with one, and nearly every chapter, but they do not take the eye or hold the memory like those counterfeit presentments of people in which he excels. What of effort is evident in his work is the effort to relate his action to his scene, but his people would be as fully alive anywhere else as they are in Devonshire. He makes them so true that you have only to go to your own knowledge of yourself and of others for the proof of them. Nobody is quite like him in his skill of realizing them, but he is not the artist he is by any miracle. He has grown an artist from the clever artisan of his earlier books, which concern the things that happen to a man rather than the things which happen from him, and constitute his vitality. Even in his later books, which concern life, that is to say conduct, and not fortune, the novelist is still so far in his tradition as over-plentifully to supply his characters with adventure, and more things happen to them than happen from them, or than their conduct necessarily implies. When such things happen they form for me a serious break in the interest, but I am aware of a large prehistoric public which requires of a novelist that he shall keep things happening, whether or no, and I must not expect to have matters all my own way. While I am thus hinting faults, and hesitating dislikes, I will say that there seems rather more talk in the books than is needed

for the transaction of their business, or the revelation of character, or even the expression of opinion or emotion. Sometimes the over-much talk is Mr. Phillpotts's own, and that is worse; but at the same time I am bound to say that it is very good talk, and whether his or the others' is very natural and very distinctive; his persons talk in character, though they over-talk. At my time of life, also, I find over-much love-making hard to bear, though it may be very good love-making, as it nearly always is in Mr. Phillpotts's stories. Still, I acknowledge that the world abounds in younger readers who may not yet have had their fill of it, and who have their right to be appeased, to be glutted; a novelist cannot always be writing for readers over seventy.

The faults I have hinted prevail less in the masterpieces mentioned than in such prentice work as "The Dagger Farm," "The American Prisoner," "The Sons of the Morning," "The Good Red Earth." I leave out of the account altogether such jobs as "The Golden Fetich" and "Doubloons." When a novel is well imagined in truth and righteousness things are apt to be better in it of themselves than could have been forecast; they work together for excellence, and relieve the author of much labor. His toil lies in the stories which he makes up because he thinks stories can be made up out of adventures, or traditions, and may hide their inherent weakness in strange lands or other days. Mr. Phillpotts has served his time to this error, but for the most part he is now actual and immediate.

One picturesque region in Devonshire is always his scene, and its inhabitants, of slightly varying levels, afford full sweep for the play of his imagination. It is as if Mr. Thomas Hardy had found Egdon Heath the satisfying scene of all his actions; but Dartmoor is a larger theatre apparently, and more densely peopled with men and women not quite so simple as Mr. Hardy's, but of natures as primitive and passions as wayward and wilful. We miss the play of Hardy's humorous sense of his folk, though now and then Mr. Phillpotts lets us see how quaintly droll some of his own can be. I tremble at this point to say that he seems often to go deeper in motive than his predecessor, and that he betters his instruction in finding nobler types of women. I hate to own that any one can be better than Mr. Hardy in the same air, and besides I doubt if anything is to be accomplished by this

sort of comparison. But to keep to the safe positive ground, we may recognize that he penetrates recesses of the heart not hitherto explored, and deals with fresh surface facts of life in a way he seems to have found out for himself. He seems to take a hint from the openness of his people, and to show them as often as they are so, unbelievers, agnostics, doubters, deniers, very atheists. They are less cruelly bound in the gyves of conscience than George Eliot's folks, of whom they remind you almost as much as of Mr. Hardy's; they are allowed more joy in "the freedom of the broken law"; but their destiny, if not their conduct, is held in as strict allegiance to the law. Their manners and customs are frankly and inlaboriously noted; we are harassed with as little dialect as need be; and are made to see how the thought of the age has penetrated Dartmouth as effectively as London, without more changing character. The same enmities and amities are at work, and science as boldly questions religion among the rustics whose outward lives still conform to ancient tradition. Mr. Phillpotts's more violent people have frequent occasion to curse and to swear, and then he lets them take the name of God in vain without the employment of the typographical devices in which printed profanity used to soften itself. The irreligious do not go either to church or to chapel; the infidels fearlessly question the existence of God and the goodness of God, and deny the benevolence of nature. There is apparently a great deal of pessimism in Dartmouth, but this does not prevent the observer of its life from divining a heart of sweetness in it as diffused but as positive as the honey of its furze and heather. The farm and its interests are strongly realized, but we are made to see how the insidious and incessant spirit of change has pierced to the core of things there as elsewhere. The paganism which we are sometimes aware of in Mr. Hardy's rustics is sensible in Mr. Phillpotts's, but the atheism of his moor men is as far from polytheism as from monotheism; they have scarcely more superstition than religion.

It is their passions, their propensities, their wills, their natures which remain primitive, and often as volcanic as the fires which fused the rock of their pasture in perdurable granite. Whether they believe or disbelieve, whether they deny God throughout the universe, or know Him in every thought and motion of their being, these things in them continue the same, characterized of

course by conditions, and somewhat shaped by circumstances, but essentially of the pristine quality. It is perhaps because the elemental forces have freest play in "The Whirlwind" that I am, in spite of a final doubt of its right to such primacy, inclined to put it first among Mr. Phillpotts's books. It has not the range and the tolerant wisdom of "The Three Brothers," and it has not the spiritual beauty and the affectional force recognized in "The Mother of the Man," but for solid and massive tragedy it stands alone among the author's books. The traits and incidents which play about the central motive and follow to the supreme event are as graffites on the surface of that monolith. In the *aer cieco* their fate is so terrible, the woman's treason is so strange and the man's revenge so resolute that an inevitable doubt tempers the effect. If it is possible that a woman should still love her husband while she yields rather in compassion than in passion to another's love of her, the case is too abhorrent for acceptance, though the skill of the author is such that while you deny it in fiction you feel that it may have happened in life. It is all of the mystic quality of Anna Karenina's dream, in which her husband and her lover are reconciled in their common possession. It is as far outside of moral question as that is, and the author does well in leaving it to the doom that overtakes it when, the paramour being already dead, the wife saves her husband from murder by killing herself. This also saves the author much trouble, and spoils the critic's case against him. But the question remains whether such a woman as we are shown would have been such a woman as she becomes; though there is no doubt that her husband would have become such a man as he does. His part is indeed simpler: as a rigid fanatic with no allegiance to anything but the God momently revealed to him in his innate faith and constant worship. Of course it is the God of his own making, a God of truth and purity and justice, but without the mercy which comes to the creature in the supreme moment from his own human nature. The thing is masterfully well done. For the time you are compelled to believe that the compassionate woman's mind has been corrupted and her intelligence darkened without taint to her soul; but afterwards you find this more than ought to have been asked of you.

Perhaps the author does not quite ask it; perhaps he recog-

nizes a tragedy beyond the explicit or implicit tragedy. After all, nothing is so mystical as every-day life, that is to say, conduct; and such greatness as this author convinces us he has lies in his sense of the mystical quality of conduct, of every-day life. He evinces this in those other great novels of his: in "The Children of the Mist," in "The Portreeve," in "The Mother of the Man," in "The Virgin in Judgment," in "The Secret Woman," in "The Three Brothers." I do not know that the last named, which is the last written, is an advance upon the rest in power, but perhaps it is in art, for either I feel in it, or I imagine in it, the repose which is the ultimate expression of art. I ought not to disadvantage the others by comparisons which may not hold under careful scrutiny, but to the casual glance may seem just. I prefer to look at each book in the positive way, and to praise the last as a faithful and convincing portrait of three natures, allied in their difference and changing places not only through the accidents of experience, but by the emergence of forces inherent in each. The most interesting is that of the falsely benevolent brother whose perpetual will to be helpful and kind brings ruin on himself and his beneficiaries. The pessimistic brother, who takes up his failure and repairs it, is a triumph of characterization in which the author keeps himself from sentimental excess by good fortune little short of miraculous. He does not quite ask too much of us, but he almost does so; and he does not help himself out by tragical chance as in "The Portreeve," where the ruling passion, the inverted love which has become hate, fulfils itself blindly and involuntarily. "The Mother of the Man," in which the maternal instinct rises to inspiration, and "The Virgin in Judgment" in which the celibate instinct works horror and despair are not so surpassingly good art as "The Secret Woman," or "The Children of the Mist," the heart of whose mystery is harder to pluck out. Not that I fancy myself plucking out the heart of any of those mysteries in having so barely stated its dynamic motive. The mystery of art as of life is in the static things; to these we go back and rest and refresh ourselves in them after the moving forces have swept us helpless to the end. It is in the abundance of these static things that the lasting charm of this new great novelist exists. I do not claim him the cause or effect of anything epochal. He arrived in his order, not because George

Eliot and Thomas Hardy were before him, but because the revelation of the moral government of the universe perpetually demands prophecy, and when one voice is exhausted finds another. There are notes and inflections and tones in the later voice that remind us of the earlier; but that does not matter; what really matters is that it utters the truth in the forms which, whether we have ever known them in life or not, we know to be real.

W. D. HOWELLS.

BRITISH FARMERS AND THE FISCAL QUESTION.

BY WILLIAM E. BEAR.

To American farmers, who cannot see the arrival in their country of a few cargoes of potatoes in seasons of scarcity, without making an outcry against "competition with European pauper labor," although they are protected by a duty of twenty-five cents per bushel of sixty pounds, or 38*s.* 10*d.*, per English ton, it must seem strange that their fellow farmers in Great Britain submit quietly to the unrestricted competition of the whole world. As a matter of fact, there is no "pauper labor" in Scotland, whence the supply of potatoes when the crop is short in the United States is occasionally obtained, and it may even be questioned whether the average income of a farm laborer and his family throughout Great Britain is not greater than that of half the farmers of North and South America. On the other hand, British farmers are called upon to meet the competition of millions of half-starved growers of farm produce in Europe, of vast multitudes of Indian ryots who live on about six cents per day, and of occupiers of land obtained for nothing or at very low prices and almost free from taxation in North and South America and Australasia. Yet, while generally recognizing the fact that the agriculture of the United Kingdom has been half ruined by foreign and colonial competition, the farmers are not by any means unanimous in their desire for a change in the fiscal policy of the country. So far as England alone is concerned, there is abundant evidence to show that the great majority of farmers would welcome such a change; but not a few, even in that division of the kingdom, are distinctly adverse to it, while others are indifferent concerning it. That this division of opinion would not exist to an important extent if there were

any prospect of substantial duties on farm products is more than probable; but there is a common conviction that the nation will never agree to taxes on imported food sufficiently high to compensate certain sections of agriculturalists for the disadvantage of duties on commodities that they purchase, and this renders some farmers antagonistic to the disturbance of the existing system, and others doubtful as to its desirability.

By driving grain crops to a great extent out of cultivation, one-sided Free Trade has diverted agricultural enterprise largely into other branches of production, and particularly into the supply of milk to the cities and towns, at present the mainstay of a large proportion of British farmers. Now, there is no foreign competition worth mentioning in the supply of fresh milk; numerous attempts to convey it from the Continent of Europe to British markets having failed to prove remunerative. Therefore, milk-sellers would have nothing to compensate them for any advance in the prices of feeding-stuffs brought about by duties on grain. It is true that such a trifling duty as has been suggested on other kinds of grain than maize would not materially raise prices, while the proposed extra duty on flour would encourage home milling, and thus render grain offals more plentiful than they are at present. But any advances on the kinds of grain taxed would affect the prices of all feeding-stuffs to some extent, and men who do not sell grain, but buy it and other feeding-materials, are apprehensive of an immediate disadvantage from small duties in the first instance, and of possible increases hereafter.

Other farmers who formerly grew grain crops largely, or who have succeeded former growers, direct their enterprise mainly to the breeding or feeding of live stock, and many of them either produce no grain at all, or grow less than they consume, so that they are adverse to the taxing of it. Producers of butter and cheese in many cases are also buyers rather than sellers of grain, and some of these men likewise are disposed to fear that a change in our fiscal system might be disadvantageous to them. Those of them who are of a different opinion hope that sufficient duties on imported live stock, meat and dairy produce to overbalance any increases in the prices of feeding-stuffs may some day be imposed.

That the changes in the farming of land in the United King-

dom rendered necessary by Free Trade have been impoverishing in a very high degree there is no doubt whatever. Since 1875, shortly before agricultural depression became severe, over four million acres of arable land, or more than one-twelfth of the total area in crops and grass, have been converted into permanent pasture. Such a conversion could have been made advantageous to the country only by a tremendous augmentation in the numbers of live stock, and the only increases up to 1906 are 289,891 horses, 1,529,168 cattle and 85,573 pigs, against which there is to allow for a decrease of 4,281,913 sheep. Arable land has gone out of cultivation simply because it ceased to pay, and the diversions from grain-growing have occurred in order to stave off ruin. The decrease in wheat alone is over 2,000,000 acres. It is not difficult to account for the decrease in the cultivation of grain crops. In the five years ended with 1875 the official average prices per quarter of eight bushels were 54*s.* 8*d.* for wheat, 39*s.* 5*d.* for barley and 26*s.* 3*d.* for oats; whereas, in the five years ended with 1906, they were 28*s.* 3*d.*, 23*s.* 10*d.* and 17*s.* 11*d.* Oats alone, as grown largely for consumption on farms, have held their ground.

Farming paid none too well in 1875; but rents and some other expenses have been greatly reduced since that year, so that a considerably lower level of prices than that of the higher of the two sets just given would suffice to restore the lost arable area. Probably that restoration would be effected if, one year with another, wheat made 40*s.* per quarter, barley 30*s.* and oats 20*s.* Somewhat high duties on imports, however, would be needed to maintain the cereals at such a level of prices, and at the present time there is no such appreciation of the importance of agricultural prosperity to the country as would be necessary to induce the nation to agree to the necessary imposts. It is true that great concern is expressed in reference to what is called the "exodus" of the rural population to the towns, as indicated by the census figures; but the fanatical dread of any increase in the cost of food overrides all considerations of even the stamina of our population, which is being undermined by the excessive migration referred to. The last census, so far as can be gathered from its faulty and changed classification, shows a decrease of males engaged in agriculture in the United Kingdom in the twenty years ended with 1901 amounting to 10.24 per cent.

The decrease is entirely that of agricultural laborers, due to the necessary economy of labor on farms, the number of farmers having been about stationary.

"Perish agriculture, so long as our people can get cheap food," is virtually the cry of the opponents of fiscal reform, and so long as this policy is maintained, farmers will have little to hope from any change in that direction. It is true that some spokesmen of the Free Food party have the hardihood to contend that the depression in agriculture is not the result of Free Trade on the ground that prices were generally well maintained for many years after the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846. But they ignore important facts bearing upon the case. The great famine in Ireland took place in 1847, after a very bad harvest in the United Kingdom, and there was another serious deficiency in 1849. Grain prices were very low for the times from 1849 to 1852, inclusive, and farming was seriously depressed. By 1853, however, the gold discoveries in California and Australia had begun to inflate prices, and the Crimean War sent them up enormously in 1854, keeping them high for two years longer. In 1857 the Indian Mutiny took place; in 1861 the American Civil War began, to last for four years; there were European wars in 1866; and the Franco-German War occurred in 1870 and 1871. After 1873 grain prices fell rapidly. For fifty-six years before the repeal of the Corn Laws wheat had been under 50*s.* per quarter in only six years; whereas, during the last twenty-one years it has been below 30*s.* in eleven years, and only twice over 35*s.*

It is perfectly true that agricultural depression was severe on several occasions when very high Protectionist duties were imposed, in consequence of various conditions which it would be out of place in this article to explain in full. The abominations of our old Poor Laws were partly accountable, and excessive rents for land had much to do with the misfortunes, while the fact that they occurred at a time when the United Kingdom often produced more grain than was needed for home consumption has also to be borne in mind.

As the United Kingdom is the only country with important markets to admit imports free of duty, the surplus products of the whole world to a great extent are shipped to our ports. Many foreign producers get remunerative returns for what they sell

in their own markets, so that they can afford to undersell British producers in British markets. Certain of a sale for their surplus in this country, they can safely grow all that their land will produce without the fear of loss, an advantage which British producers do not share. Moreover, in using the markets of Great Britain, they are exempted from the heavy taxation levied upon British producers for the defence of the country, for the maintenance of a police force, for the upkeep of good roads, and for other channels of expenditure necessary to the peaceable, safe and convenient marketing of goods, while in addition they get preference rates on our railways. This is not free trade; it is preference trade in favor of the outsider.

Grain, flour, cattle, sheep, meat, dairy produce, hay, straw, vegetables, fruit and flowers from foreign countries and British colonies swamp the markets of the United Kingdom, fresh milk being the only product of the farm not subjected to an unfair competition which renders the profit of farming the most miserable pittance.

There is a great desire among British politicians and others for the multiplication of small holdings for agricultural laborers and other men who desire to make a living on the land, and great pains have been taken to coddle the small-holdings system. But the returns from land are so miserably small that a small holder, as a rule, has proverbially to do the work of two men for the earnings of one. Men of exceptional shrewdness, industry and thrift do better than this; but not a few fail utterly. In short, under existing conditions large and small cultivators of the soil alike find it difficult to "make ends meet."

Moreover, the financial pressure upon farmers continues to increase, in consequence of the annual passing of measures of bastard socialism which add to the already distressing burden of the rates, mainly paid in rural districts by the occupiers of land. At the time of writing Bills for the multiplication of small holdings in England and Scotland, respectively, are passing through the House of Commons, and both provide for the compulsory taking of land from farmers to divide into small holdings, while the English measure proposes to charge the expenses of administering the scheme and any losses that may occur upon the rate-payers. In other words, if not saved from spoliation by the House of Lords, Scottish farmers holding over 150 acres

will be liable to leave an indefinite proportion of their means of living, and English farmers of any acreage a part, or even the whole, in order to set small holders up in business, while the latter may be called upon to pay heavily for the carrying out of an undertaking by which they will be wronged.

It would be outside the limits of the subject under notice to describe at length other provisions of these oppressive measures, one of which would empower public authorities to acquire land from owners in England by compulsory hiring at rents fixed by an official arbitrator, while in Scotland a Land Court would be authorized to order any owner of land to let portions of it with fixity of tenure at rents valued by the Court to small holders selected by official commissioners. These facts are mentioned in order to show how little consideration the great majority now in power in the House of Commons pay to the rights of land-owners and farmers.

If small holdings are multiplied to the extent desired by the Government, there will infallibly be a disastrous failure among old and new small holders alike, as the majority of those who now hold not over fifty acres—over two-thirds of the occupiers of land in Great Britain—pay their way only by selling their produce directly to consumers. As it is, the competition among them for customers is severe enough, and it is obvious that if they were doubled in number, in the course of a few years, there would be far too many of them in proportion to the number of their customers.

From one point of view this proposed multiplication of small holders of land is intimately connected with the fiscal question; for when these little farmers find how poor a living they can obtain from the land, they will almost certainly clamor for protection as the only means of saving them from ruin. That they would be supported in such a demand by the great majority of English farmers there is no doubt, as the Central Chamber of Agriculture, consisting mainly of delegates from provincial Chambers, representing nearly the whole of England, has passed a resolution in favor of Mr. Chamberlain's scheme of fiscal reform, while no chamber affiliated to the central institution has declared against it. In Scotland, where the farmers are mainly producers of meat, milk and cheese, fiscal reformers obtain less support.

As to Irish farmers, it can be stated on good authority that they generally desire Protection, and that, in private conversation, they make no secret of their sympathy with Mr. Chamberlain's proposals. But they are held in leading-strings by their Parliamentary representatives, who, with a few other public men, act as their spokesmen; and by these men, or the great majority of them, everything is subordinated to Home Rule and hostility to the Unionist Party, of which Mr. Chamberlain is a prominent leader. Therefore, the sympathy of Irish farmers with that politician's proposals have very little chance of public expression. When the process of converting them into owners of their farms has been completed, it is probable that they will no longer submit to be gagged on this subject.

It has been reasonably suggested that the farmers of the United Kingdom can hardly feel any great enthusiasm in relation to Mr. Chamberlain's scheme, unless they regard it as "the thin edge of the wedge." He has not pinned himself to details at all precisely; but his provisional proposals consist of a duty not exceeding 2*s.* per quarter of eight bushels on grain, excepting maize; a higher duty in proportion on flour; a duty of five per cent. *ad valorem* on meat (excepting bacon), dairy produce, poultry, eggs, vegetables and fruit; and duties varying in proportion to the amount of labor involved in their production, but averaging ten per cent. on manufactured goods. Presumably fat cattle and sheep would be reckoned as meat. These duties would apply to imports from foreign countries, while there would be preference in favor of imports from British colonies. To compensate consumers for any possible rise in the cost of food caused by the duties, Mr. Chamberlain proposes substantial reductions in the duties on tea and sugar, and possibly on tobacco.

It is obvious that the duties would not directly benefit home producers unless they raised prices, and, as there have been variations much greater than 2*s.* per quarter in the prices of grain without affecting our supplies, the probability is that this small duty would not have any considerable effect. During the last decade the annual average price of wheat has varied from 23*s.* 1*d.* to 34*s.* per quarter, and imports were well maintained at the lower price. Probably the world's wheat area would have been contracted if the price had remained at the lower level for three or four years; but the acreage continued to increase in

the five years ending with 1903, when the range of yearly averages was 25*s.* 8*d.* to 26*s.* 11*d.* Last year the average was 28*s.* 3*d.*, and if sellers of foreign wheat had then had to pay 2*s.* in duty, the return would still have been greater than it was in 1902, 1899, 1896, 1895 or 1894. A duty of six cents per bushel, in all probability, would not induce growers in the United States, Argentina or any other large exporting country to reduce their acreage of wheat, or even check its expansion; and unless the area ceased to advance in proportion with the world's population of wheat consumers, there would be no reason to expect a rise in price.

But if the proposed duty would not raise the price of wheat, what advantage to our colonies would there be in the proposed preference? By inducing them to grow more wheat for a time, the preference, indeed, might prove injurious to them by lowering the price of wheat.

That the British Empire could feed its people there is no doubt; but it is equally certain that such a result will not be attained with prices for foodstuffs as low as they have been in recent years. At such prices wheat production, even in Canada, has increased very slowly, the gain in Manitoba and the Northwest having been partly balanced by a reduction in Ontario. It has grown even more slowly in Australia, where frequent droughts render it a hazardous enterprise; and in New Zealand, the only country besides the Netherlands which grows about as much wheat per acre as Great Britain, the area has been reduced.

The only benefit which British farmers would have reason to expect from a 2*s.* duty on wheat would be a reduction of taxation, in consequence of the handsome revenue which the duty would produce.

An extra duty on flour, as already explained, would benefit farmers in the United Kingdom by increasing the supply of milling offals; but the case of barley is similar to that of wheat, our markets having been repeatedly flooded with foreign barley while the average price in this country was more than 2*s.* per quarter lower than it has been in other years. On oats the proposed duty would be much higher in proportion to price than in the case of either wheat or barley, and it is probable, therefore, that the impost would be in part paid by the British consumer.

A tax of five per cent. on foreign meat, excluding bacon, would average less than one farthing per pound. On cheese also it would be barely one farthing per pound, as a rule, while on butter it would be only about a halfpenny per pound. As greater differences in prices have failed to affect the almost constant increase in imports of these commodities, or at least of meat and butter, there is no reason to expect that the duty would raise prices. The same remarks apply to vegetables and fruit.

On the other hand, duties on manufactured goods, including agricultural machines, averaging ten per cent., would almost certainly raise the prices of such commodities, including, of course, those of home production; and it is not unlikely that British farmers would lose more by this advance than they would gain by the duties on farm produce. But the revenue derived from the duties on all the articles would be a sum sufficiently great to allow of a substantial reduction in the taxation of the people of all classes.

Mr. Balfour's proposal of power to the Government to impose duties on imports from any country in retaliation for a high tariff on British exports, and to facilitate arrangements for reciprocity, has not received much attention from farmers, so far as can be judged from the proceedings of their associations. This is not surprising, because, while British farmers are not exporters to any very considerable extent, Mr. Balfour, in the first instance, pandered to popular prejudice by repudiating all intention of putting duties on food. The repudiation was illogical, as the power of treating for reciprocity with such countries as the United States, Russia and Argentina would be insignificant if retaliation could not be threatened in relation to exports of food from those countries. Recently, however, Mr. Balfour has come more into line with Mr. Chamberlain by admitting that the taxation of food might be advisable under certain circumstances.

But if any definite scheme of taxing imports of manufactures, without putting any duties on imports of agricultural produce, should ever be put forward, it would receive plenty of attention from British farmers, as they would rise in indignation against such an outrageous injustice. It is not by any means certain, however, that they would not derive more direct advantage from a reasonable and extensive campaign in favor of reciprocity than

they would obtain from the operation of Mr. Chamberlain's proposals, apart from retaliatory discrimination. It is true that Mr. Chamberlain, in his speeches, has often hinted at retaliatory measures; but his plan of preference to the colonies, if realized, would to a great extent reduce the power of treating for reciprocity. For example, in such treating with the United States, preference to Canada would be a serious obstacle to a satisfactory arrangement, and might prove an insuperable impediment. British negotiators would be weak enough in treating with the United States, if prohibited from taxing food heavily, if necessary to successful negotiation, without the additional disadvantage of colonial preference. On the other hand, they would occupy a position of great strength, if free from both these handicaps. For, taking the average values for five recent years, over 62 per cent. of American exports are found to have consisted of products of agriculture, mainly food, and 40.7 per cent. of the total exports of the United States have been shipped to the United Kingdom.

Again, it may well be asked, what would become of colonial preference if any great commercial or agricultural country, now maintaining a high tariff against the United Kingdom, should be induced to agree to reciprocity to the extent of complete Free Trade? The nation would not stand the maintenance of Protection merely for the sake of giving preference to the Colonies, and yet if such countries as the United States and Argentina could be induced to trade freely with the United Kingdom, any value inherent to preference to Canada, for example, would be almost entirely annihilated.

British live stock, beef, mutton, bacon, hams, certain kinds of cheese, outdoor fruit, hothouse fruit and flowers, and potatoes are of exceptionally high quality, and would find markets in many countries, if it were not for the high wall of hostile tariffs, relieving the frequently glutted home markets, and thus raising the prices of products sold for home consumption. This aspect of the fiscal question has been almost entirely ignored; but its consideration justifies the opinion to the effect that British farmers would have a better prospect of substantial advantage from the operation of a policy of retaliation conducing to reciprocity with foreign countries, without preference to our Colonies, than from Mr. Chamberlain's scheme.

Mr. Cobden's great movement in favor of Free Trade was begun and carried to a successful issue under the supposition that all other countries would follow the example of the United Kingdom. How utterly that idea has been falsified by experience it is not necessary to state. If it had been realized, there would not be any fiscal question in the country at the present time; for there is hardly any room for doubting that Free Trade throughout the world would have been in the past, as it would be for the future, the most prosperous of all conditions for the nation at large. Nearly sixty years of trial must be regarded as affording conclusive evidence that it will never be brought about by example. It is not too much to say, indeed, that this Quixotic example is the greatest hindrance to the realization of the ideal state of commerce; for, so long as the United Kingdom, with sublime absurdity, maintains a policy of preference against itself and in favor of all other countries they will not throw away the generous gift.

On the other hand, trade with the United Kingdom is of such transcendent importance to other countries that there is good reason to believe that the operation of a firm policy of reciprocity, backed by retaliation in fiscal arrangements when necessary, would lead up steadily towards Free Trade between this country and all others, and ultimately, it may be hoped, to the like system of commerce between the other countries themselves.

In the mean time, as the necessary basis of treating, a substantial tariff, most of all on food products, should be framed. If it failed to produce the desired result, it would at least be better than one-sided Free Trade for agriculturists and all other producers in the United Kingdom, including workmen as well as employers, as the home trade would be vastly developed; and the great revenue derived from customs duties would give relief to all taxpayers, whether producers or not. On the other hand, if, in course of time, the proposed policy should lead up to Free Trade throughout the world, farmers must be prepared to take their chance of results with other producers. The prosperity of the masses of the population in that event would be so great that farmers would probably be compensated for having once more to encounter a world-wide competition; or, if not, the country would be well able to afford arrangements for maintaining the well-being of the agricultural population.

WILLIAM E. BEAR.

THE CATHOLIC LAITY AND THE REPUBLIC.

BY A CATHOLIC LAYMAN.

I.

After the explicit and authoritative presentation, by Cardinal Gibbons, of the Catholic side of the controversy raised by the action of the Protestant synods which impeached the loyalty of American Catholics, it might seem that the last word has been said on our behalf. The ministers, however, made their appeal to "the great mass of our Roman Catholic fellow citizens, whose intelligent loyalty we do not desire to question, to assert their rights to think in harmony with the governmental idea of their own country instead of the un-American ideas of the old countries." In view of this exhortation, it will not be, perhaps, considered out of place that some voice from the Catholic laity be permitted a word on the subject. Besides, there is one significant feature of Papal teaching which will profitably bear a little more comment than has been given to it by either party.

The present writer has the saving sense sufficiently developed to warn him against emulating the historic "Three Tailors of Tooley Street," who opened their memorial with, "We, the people of Great Britain": he does not profess to be the spokesman of the American Catholic laity. He does claim, however, to be a fair type of the genus. Born and bred in the Catholic Church, to which he unalterably belongs, occupying, during a period long enough to turn black locks to gray, a responsible position in the service of the United States which has brought him, publicly and privately, into close contact with prominent Catholic laymen of every State in the Union, he may, without presumption, offer his views as fairly representative. He can add that, on the present question, he has taken more pains than most busy laymen to become acquainted with the subject.

We must, in the first place, acknowledge the handsome compliment paid by the Protestant synods to our "intelligent loyalty"; though one is puzzled to reconcile the adjective with the accompanying imputation that we do not know the teachings of our own Church as well as these gentlemen do. How unflattering is this estimate of our information appears when we find that their knowledge of Catholic doctrine is far below that which generally prevails, nowadays, among educated non-Catholics who discuss our beliefs in print. Now what are the grounds upon which they who impugn our loyalty rest their charge that, until the Roman Church frankly changes her doctrine, the admission of Catholics to high offices in the State is a menace to American liberties? The grounds are that the union of Church and State is a Catholic principle; that history shows that Rome has approved of religious persecution; and that the doctrine of "Papal infallibility would seem to preclude the idea of retraction of dogma or decree"; that Catholics are bound to obey the Pope in all things; and, as a make-weight, we are told that the Pope maintains his claims to the temporal power against the Kingdom of Italy, and desires to be recognized as a great power among the nations.

In the above statement there is just enough truth to account for the distrust and suspicion entertained by our Protestant friends; and enough error to render inexcusable the conduct of any educated man who would advance these statements as a reason for summoning up the spirit of religious discord from the oblivion in which American good sense and love of liberty have buried it. That the Pope does teach the ideal of human society to be the union of Church and State no Catholic may deny. It was the only conceivable idea in the Middle Ages; it has been proclaimed by Pius IX, reiterated by Leo XIII and rejuvenated by Pius X in his recent address to the French episcopate. This, certainly, is not a doctrine that falls sweetly upon the ears of American Catholics. How they regard it may be gathered from the silence in which it is passed over by all ranks of our clergy, a silence which is due not to astute calculation, but to strong attachment to American conditions and principles. True also it is that Rome clings to the vanished temporal power; but what that fact has to do with the loyalty of American Catholics is by no means obvious, and the Protestant synods have not elucidated the con-

nection. Rome does crave to obtain political recognition from the great nations; she would be ready to pay a high price for it; I shall go further and say that I believe Rome has been often ready to pay much too high a price for it. Roman bureaucrats, administrators and diplomats have more than once induced the Holy See to buy the support or favor of secular statesmen at a rate incompatible with the best interests of the Church and the eternal principles of justice. The assertion that Rome has persecuted for heresy, as every Protestant Church, the Quakers excepted, has done, cannot, I believe, be truthfully denied. The plea by which some writers seek to exculpate her—that heretics were never killed for purely religious error, but only for tenets that, besides being heretical, were also subversive of the social order—does not hold good universally. The easy "*Tu quoque*" argument against Protestants, that they persecuted as relentlessly as ever did any Catholic Power, I shall not urge upon our present accusers. They can evade it, as far as the present controversy is concerned, by taking the position assumed by one of them who retorted to a Catholic clergyman: "In pointing to the State Churches of Europe, you are only calling attention to the broken shackles which we have thrown off."

If all these admissions are to be made on our side, where, then, is the leaven of error in the charges urged against us? Where do the grounds of the indictment against twelve or thirteen millions of Americans fail? In the first place, our accusers have fallen into a blunder, unpardonable in anybody who would undertake publicly to discuss Catholic doctrines. They say that the doctrine of Papal Infallibility would seem to preclude the idea of retraction in dogma or decree. The looseness of their phraseology convicts them of incompetence. A dogma is a doctrine which the Catholic Church presents to her members as being contained in Revelation. The claim of infallibility means that the Pope, and the Pope alone, and he only when speaking under certain rarely fulfilled conditions which guarantee that the supreme prerogative of the Church is engaged and is responsible for the teaching, cannot err. Outside the limited orbit of such teaching there is a whole encyclopædia of doctrines and discipline which may, and in many instances have, become the subject of "decrees" that are unprotected by the prerogative of infallibility, and are, therefore, revocable and changeable. And precisely in this

latter class are to be found the most famous Papal utterances regarding the relations between the Church and State. Doctrines on this point that once were propounded by Popes have been tacitly revoked in a subsequent day, and the same thing may happen again. An example apposite to the present discussion is to be found by comparing the famous Bull of Boniface VIII, "*Unam Sanctam,*" with the Encyclical of Leo XIII on the Constitution of States. The Protestant synods do not seem to be familiar with these documents. The mediæval Pontiff declared, on the strength of a Scriptural text which to the lay eye seems a ridiculously inadequate base for the tremendous claim raised upon it, that both the spiritual and the material sword, meaning both the supreme spiritual and the supreme civil authority, are vested in the Church; the latter sword "to be used by the hands of kings and soldiers, but under and subject to the spiritual authority"; that the man who claims that the civil authority is not in the power of Peter does not understand the words of the Saviour. Here, then, is the doctrine that the State derives its authority from the Church. Now let us turn to Leo XIII, who speaks after the rise of the modern spirit of liberty and democracy has assisted the churchman to understand more clearly than did the mediæval theologian the true character of the Church. He distinctly declares that the State derives its authority directly from God, not from Peter's successor; that the State, or civil power, is set over human things, while the Church is set over divine things; that each power in its own realm is supreme and independent. This signal instance of radical change in Papal teaching disposes of the chief *whereas* advanced by our opponents. Their second essential position, that good Catholics are bound slavishly to obey the Pope in all his commands, has been attended to by the Cardinal; so we need not go over that ground again. Any one who desires honestly to learn what is really Catholic doctrine on the sovereignty of conscience, so grossly travestied by the Protestant synods, may consult Newman's famous "Letter to the Duke of Norfolk," published in the course of the controversy raised by Gladstone's "Vaticanism" pamphlet.

II.

If the sole purpose of this paper were merely to expose the unsoundness of the platform on which the Protestant ministers

planted the guns intended by them to throw into the arena of American public life an explosive shell charged with sectarian strife the writer might close here; and it would scarcely have been worth while to solicit the attention of the reader. But his purpose is candidly to thresh out the whole question. We are familiar in this country with the cleverly drawn Congressional bill or franchise grant which contains one little clause, more pregnant than all the rest, running counter to the tenor of the other parts which have been introduced merely to allay suspicion or disarm opposition. In like fashion, one provision of the amended Papal doctrine is of a character to justify non-Catholics in asking whether, notwithstanding the admission that the State is supreme and independent, the Pope does not still reserve to himself the right to interfere actively in the relations of Catholics with the national government. And if this question must be answered in the affirmative, it is incumbent on us to convince our fellow citizens that there exists a force which may be counted on to successfully oppose any pernicious action of this sort. His Eminence has strongly insisted that we may subscribe to the fundamental article of English Protestantism that "the Pope of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this realm," but he is careful to add the very significant qualification, "*If it be understood of the realm of purely temporal affairs.*" But between the purely spiritual and the purely temporal realm there is "the twilight zone," where both Church and State put forth claims; and the Cardinal frankly acknowledges that a conflict here is within the range of possibility. Then he hastily drops the subject, with the observation that the American concept of government puts this hypothesis outside the range of possibility. I share his conviction that the American Government will never take any measures that would infringe our religious liberty. The possibility of danger lies elsewhere. The Pope holds that, in those affairs which are the common concern of both powers, the State is bound to yield to the Church, and that in case of dispute he, the Vicar of Christ, is the court of final resort to determine the right. Now, to this claim join another co-ordinate doctrine, *i. e.*, that, as the supreme teacher of morals he possesses the right to decide what line of conduct duty imposes upon Catholics in any given circumstances. A moment's reflection will show that these two principles in combination may be stretched so as to cover almost the

entire civic life of a Catholic. The "twilight zone" embraces, among other things, ecclesiastical property, endowments for charity, wills containing bequests for religious purposes, marriage, the legitimacy of children, provision for the religious needs of the army and navy; and, students of history need not be reminded, the question of the exemption of the clergy from the civil jurisdiction. There are few political questions outside purely economical affairs that do not involve a moral issue. Any war in the eyes of the Pope touches upon spiritual things if the success of either belligerent, in his judgment, will, anywhere on the globe, entail injury or gain to the world-wide Church. In fact, when the enormous sweep of these two claims is fully surveyed, the concession that all purely temporal affairs are outside Papal jurisdiction seems to be merely nominal, as far as the Catholic conscience is concerned. If, at any political crisis in any country, Rome should believe it to be her interest to exercise spiritual pressure on the Catholic body, expert canonists and theologians would promptly bring forth an imposing array of arguments and precedents to prove that the occasion required the Holy Father, in the exercise of his office as Supreme Pastor, to explain to his faithful children their duty.

It may be said, it *is* said, that the wisdom and virtue of the Roman Pontiff, along with the Divine guidance which the Church enjoys, will always prevent him from overstepping in crises of this kind the rightful bounds of his authority. But, as Lincoln said, we cannot escape history. And history warns us that, outside the comparatively narrow field in which, Catholics firmly believe, the infallibility of the Church is guaranteed by the indefectible Promise, we have no assurance that Rome, in her executive and administrative agencies, may not make serious mistakes, or advance claims that justice and the eternal principles of which the Church is the guardian do not ratify. The Providential protection which safeguards the Church appears nowhere more conspicuously than in the signal manner in which it has turned to her ultimate advantage the errors and the frailties of the human agents who, at various periods, have managed her affairs. We have already noticed an instance where Rome exceeded her rights, according to Rome's own subsequent tacit acknowledgment. Theoretically, at least, we have no assurance that the future shall not resemble the past. The probabilities that

similar trespasses may occur in the future are enormously reduced, but as they are not entirely negligible, non-Catholics of a certain type will continue to harp upon them and periodically raise the alarm of Vaticanism to our prejudice. What gives vitality and color to suspicion is that Roman officials of the ecclesiastico-political kind, who are diplomats or bureaucrats first and ministers of the Gospel second, show themselves too closely wedded to the ideas of monarchism, absolutism and the union of Church and State. They still dream of political recognition for the Church from the great Powers. They are still influenced by the ideals of the seventeenth century, when the sovereign in Catholic countries was absolute and the people counted scarcely at all. They are slow to see that the age of privilege is past and that the Church must henceforth trust to her own spiritual powers, with which, unaided by worldly powers, she once conquered the civilized world. The slightest advance made by a monarch or statesman, be he Catholic or Protestant, throws them into a flutter of eager expectancy; and they are prone to make the State's relations with the Vatican, rather than the strength of Catholicism among the people, the measure of the Church's prosperity in any country. This undue valuation of secular friendship has manifested itself, not with the happiest results, in recent years. The hope of obtaining some sort of political recognition by the Court of England has been a will-o'-the-wisp to the Vatican since the days of Napoleon. Twice, to please the British Government, Rome thrust her hand into Irish politics; first, in the matter of the *Veto,* when she desired to give the English Cabinet a voice in the choice of Irish bishops; and, again, during the fiercest struggle of the Land League and Parnell times, when Leo XIII, at the solicitation of English influence, condemned the Plan of Campaign and forbade Irish Catholics to contribute to a fund for the Protestant leader. Still more recently the Pope brought pressure to bear on the Catholic party in Germany, in order to sway their vote to support the Emperor's policy in a purely politico-economic question. We might easily construct a hypothetical case, in which some foreign Power would offer to establish an embassy at the Vatican and receive a Nuncio, on condition that the Pope would undertake to control, in some specified direction, the strength of the Catholic vote in America. Would Rome undertake to pay the price? Everybody will answer

this question in his own sense. Personally, I would not trust the average ecclesiastical politician if exposed to this temptation; and there have been Popes who, if we may reason from their acts, would not have shrunk from the bargain. That Pius X could be persuaded to lend himself to such a scheme I firmly believe to be impossible. But the personal character of a Pope is a transitory factor in Roman administration.

Here a champion of the Protestant synods flings down his NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW and devoutly exclaims: "Verily the Lord has delivered them into our hands; here is a frank acknowledgment that the Roman menace actually casts its sinister shadow over the Republic." Patience, friends, and let us examine all the forces in the situation. One of them, whose existence you have had the courtesy to acknowledge, is the intelligent loyalty of the great mass of American Catholics.

The stick upon which the scarecrow of Vaticanism is constructed is the false idea that Catholics are bound slavishly to obey the Pope in everything he pleases to command. We have seen that this is not Catholic doctrine. But, Protestants may reasonably reply, theory is one thing and practice is another. What if a Pope should again exceed his rights? The crucial question is whether your fellow countrymen could trust the Catholic conscience to stand for its rights in the face of Papal aggression. No student of history can doubt that, if occasion should arise, the conscience of American Catholics, in union with what, for want of a better name, we might call "the lay spirit," would not be found wanting. By "the lay spirit" I mean patriotism, the love of liberty and independence, the sense of justice and hatred of usurpation or oppression. This is the dual power which, in every age, has opposed, and ultimately defeated, churchmen who endeavored unduly to extend their authority over civil affairs. It was born ages before Luther and the Reformation. Pope Boniface, who did not love it, and who described it from its excesses rather than from its beneficent manifestations, grants it a very high antiquity; and he observed that it did not belong exclusively to the laity, for many of the clergy shared it. To this spirit we owe it that the claims of the Papacy as they stand in the Bull of Boniface have been trimmed down to the modest proportions which they wear in the teachings of Leo XIII. Is it possible for any intelligent person with a college boy's knowledge

of European history to fancy that any Catholic ruler, or any Catholic people, or any Catholic population of any country, would permit their political course to be dictated by Rome to the injury of their country's interests? When, for instance, the Pope denounced *Magna Charta*, did the Catholic Barons or the Catholic Archbishop tamely submit to his dictates? When, somewhat later, another Pope espoused the claim of the Plantagenets to Ireland and Scotland against Bruce, the Irish and the Scots flouted his censures. In a very different age another Pope actively assisted Spain against Elizabeth; he gave his blessing to the great fleet invincible that was to crush the liberties of England. In 1588 the English Catholics had no reason to love Elizabeth; but, when the Armada approached in the Pope's name, the Catholics of England, to a man, rallied round her. As Green says, all the most warlike counties were Catholic; and when the stranger came the Catholic gentry led their tenantry to the muster of Tilbury; of the nobles and squires not one proved a traitor; the great Catholic lords brought their vessels up alongside of Drake, and when the bulldogs of the sea rushed upon their quarry they were led by stout old Howard of Effingham. In short, as Green tersely puts it, "the loyalty of the Catholics decided the fate of Philip's scheme." And grown-up persons shudder to think of what might have happened had William McKinley been a Catholic! The histories of France and Germany would lose many a chapter if we were to tear out of them all the pages that record the resistance made by Catholics to the claims of Rome, when Rome was incomparably more formidable on account of her political resources and interests than she is to-day. On the few occasions when in late years she did, on a greatly diminished scale, make essay to carry the conscience of a Catholic people the effort ended in dismal failure. Even docile Ireland proved intractable. The Veto project was killed by O'Connell and some other laymen who raised the country against it. In that agitation the Irish leader used an expression which is sure to be heard like a slogan if ever English-speaking people receive any political instructions from the Vatican: "We will take our religion, but we will not take our politics from Rome." That homely phrase is compendious history and safe prophecy. The attempt of the Pope during the Land League times failed in its purpose, but it struck the hardest blow ever given to the influence of the Irish clergy over the people.

If these things be done in the green wood, what would be done in the dry—in this country where the spirit of liberty and independence is the breath of our nostrils? It was very well known to American Catholics that, during the Spanish War, the sympathies of Rome were with our opponent. Our feeling on that point was, So much the worse for Rome! The Protestant minister who fancies that Papal sympathy with Spain would have the slightest influence on the patriotism of American Catholics knows his Catholic fellow countrymen only from books. I wish he had heard once or twice, as I have heard a hundred times, the curses not loud, but deep, with which Catholic laymen and even clergymen received the story that an American prelate resident in Rome during the Spanish War contributed to a fund started there to present a ship to the Spanish Government. If my readers will permit me to relate a personal recollection of that time, I would recall a conversation that I had, when the war was imminent, with a staunch Catholic of Irish blood who held a commission in a State regiment. The subject was precisely the duty of obedience to the Pope. He said that he would obey the Pope in everything; for, though at first sight he himself might not think that what the Pope ordered was right, yet, on second thought, he would see that the Pope was the better judge, and so he would accept the Pope's judgment in the matter. "Very well," I replied, "let us suppose that war will break out between us and Spain. The Pope will believe that the Catholic Church will suffer badly if Spain is beaten; so he will forbid all American Catholics, under pain of excommunication, to take part in the war. What will you do? Throw up your commission?" "What will I do?" he snorted back. "I'll tell the Pope to mind his own *blessed* business—then go out and help to give the Dagoes 'Hail Columbia.'" And he did. There spoke the lay spirit, as it spoke in Bruce and Howard and a thousand others in the past.

III.

Our Protestant friends who have provoked this discussion have, in their own way, imitated the methods of cloistered theologians who, on the support of Boniface and other Popes, set themselves to spinning out of books and their own brains cobwebs to control the mighty forces of life. They have considered the question of Catholic loyalty after the fashion of the doctrinaire who, starting

from some narrow principle, more or less incorrect, ignores every other qualifying principle or fact, and in this way arrives at a theoretical conclusion upon which the facts take their revenge by proving it to be ridiculous. The rulers of the Church frequently did not sufficiently discriminate between the constitution of the Church and the ideals and institutions of their own day. But by the process of living on and by the logic of facts, the spirit and essential supreme law of the Church's being obliged their successors to abandon the false or obsolete position: the divine endures, the human perishes. The old ideas and policies maintain themselves stubbornly, which gives color to the complaint that the Church is behind the age, as she is now said to be out of touch with democracy; and, indeed, it would seem that the ancient ideas of the age of absolutism and privilege still haunt her bureaucracy. But hopeful Catholics see in the lay spirit one of the Providential correctives for this human defect. American Catholics yield to none in their love for their Church. They love her so much, and they so thoroughly believe that her Founder endowed her with spiritual power entirely adequate to the discharge of her mission, that they listen reluctantly to the principle that she requires the support of the State to carry on her work. They believe that one of the achievements in store for American Catholicism is to demonstrate that the truest, best condition for the Church, in a world where neither statesmen nor churchmen are angels, is one of complete independence. They hope that, as a consequence of this object-lesson, future Papal teachings will exhibit no traces of the claim to the support of the secular arm for the spiritual interests of Him whose Kingdom is not of this world.

American Catholics keenly resent anything that savors of the intrusion of worldly methods or worldly motives into the administration of religious affairs. If the Protestant synods were inspired by the cunning of Mephistopheles, instead of inveighing against the loyalty of Catholics, they would set themselves to encourage Rome to coquette with our political men, to intrigue for political recognition of her Representative, to show herself willing to trade the things of God for the things of Cæsar. This would be the very shortest and surest way to hurt the spiritual authority of the Church in this country.

There is, however, no danger that Rome will be misled by any unwise or designing individuals or coteries to make any false step

in this direction, as Sixtus V was deluded into believing that the English Catholics would rise against Elizabeth at his bidding just as soon as the first Spanish ship touched English soil. Roman administrators will not allow themselves to make any serious miscalculations of the national temper from the boundless docility of the hierarchy. Rome knows, for instance, exactly what the recent sudden rise in the volume of Peter's Pence means; and has no illusions that ecclesiastical honors conferred on the clergy are taken by the laity as a sign of love for our country and its spirit. It will take years before that spirit will enjoy any favor in the eyes of the Curia; for before the Curia can overcome its suspicions and distrust of us, it must liberate itself from the domination of bygone ideals and open its eyes to the fact that if the Church is to win the future her victories must be won not in the salons and the chancelleries, but in the factories, the slums, the marts; not by silk-clad diplomatists, but by apostles among the people.

Thoughtful men among us have been gladdened by the various measures of Pius X, which indicate that he sees the necessity of liberating the Church from the burden of useless forms that survive in her machinery. Another measure is credited to Pius X, which will call forth the gratitude of Americans, even though it indirectly bears upon the relations between the Catholic Church here and the American people at large. This is his resolution to enforce in Italy his decree that the clergy must spend an hour every Sunday and holiday throughout the year in teaching the catechism to their people. The internal welfare of the Church here, and her reputation before the country, require that she absorb and assimilate the great volume of foreign Catholics which immigration is pouring on our shores, and by making them conscientious Catholics make them law-abiding citizens fit to enjoy and exercise American freedom. This duty to the State the Church is performing to the satisfaction of judicious public opinion.

A CATHOLIC LAYMAN.

WHITE SLAVES IN AFRICA.

A SAILOR'S STORY.

BY THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON.

THERE has come into my possession, among some old family papers, the authentic personal narrative, now about a century old, of one of the most picturesque and interesting explorers ever stranded from an American vessel on the desert coast of Africa. Becoming a captive alternatively of Moors and of negroes, and often changing masters, this man wandered on foot for nearly three years over a range of country then unexplored by white men, his footsteps extending more than a thousand miles and including that hitherto mysterious centre of African life, Timbuctoo. Ever since the sixteenth century, when Leo Africanus wrote his famous description of Africa, the tradition of this town had remained unconfirmed; and even Mungo Park, after reaching within fifteen days' journey of it, had left uncompleted the search in 1796 and died without the sight. It was in 1811 that it was first reached by the ignorant sailor whose narrative lies before me, dictated to a white friend, since he could neither read nor write. He had spent there nine months of his three years of African bondage, from which he was finally rescued by the combined action of the British and American consuls in the year 1812. After remaining for a time in Tangier, he went to Cadiz, and there became well known to an uncle of mine on my mother's side, Mr. Samuel Appleton Storrow, who was then travelling in that region and who was afterwards a citizen of Virginia, where he married into the well-known Carter family and held important public office at a later period. It is from his children that I have this manuscript. Storrow was interested, as were all who met this man, by his latent intelligence; so he wrote down with patience the narrative of an enslaved white man toiling over a half-desert Continent as a barefooted slave.

In later years the manuscript passed, somehow, through the hands of Jared Sparks, then Instructor in history in Harvard University, but not yet Professor, where it met the strange lot which was liable to befall the historic documents entrusted to that excellent man, and was dealt with as freely as were Washington's letters in the same hands, as will be remembered. The reprint of the manuscript, as it appeared in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for May and July, 1817, is so transformed as to be practically re-written; the sentences being rearranged and recombined, enlarged or contracted in a way common enough at that time among historians, from Bancroft downward, but now utterly discarded. Inasmuch as Sparks distrusted the sailor from the beginning, even upon statements since confirmed by later travellers, he had no inducement to be especially considerate, and he certainly was not.

The following parallel citation of the original manuscript and Sparks's modification will illustrate what I mean:

SPARKS.

"Our voyage was sufficiently favourable till the eleventh of October, when, being on the coast of Africa, as I think, near Cape Noon, in latitude about twenty-eight, the vessel stranded on a reef of rocks, projecting out from the continent."

"Being apprehensive that the ship herself might share the same fate, we threw ourselves into the water in order to swim to the land. We had no sooner reached the shore, than we were seized and made prisoners by a party of wandering Arabs, who had discovered us at a distance, and waited our approach. They rushed upon us, while we were yet in the water, and each one claimed as his own property the person, whom he had taken. We made some struggle, but without avail."

MANUSCRIPT.

"In the prosecution of this voyage nothing of moment occurred until the 11th of October, at which time being on the coast of Africa &, as I imagine, in the vicinity of Cape Noon, in latitude near 28, the vessel stranded on a reef of rocks running out from the Continent."

"Being apprehensive that the ship herself might share the same fate we threw ourselves into the water in order to swim to land, immediately on reaching which we were seized & made prisoners by a party of wandering Arabs, who had discerned us from a distance & awaited our approach. We were taken with some considerable struggle, each person seized falling to the lot of the seizer;—while yet in the water they rushed upon us, seized us by the hair & contended among themselves to gain & continue possession."

NARRATIVE.

"On the seventh day of May in the year 1810 sailed from New York for Gibraltar, the Ship "Charles," John Norton, Captain—in which I embarked as a common sailor—our complement was as follows, viz.:

John Norton—Master	James Davidson—Seaman
Stephen Dalby—Mate	Thomas Williams— "
Martin Clark—black man—cook	John Matthews— "
Unus—Newsum—Seaman	Nicholas —— — " a Swede
Robert Adams— "	—— Nielson— " — " &

Mr Peter Bogandus, supercargo. On the 12th of June we arrived at Gibraltar & remained there untill the middle of September, when we sailed for the Cape de Verde Islands with the same complement—the supercargo excepted. In the prosecution of this voyage nothing of moment occurred until the 11th of October, at which time, being on the coast of Africa &, as I imagine, in the vicinity of Cape Noon, in latitude near 28, the vessel stranded on a reef of rocks running out from the Continent. This disaster happened at about 6 o'clock in the morning, the darkness of the previous night & the haziness of the weather at the moment preventing us from knowing our nearness to the shore.

"The boats were immediately hoisted out but were dashed in pieces from the violence of the waves. Being apprehensive that the ship herself might share the same fate, we threw ourselves into the water in order to swim to land, immediately on reaching which we were seized & made prisoners by a party of wandering Arabs, who had discerned us from a distance and awaited our approach. We were taken with some considerable struggle, each person seized falling to the lot of the seizer; while yet in the water they rushed upon us, seized us by the hair & contended among themselves to gain & continue possession. The succeeding day, the 12th of October, the wind & sea abating—so that the vessel was left dry on the rocks,—the Arabs went on board, plundered her of everything worth taking & afterwards burnt her. Having done this, they made a distribution of us in lots, on which Dalby [mate of the vessel] & myself fell to the share of the same person. They had previously stripped us of our cloaths & we were compelled to follow them in their desultory wandering mode of life, entirely naked. They belonged to a wandering tribe in the interior & had now come, to the number of 30 or 40, to the sea coast to procure a miserable subsistence on fish. They seemed to have no object excepting that of mere existence & were most abjectedly wretched. We continued this sort of life roving from place to place along the shore for the space of a month—suffering excessively from the heat of the day & dews of the night, hunger & exhaustion; from the combined effect of which the Captain died. This took place while we were in our accustomed motion & gave the Arabs not the least thought or uneasiness—they threw the body on one side & there would have left it, had we not begged permission to bury it in the sand.

"After the above mentioned term had elapsed, the party separated

in order to go to their several places of rendezvous in the interior, taking with them their slaves. Myself & Dalby followed our master to a place in the district of Woled doleim, where was the encampment of the rest of his tribe. Our direction was South East,—easterly,—we travelled about —— days over a sandy country, & after passing about eighty miles arrived at the rendezvous—it was merely a small cluster of tents, containing perhaps 200 people. It was chosen as a place of encampment from the soil affording some little shrubbery & one or two wells of brackish water. Everything discovered their poverty, filth, ignorance & abject misery—they had some few camels & Jackasses, which it was my duty to attend; our food (Dalby & myself) consisted of a scanty allowance of barley flour & water, their own of the same with an occasional addition of camel's milk.

"After having remained in this place about two months (it being then to the best of my recollection the latter part of the month of January 1811), I found a party formed to proceed to a place called Soudeny for the purpose of stealing Negroes. This party consisted of about thirty, myself included—they were armed with short daggers, mounted on camels & supplied with Barley flour & Water as our only food. On leaving Woled Doleim we moved south east southerly, which direction we pursued untill the end of the journey; our way laid over a country entirely sandy, which afforded water, but in one instance & that when the soil had slightly changed its character from sandy to rocky, it was bitter & slimy. After having proceeded in this manner for eighteen days, at an average pace of about fifteen miles per day, we arrived at the mountains in the vicinity of Soudeny. These mountains are of Rock & Sand & in them we hid ourselves untill opportunity should offer to seize such Negroes as might be wandering that way.

"Thirteen days we remained in our concealment without effecting anything; on the fourteenth day the people of the town, becoming apprised of our nearness, came out in a body, attacked & made prisoners of our whole party & marched us into their settlement. Immediately after our seizure the Natives seemed aware of the existence of a difference between me & my masters, which they discovered by beating & maltreating them & leaving me untouched. For the first night we were all put into the same prison & in the morning myself alone released from it—the rest remained in strict confinement during the whole of our short stay in the place.

"The soil of the vicinity of the Soudanee was very much better than that we had passed over in our journey towards it—the town itself appeared to consist of thirty or forty scattered mud houses or rather huts containing perhaps 400 or 500 Inhabitants, who hold themselves subject to the king or Wooloo of Timbuctoo. They had several springs of good water, some vegetation & some little cultivation. I observed Date Trees, & another tree bearing a large & pleasant fruit—the name of which I did not learn—likewise guinea corn, Beans, Barley, a species of Artichoke & a small black grain called in their language *Moutre.* The place & its Inhabitants were dirty & miserable, but not to so great

an extent as were the Arabs—the children were generally naked—people of full age had a sort of cloathing in the form of a shirt, made of Wool & goats' hair, dyed blue—their arms were bows & arrows & I observed they were all marked by three scores on each cheek. I saw among them Horses, Cows, Goats, Sheep, Jackasses, Dogs, Dromedaries & Camels, all excepting the two latter animals were weak & miserable. This was the extent of the observation I was enabled to make in so short a stay, which was but a single day—at the end of which our whole party was ordered to Timbuctoo & thither proceeded under a guard of forty Negroes armed with bows & arrows. Our course was South East, which direction we continued for ten days at the rate of nearly twenty miles per day—our only rests were for a short time in the day—& in the night for sleep & food, which latter consisted of Moutre formed into a kind of Pudding & occasionally a few Ostrich Eggs, having met with the bird in our march. Our way lay over a country uneven in its face, & varying as to soil, sometimes affording shrubbery & sometimes sandy, in no part offering water or showing any marks of human existence or cultivated vegetable life. During the whole of this time my former masters were pinioned & closely guarded —I was left at large & walked in company with the Negroes or occasionally rested myself by mounting one of the camels. At the end of the tenth day we arrived at a miserable village of about fifteen mud huts, as many tents & perhaps 200 or 300 Inhabitants, who were the first human creatures we had seen since quitting Soudeny. They were naked & apparently much more abjectly miserable than the People of Soudeny,—they were distinguished by the loss of the cartilage of the nose & were not (as told me by the Arabs) subject to the Wooloo of Timbuctoo.

"Our stay there was but a day, after which we continued our march in the same direction, & after advancing for the space of two days arrived at a country materially better than the preceding. On proceeding farther the face of the country gradually ameliorated, offering frequent springs of good water, occasional villages, a better soil & a portion of cultivation.

"During the course of the fifth & sixth days the change was very material; we passed several villages, the Inhabitants of which seemed to enjoy some of the apparent comforts of life; everything seemed to denote a condition superior to that of any country through which I had hitherto passed. At the end of the sixth day our caravan arrived at its point of destination, the city of Timbuctoo—immediately on which myself & companions were thrown into prison, where I remained but for one night; the others did not leave it untill leaving the city. Having resided in this place, as will appear by the sequel, for a considerable length of time, & having had ample opportunity to ascertain, as far as lay within my own talent, the appearance of the city & customs, laws, commerce & resources of its Inhabitants, I will here narrate them faithfully—as they present themselves to my remembrance.

"Timbuctoo is built at the distance of about two hundred yards from

a river called by the natives Laparsire, & consists of probably not less than twelve thousand Inhabitants living in mud houses & generally enjoying a greater share of the comforts & necessaries of life than any other part of Africa that had at that time come under my observation. The houses, which are irregularly scattered over a space of [blank] acres, are not badly built—they are from thirty to seventy feet square, single storied & flat roofed—the sides are raised & supported without wood, being a cement composed of mud & straw. The partitions within are of the same, the rafters supporting the roof, which is of the like composition, are of the Date tree—in the whole fabric no use is made of Irons—each house has its apertures serving as windows without shutters. There appears no external difference between the different houses except in that of the Wooloo, which is more distinguished by its size than by any other quality. The Inhabitants are in air, shape & appearance very little different from those Africans commonly seen in Europe or America, excepting that their skins are of a more unvarying & deeper black; the same shape of legs & of features of the face with a general addiction to corpulency—particularly among the females. Their dress is the same among all ranks, with the slight difference that the shirt, the only garment worn, is among the poorer class blue, among the higher white; this article is occasionally manufactured of wool & goats' hair among themselves & occasionally bought of traders visiting the city from distant parts—some few wear a sort of slipper made of goat's or other skin. . . .

"In idleness of the most abject sort passed away the nine months spent in Timbuctoo, during which I generally received from the Natives that negative sort of kindness which their natures allowed them to give, but which, had it been superior, would have been embittered by the idea which always oppressed me, that I was never again to see my native country.

"At the end of the ninth month, a party of Moorish traders purchased of the Wooloo the whole party which had been taken prisoners at Soudeny, for the amount of sixteen pounds of tobacco per man, the Moors, their countrymen, were bought to be restored to freedom and myself to my former condition as their slave.

"In the early part of the month of December, 1811 (as nearly as I could imagine), our caravan left Timbuctoo—it consisted of fifteen camels & about fifty persons, comprising the purchasers, purchased, myself & a few Negro slaves. Our destination was Taudeny, to arrive at which we pursued two different directions, the one angular to the other. In the first eight days we followed the course of the river, which was due East, leading us over a good country, partially cultivated & interspersed with occasional settlements, the Inhabitants of which were employed in the same sort of agriculture as those of Timbuctoo. During this time we moved at the rate of 16 or 17 miles per day & had consequently ascended the river to the extent of 130 or 140 miles, yet even at that point the diminution in width & depth was not sufficient to induce a belief that double or treble that distance would

reach to its source. At the end of the 8th day we halted at a small village of huts about two miles distant from the river; & as from this place we were to take a new direction & change a comparatively hospitable country for a waste of sand, we remained in it four days to refresh the camels by grazing & prepare them for the labor they were about to undertake.

"At the expiration of our term of rest the caravan resumed its march in a direction, as nearly as my recollection serves, about North, north west, having the river directly in the rear. Settlements & cultivation seemed to be confined to a narrow district bordering on the river—for immediately on quitting it every trace of animal or vegetable life disappeared; we immediately entered on an immense waste of sand, equally hostile to the one & the other—it afforded no water nor, with the exception of a very little burnt shrubbery on which the camels sometimes browsed, did we find anything, in our journey from the River to Taudeny, connected with existence or the common means of preserving it. My sole subsistence was a scanty portion of barley & water taken once a day—that of my masters was but little beyond it. The heat of the sun & of the sand, exhaustion from lack of food & from labor, rendered me in a short time unable to walk—when absolutely unable to move I was allowed to relieve myself for a short time by mounting one of the camels. At the end of the fourth day a negro child, slave to the caravan, died of hunger, thirst & fatigue;—immediately on its death its body was thrown away without the least regard. . . . On the course of the march one of the camels died of exhaustion; a portion of his flesh served us for food. In this manner did we continue our journey, in the direction originally assumed, for the term of ten days—going each day at a rate of 12 or 14 miles—when at the end of the tenth we arrived at Taudeny, of which we were a little apprised by an elevation of the ground & a slight amelioration of the soil.

"Taudeny is a miserable village of 50 or 60 huts containing apparently about 600 Inhabitants, including Strangers, of whom many resort there in Caravans for purposes of trade. The traffic is considerable, it being a rendezvous from many different places. It is governed, as I understood, by a Sheik appointed by the Wooloo of Timbuctoo to whom the place is tributary, & must have been selected as a place of settlement from its soil being better than the deserts of sand which surround it & affording one or two springs of good water—it likewise contains Salt Mines. In every respect, except the difference of size, Taudeny is the same as Timbuctoo—in manners, refinement & comfort there was no apparent difference. My masters being engaged in traffic we remained in this place four days, during which I was employed in attending the camels & preparing them for the labor they had yet to undertake. At the commencement of the 5th day our caravan renewed its march, with a destination as I understood for Heligobla. On leaving Taudeny we pursued a North west course & immediately entered on a plain of burning sand—of a character still more horrid

than that we had passed. The allotted time for the journey being twelve days, we had placed on the camels twelve skins of water (goat skins)—one for each day—but on the second after our departure had the misfortune to burst two of them, in consequence of which we were obliged to diminish our miserable allowance & to mix it, small as it was, with the urine of the camels.

"Throughout the ten first days of this journey nothing could exceed the extent of the sufferings of myself & fellow slaves from heat, hunger, thirst & exhaustion. At the first dawn of light, the caravan commenced its march—the Moors having previously made their morning devotions —throughout the day our motion continued—at the setting of the sun we halted & received our scanty allowance of food. After this we stretched ourselves on the sand to sleep—to effect which we were always obliged to remove the upper body [garment]—the daily power of the sun impregnating it with such an excessive heat as to prevent the least repose if laying upon it. During the day the Moors directed their course by the Sun;—in this dreary waste, where nothing of vegetable or animal life appears, where the eye rests but on the sky above it & an ocean of sand about it, nothing but the Sun remains by which a daily course & direction can be observed.

"On the fourth day one of the Jackasses, which had been purchased at Taudeny, died of thirst & exhaustion, not having tasted water since leaving that place; we ate nearly all his flesh on the night of his death. On the seventh day died two negro boys, slaves brought from Timbuctoo, their privations, sufferings & death were the same as those of the woman & child before mentioned. On the eighth day died one of our Camels, who had been without water since leaving Taudeny.

"On the tenth day of this horrid existence, when nature seemed to be sinking within me, our eyes were greeted by the distant view of a change of soil, a rising ground & some little verdure. On reaching it we were partially relieved from the heat of the sand, & on the eleventh after passing a few tents regaled ourselves at a spring of good water. No one, who has not experienced like miseries, can realize the comfort which we at that moment received! On the twelfth day we reached Heligobla, the point of our destination. On arrival there I found that, on quitting Taudeny, we had left the whole of the negro territory & were now in the country of the wandering & most savage Moors.

"Heligobla is, like many other encampments of this sort of people, not a place of fixed residence, but merely a well round which tents are pitched; when the herbage in the neighborhood is exhausted by the animals grazing upon it, the tribe migrates to some little distance; when the same takes place in the spot to which they are now removed, they change to another, keeping themselves always in the vicinity of the well. The tribe consisted of about 200 persons—men, women & children inclusive, inhabiting 30 or 40 tents—they are Mahometans & as strict in religious duties as in Tangier or elsewhere. They have but little cloathing & that tattered & filthy—their faces are nearly black, their Hair long & of the same color, their faces & persons squalid

& dirty, & their customs & manners of the most brutal & cruel sort. They do not cultivate the ground but subsist entirely on dates & the milk & occasionally (tho' very rarely) the flesh of camels & goats, of which they rear a great number & occasionally sell them to the passing caravans. They are self governed, being commanded by a Shiek from their own number; their language is Arabick. In everything that is desirable, in all the necessaries & comforts of life, in civilization & humanity, they are much inferior to the negroes of Timbuctoo & elsewhere.

"After fourteen days' stay in this unhappy spot, I found that my master had sold me to the Shiek of the place for two camels & two bags of dates. The caravan moved onward & left me with my new master—in whose service I immediately commenced my labors, which consisted in attending & serving the camels & goats. In this employment was I confined six months without comfort & without change; my food, which consisted of goat's milk and water, was given me in a scanty allowance twice a day—my labor was incessant & unaccompanied by kindness or commiseration. The people seemed to consider injury to me as a benefit to themselves, for I received from them nothing but continued beating & insult; among their own number they were apparently satisfied with their miserable life & occasionally merry; to slaves of all descriptions they were morose & severe, but to Christians in particular they seemed most wretchedly cruel. After enduring this sad existence for the space of six months I was sold by the Shiek to one of a Caravan of Woledabusbak traders passing thro' Heligobla on their way to Lagassa (or Heligassa). I immediately commenced the journey with them to the place of their destination—the course was north west, westerly, which we continued for fifteen days at the rate of [blank] or [blank] miles per day—passing over a country infinitely better than the sandy desert from Taudeny to Heligobla—the ground was uneven, occasionally covered with low shrubbery & affording water in one or two places. We met with one or two Moorish encampments, & at the end of the fifteenth day arrived at Lagassa. This place is in every respect resembling Heligobla; the same selection of a spot in consequence of its affording water, the same migration round it, the same habits & mode of life, the same destitution of good feeling & principle are in common to them both. . . . This was the first people among whom I found (since my captivity) silver & gold known as a circulating medium—this was the result of their connexion with Traders from Wadnoon & its vicinity.

"After having remained in this place for the space of two days I was sold to a Shiek of Wadnoon for the sum of 60 dollars & immediately followed my new master to the district to which he belonged. Our course was north east, northerly, which we continued for fifteen days moving very slowly & occasionally stopping for purposes of trade. . . . We passed several encampments & met many travellers. I likewise observed several small flocks of Deer & Antelopes—at the end of the fifteenth day we arrived at Wadnoon. Nothing could exceed my sur-

prise when on entering this place I found there four of the crew of the 'Charles'—prisoners like myself. The reason of their all being centered here, although their original destination was different, was the importance & wealth of the city of Wadnoon, which made it a rendezvous for slaves from many quarters. . . .

"In this place I remained, together with my fellow slaves, for twelve months, subject throughout to the same master that had brought me thither; my employment was labor in the gardens & fields, eating once & sometimes twice a day of barley & water & dates—but of this so scantily as to oblige me for the mere support of nature to steal everything like food, which I could lay my hands on—not however without fear of punishment, under which in blows & abuse I suffered daily. During the course of this time, four months after my arrival, Dalby, the former mate of the 'Charles,' who was slave to the son of my master, finding himself exhausted by labor & privation, declared himself unable to perform some duty which was assigned to him; at this his master became exasperated, & stabbed him with his dagger so that he died almost immediately. To protect his wretched remains from the dogs myself & the rest of my fellow slaves buried him—under the sad idea that any one of us might for the same slight provocation share the same fate.

"A few months afterwards my three surviving fellow prisoners, becoming exhausted under incessant beating, insult & privation, declared their intention of escaping them by becoming Mahometans—which unhappy determination they put into effect & were consequently circumcised and placed on the same footing as the people of the country. After this my life became doubly wretched; my master, being desirous that I should follow the example of the others in the change of religion, endeavoured to prevail upon me so to do by continued persuasion & the most abusive and insupportable treatment. So severe was it that my nature must have sunk under it, had not at the end of one or two months a person appeared empowered by the consuls of the United States & of Great Britain at Mogadore to purchase such Christians as might be found in that district. After some length of time spent in bargaining, I found to my unspeakable delight that the purchase of me was effected for the sum of $105 & myself at liberty to pursue my journey with the purchaser to Mogadore. The sad resolution taken by my fellow captives prevented them from sharing with me this happiness. After one year's miserable residence at Wadnoon I commenced my journey to Mogadore in company with my purchaser & after five days' march in a West, north west direction, making a distance of about 150 miles over a country resembling that of the vicinity of Wadnoon, arrived at Santa Cruz, or as it is called by the Moors Agadeer, on the sea coast—from thence I walked on the sea shore three days—at the end of which, in the latter part of the month of August of the year 1812, I arrived at Mogadore.

Of the later history of this poor American seaman, it is only

known that he went finally from Cadiz to London, where he at first appeared almost as a beggar and afterwards became temporarily a hero, with eminent scholars and public men to hear and applaud his reminiscences. In telling his story over and over again, a year or two later, he undoubtedly made unconscious variations, as all illiterate men are liable to do. His story was told and retold, culminating in a large quarto book entitled "The Narrative of Robert Adams, a Sailor, who was Wrecked on the Western Coast of Africa in the Year 1810, was Detained Three Years in Slavery by the Arabs of the Great Desert, and Resided several Months in the City of Timbuctoo." The preface to the printed book is dated April 30th, 1816, this being two years later than that of the manuscript now before me, which was written out in 1814 by Mr. Storrow. It certainly is not strange that variations would have been made in so long a narrative after an interval of nearly two years; but, as to main facts, the tale has borne the test of time and will remain as a graphic testimony to the earliest condition of Western Africa.

THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON.

A PERMANENT TARIFF AND EFFICIENT REVENUE SYSTEM.

ELASTIC AND ADJUSTABLE, PRECLUDING REVISION, POLITICS AND TREASURY DEFICITS.

BY COL. WILLARD FRENCH

It may safely be said that both the Congress and the country are heartily tired of tariff revision. The result of the months of work, the preceding popular agitation, the accompanying business stagnation, will be heralded from the stump in coming campaigns, from many different view-points; but whether we join with one to pronounce it an outrage and a farce—as most tariff revisions are, from some outlooks—or with another, to claim that through much tribulation the makers have entered the Kingdom of Heaven, with a tariff well done by good and faithful servants, fulfilling every campaign promise relied upon by the people who rolled up the Republican majorities, we shall all admit that business—the country—has suffered more from uncertainty, from frantic efforts to obtain or combat, from fear and stagnation, due to the tariff revision, than if it had passed through a panic —or a national election. We shall all agree that tariff revision —however the tariff is revised—is an outrage and an intolerable nuisance.

Better and better we comprehend that an effort to produce a bill which shall be, at once, a protective tariff and a tariff for revenue, must result in outrage to some, oppression to some, and antagonism from many; for in the nature of it, it cannot be otherwise. The two ends in view are so different that their aims are almost diametrically opposite. An effective protective tariff must reduce importation to the minimum—if it falls short of being absolutely prohibitive. A tariff for revenue must, on the contrary,

induce importation in order to be productive. The original design of a tariff, as authorized by the Constitution, was for revenue only. It is true that Alexander Hamilton's desire was to prevent the patronage of foreign productions, and make the United States produce all that it consumed; but the Constitution plainly authorizes a tariff for revenue, and nothing more. It has more than once been urged, and not without support, that a protective tariff—a tariff for protection—was unconstitutional. It is only by warping, more or less, the apparent intent of the general welfare clause, that a roundabout permission may be extracted; however, the Supreme Court has more than once indirectly admitted that protection in the tariff was allowable, and the practice of a hundred years renders constitutional objection futile. But the question is yet more effectively met by the forceful suggestion of Senator Sutherland, of the Judiciary, that of necessity the United States has the inherent rights of a sovereign nation, in dealing with other nations, wholly outside of the Constitution. We have the unquestionable right, and have exerted it, to prohibit certain products of foreign nations from coming into our ports at all. We have equal right to dictate upon what terms and conditions foreign products shall come, as the act of a Sovereign Nation; distinct from the delegated powers of the Federal Government in dealing with the States and the people of the States.

Protection began long ago, in the paternal effort to develop infant industries. It has grown with the industries. It has been a constantly increasing essential element. Equally the demands for increased revenue have grown, and more and more, with each tariff revision, injustice, oppression, discrimination, have been apparent and necessary, in efforts to combine in one bill the two conflicting interests.

If we were a nation with but a few possible industries, relying upon the importation of foreign products for many of the necessities and most of the luxuries of life, it would be possible to afford those industries ample protection for development and still derive sufficient revenue from foreign importation for all practical purposes of government. But when, in our infinite resources, we do—or can—produce everything which the brain of man can conceive or his body utilize, a bill which shall protect without discrimination and at the same time afford a revenue,

is a preposterous impossibility. The frantic effort which has just been made to accomplish this impossibility will probably cost the Republican party some of its strength at the next election—just as a tariff revision a few years ago cost the Democratic party more than it was able to pay. It will doubtless be shouted from the campaign rostrum, that the leaders of the party in power, in framing this bill, are guilty of all kinds of prejudiced purposes, and many will believe it. But whether it is true or false, it is an indisputable fact that in the whole history of tariff legislation there never was such an amount of work performed as stands to the credit of the framers of the present bill. It is absolutely true, and the public will realize it better and better with each succeeding effort, that no possible combination of men could frame a tariff bill to meet the conflicting interests in the United States to-day, and in the same bill realize a revenue adequate to the increasing demands upon the treasury.

With every lapse of years between tariff revisions the conflicting claims have made the task more difficult and the result more obnoxious, and that condition must continue and steadily increase till the limit is reached and we abandon the effort to combine in one tariff bill these two antagonistic measures.

The fact is apparent that our tariff system—like many of our great systems—is largely makeshift; the offspring of the mother of invention. It is a prop which was put under the nation when limited productions rendered it possible for protection to develop infant industries, without effecting the necessities of the Government. To-day both the industries and the necessities have reached a point where the effort, if it were not so serious, would be absurd. "Infant industries" is a term which has served its day and generation, and should have been pensioned and sent home long ago. The system of protection has established a standard of prosperity among the laboring classes unrivalled in the world, and one which this nation is and always will be bound to sustain. No industry, simply gauged by years or development, has outlived the right to proper protection from foreign competition—a right established by the conditions created under the system of protection. Neither should any new or immaterial industry which is capable of holding its own or expanding, be left without the same adequate protection. It is no longer a Republican doctrine. It is the doctrine of the United States. It

is the doctrine which has given the laborer of this country such stupendous advantage over his fellows everywhere else in the world—unless, perhaps, New Zealand, profiting by our blunders and improving on our experiments, might take issue along the same lines. It is the doctrine which results, to-day, in wages that are double and treble the wages paid for the same labor in Europe, and the resultant improvement in the mental, moral and physical condition of our laborers. Where the tariff has been manipulated to permit of exorbitant profits it has been wrong and oppressive, and by a practical and scientific tariff system such wrongs can be and must be righted. But the principle of protection is here to stay. No true American would see our laboring classes return to the conditions of Europe. The doctrine is the doctrine of the nation, and it will always be the doctrine of the nation as long as laboring classes exist.

We have laughed over the denomination of the tariff as a local issue, but it is a local issue. It is thousands of local issues. Every schedule in it is a local issue, and the thousands of issues combined make the national issue—only they do not combine. They conflict. They will continue to conflict as long as there is discrimination—just as long as protection fails of being a universal principle, consistently applied. And it cannot be universal while the necessity remains for extracting any material revenue —as compared with the colossal demands—from the same bill.

The principle of protection propounded by President Taft, is broad and comprehensive and just. It is one which would be accepted by the great majority of Democrats and Republicans, alike, if universally applied. It is the principle that the duty should measure the difference between the cost of a foreign product at our doors and the cost of the same product at home, with a fair profit allowed for the home producer. It is perfectly competent for Congress to establish that principle as the basis of all tariffs and to make it universally applicable. The result of such action would be the permanence of industry, the permanence of the present standard of prosperity of labor and security to every new industry capable of development in this country. A tariff based upon this principle could never discriminate or become oppressive to any consumer. By it, every article coming directly or indirectly from the soil and which can be reproduced, would receive adequate protection to encourage its production—

no more; no less. Every article manufactured, every product of the country, would receive the same protection. No more. No less. It would be absolutely guaranteed, without fear of tariff revision or complication through political revolution. It is very easily possible of accomplishment. A joint resolution by the Congress, to that effect, is all that is required.

During the debates of the extra session many hints were thrown out and some propositions openly advocated, aiming at a tariff bureau or commission, to perform the duties which would develop in at least approximating such a tariff condition. It would be unfortunate, however, if any of the theories as yet advanced should be adopted, for bureaus and commissions are fast becoming a curse to the country and it would be a pity to increase them. It is unnecessary and ought not to be. There need never again be a tariff revision, and under this system there never could be. The work would be constant, but never massed in mountains. It could easily be accomplished by legitimate committees of the Senate and the House. If the Congress has tariff experts capable of revising the entire tariff, with all its eccentricities and deviations, under the present erratic lack of system and impossible complications, in less than a year, it surely has material for standing committees to investigate the occasional applications for attention which it would receive. Such committees should be authorized to meet in joint session to consider evidence, whenever a hearing is asked, and hearings should always be possible to any who would develop a new industry and desired protection, to any where changed conditions rendered their protection inadequate, and to any who could bring evidence that one industry or another was over-protected and taking advantage of it to secure undue profits. After gathering all of the information possible upon the matter under consideration, it would be reported to the two houses, discussed and acted upon in the ordinary way, on the simple and established principle, resulting in an elastic and constantly adjustable tariff, applied to every industry alike and incapable of being brought into political issue or popular agitation. Only, it would preclude the possibility of deriving, through import duties, anything like the amount required by the Government to meet the demands upon the treasury.

Acknowledging our evident approach to this sometime cer-

tainty, many of our statesmen have admitted the possibility that the present tariff will fail to be a sufficient revenue-producer, and have suggested various means for meeting the prospective deficit. The inheritance tax, and other forms of taxation have been ably discussed, always with material objections and always with doubt as to how much they could be made to produce. The Senate has appointed a committee on the budget with a view to adjusting revenues and expenditures, and the leaders have earnestly declared their determination to inaugurate an era of rigid economy, to reduce the expenses of the Government to whatever point becomes necessary by the reduced revenues.

All this is practical wisdom in personal affairs, but strained economy is not an invariable blessing to a nation; neither will any material reduction ever be, for long, possible to a Congress which has already developed billion-dollar sessions, in keeping pace with the prosperity and progress of the nation. There are obvious ways in which comparatively small sums can be saved and ought to be saved, whether there is a surplus or a deficit in the treasury. There is not a Senator on the floor but knows of some preposterous appropriations, but if every foolish expenditure were eradicated the saving would not amount to $20,000,000, while it is estimated that in the next fiscal year the deficit may reach $160,000,000. The colossal expenses of our army and navy might attract some economist—especially if he realized that we, the ideal peace nation of the earth, are to-day expending upon war, past, present and future, more than seventy per cent. of our entire revenue; but as one of our wisest statesmen recently remarked, "The country is navy mad," and no material reduction will be made in those appropriations. The efforts to enforce economy will be along other lines—lines where, to the minds of some, present economy means future detriment to the nation.

Economy for the individual is wise, whether constrained by necessity or not, for by it he safeguards the future. Economy for the Government, along lines of public works, where the economy will be practised if at all, to any appreciable effect, is penny wisdom and should not be tolerated. It will only result in impoverishing the future.

The nation is not poor, irrespective of the state of the treasury. The cry that we must live within our income, is a false cry, for the income is precisely what Congress decides to make it. It ought

not to be conceivable that "the greatest legislative body on the earth" can be composed of men who would wantonly, recklessly, waste the public money, and that being the case, exactly the opposite is true of the public family which is true of the private family; to wit, wise and proper expenditures should be the criterion; the *outgo* should regulate the *income;* in cutting the garment according to the cloth *expenditures* should be the *cloth,* and *receipts* the garment, cut accordingly. The claim that the tariff, revised to meet the demands, has reduced the revenue and that therefore the expenditures of the Government must be curtailed—except in cases of appropriations which ought never to have been made and ought to be curtailed, irrespective of the treasury—is the surest way in the world to retard the prosperity of the country many fold the amount saved by the economy. The necessity for the conservation of our natural resources is very great. The benefit of a gigantic system of inland waterways will be inestimable. Our rivers and harbors, if treated regardless of cost, would advance immeasurably the revenues of commercial interests. Our merchant marine has languished and died as the effect of national penuriousness. Public improvements are private blessings, incalculable. Millions upon millions ought to be expended by the Government, with a free hand, and that quickly, in restoring or creating every facility for development demanded by the present and the obvious requirements of the future. The nation was never so rich or so well able to make the expenditures as to-day, and every dollar expended means many times the amount in increase of values and the prosperity of the country; and will bring ample return in the increased earning capacity of home industries. To say that because we have voluntarily reduced our present source of income we must therefore forego all this, for virtuous economy's sake, is the twaddle of the nursery, and yet it is the talk of the Senate of the United States. All because tariff revision has at last reached a limit where it must be admitted that it is no longer possible to combine protection and revenue in the same bill, and because protection is proving the stronger claim of the two.

To patch up the difference, the inheritance tax, the private income tax, an inter-state commerce tax, national economy, a budget committee, etc., are suggested; all of them vexing, uncertain, inquisitorial, discriminating, and doubtful as to results

and, worst of all, all of them are but makeshift propositions, to temporarily support a makeshift tariff system. If the tariff system should be placed upon a perpetual, scientific basis, of universal and equitable application, the revenue therefrom would cease to be the criterion of the nation's ability to make necessary appropriations for the public welfare. It would become much like the revenue of the Post-Office, supporting the machinery of that department, with an immaterial surplus, in the case of the customs. Makeshift measures, producing a few uncertain millions, would no longer be adequate. It would necessitate and involve a practical, rational and scientific system of permanent and efficient taxation—which, like the stable tariff system, would prove a great blessing to the whole country. Such a system is not only possible but, from the distinct authority given to the Congress, in the welfare clause of the Constitution, to the conditions of to-day, and especially to the conditions which would exist under a permanent tariff for protection, everything suggests the direction of such a tax.

The necessity of a specific bond issue, for specific permanent improvements—not short-term loans, to bridge temporary deficits by another makeshift—following the general system of many of the nations of Europe, laying the greater part of the burden, of course, upon the future, which will receive the greater part of the benefit, is rational, though not upon the plan of pay-as-you-go, favored by our fathers, under very different conditions from the present—a legacy to which we cling as to a divine commission. The bond issue will some day be adopted, and will greatly relieve the heavy drain upon the present for the benefits it confers on posterity. But there will still remain the current expenses of Government which will constantly increase with the growth and prosperity of the nation, and which should be met by a permanent and efficient system of taxation. For this revenue the justice of reciprocation points to the protected industries of the country. They are the signal beneficiaries both of the sacrifice necessitated by the protective principle and of the progressive expenditures. Nor would the burden be a heavy one, even upon the pay-as-you-go policy of to-day and the present enormous revenues demanded. If every corporation and protected industry—of course excepting the retail purveyors of products to the people—were taxed upon its net income—which should be gauged by the amount

of its dividends, the amount of its surplus and the amounts paid in salaries that are in excess of $5,000—a rate of between two and three cents on the dollar would, last year, have produced more money than the entire revenue from the customs, with the treasury deficit added. It would be the easiest possible tax to collect, the least open to fraud, the most reliable as to amount, and the tax most directly just, on principles of reciprocation. It would be a tax which would automatically increase with the growth of the country, responding at once to its increasing prosperity, thus keeping natural pace with the growing demands upon the Government. It is the only practical way to reach the dividends on the vast amount of American securities owned, or for sinister motives held abroad, and—which is really an important consideration—it would reach, effectively, without the possibility of fraud, in a very large proportion of its entire amount, the colossal fortunes which have been the objects of the income tax and inheritance tax propositions.

These various fortune-hunting tax theories which have been propounded as props to the present system, have generally carried an effort, for one reason or another, to exempt small fortunes from the tax; necessitating an inquisition, by the tax collector, into the private affairs of every citizen, for proof that his entire income did not reach four or five thousand dollars. With the proposed system the same end, if desirable, can be reached without inquisition, without the enormous expense to the Government and the eternal temptation to fraud, by the simple provision that any one holding securities subject to the tax, has but to prove, as an individual and at his own volition, that his entire income was less than the sum fixed, in order to receive from the Government a rebate of the amount which the corporation paid on his individual holding.

Such a universal tax would not only be automatic in its increase, but elastic, like the tariff; capable, any year, of a slight increase or decrease in rate, according to the demands upon the treasury; while the very conditions and nature of it, as with the tariff would place it wholly beyond autocratic, plutocratic or political chicanery; and neither the tariff nor the question of revenue could ever again disturb the stability of enterprise; forestalling the one cry which is sure to be made against the proposition, that relying upon corporations for revenue would result, in no time, in

placing the Government at the mercy of the corporate interests, to run it as they chose. How could they do it? What could they do with it? What would be the benefit they could derive? The revenues must necessarily meet the expenditures; and the tax, established by law, could not be discriminatory. But history itself is a better reply. A very large amount of the nation's revenue, to-day, is derived from the tax on liquor and tobacco. Those interests are seldom heard from in the course of legislation; but if there are interests in America which have attempted—or to any extent succeed in the attempt—to own and manipulate the Government, it is distinctly those which have received unlimited protection, through which they have obtained enormously undue profits, without affording the Government, in return, any material reciprocation whatsoever.

On the contrary, it is much more probable that with established, universal protection, and established, universal taxation, the "Interests" becoming, themselves, practically universal, would be the strongest supporters of good government and universal justice in all matters pertaining to the progress and prosperity of the nation.

WILLARD FRENCH.

THE JAPANESE MERCHANT MARINE.

BY EDWIN MAXEY, PROFESSOR OF PUBLIC LAW AND DIPLOMACY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA.

AMONG the great questions of the twentieth century is, and will be, the control of the Pacific. That the question of the balance of power in Asia has assumed vastly greater importance than that of the balance of power in Europe and is the pivot about which the world politics of the twentieth century will revolve, is simply another way of saying that the Pacific will be the stage on which the drama of twentieth-century politics will be played. Notwithstanding the frequent rumors of war, it is a reasonably safe prediction that for several years the struggle for the dominance of the Pacific will be commercial, not naval; that the nation which secures the lead in the commercial struggle will have a tremendous advantage in the political and in the naval contest, if there should be one.

In the struggle for commercial supremacy, Japan is sure to be an important factor; and, so far as can be judged from the present outlook, she will be our most formidable competitor. It is also certain that means of communication will play a large part in the contest and perhaps decide its issue. Such being the case, it is fitting that we study carefully what Japan has been doing to strengthen this arm of her service. As her advance in this line has not been due to chance, but to steady, methodical efforts, it may be that we have something to learn from a study of her methods.

The Japanese Merchant Marine has had a most peculiar history—a history which illustrates many interesting truths with reference to the development of merchant navies. Among other things, it emphasizes the fact that a short-sighted legislative policy may dwarf an industry for which the country has the

greatest natural advantage and for which its people have a natural aptitude; also that a strong national sentiment is no mean factor in furthering industrial growth, whether upon sea or upon land.

In the thirteenth century, the Japanese had, for that time, a very respectable merchant fleet. They had regular lines of large ships running to China, Annam, Siam and the Philippine Islands. They even had lines to England, Holland and other European countries. There was nothing strange in this, for the Japanese are naturally, by virtue of their geographical location, a seafaring folk. That they should become a commercial people is no more strange than that the English should, for the relative position of the two countries with reference to the adjoining continents is strikingly similar.

The strange factor in the situation is that the government should have allowed itself to be driven, under the stress of foolish impulse, to enact laws which would prohibit the people from letting their national energies find expression in a manner manifestly advantageous. But such is what happened. For, in the sixteenth century, the government, in order to effect the isolation of the country, suppressed by strong edicts all kinds of seafaring. These edicts forbade the building of ships, and even went to the fanatical extent of ordering the destruction of those already in existence. So thoroughly were these orders enforced that the Japanese merchant marine, within a short time, was practically wiped out. The progress of centuries in winning their way upon the ocean was suppressed to the degree that only in the rarest cases was there left the keel of a Japanese ship or imperial junk to plough the waters of the high seas. A policy more at variance with economic interests and national life could not well be imagined.

Yet, however disastrous this policy proved temporarily, it could not permanently root out the naval spirit of this island people. Difficult as this would be under any circumstances, it was rendered particularly so in this case by the fact that, at the time it was attempted, the means of internal communication had not been developed. To such an extent was this true, that, for communication between many parts of the same island and between one island and another, the sea was a necessity. The situation then resolved itself into this: isolation would have to be carried to the extent of cutting the country up into a great many petty states, each

isolated from the other as well as from the rest of the world, or else sea-traffic would have to be permitted for certain purposes. The Japanese had not so far departed from their usually practical instincts as not to choose the latter alternative.

This served as an opening wedge; for, once an active coasting-trade was developed, a long step had been taken toward the repeal of the laws interdicting foreign commerce. The final result came about in this way—the ships used in the coasting trade were owned by some of the most influential citizens of Japan; and, as there were seasons of the year when these ships would either have to be used in foreign commerce or lie idle, the pressure was too strong for the government to resist. The old navigation laws, or rather anti-navigation laws, were repealed. In a contest between mere prejudices and substantial national interests the former may be supreme for a time, but ultimately the latter must triumph or the nation become a negligible factor both in influence and achievement.

But, unfortunately, the repeal of the laws did not wipe out their evil effects. For this a considerable time was required, since the operation of those laws had naturally enough resulted in a lack of seamen. Thus the revival in the Japanese navy lagged considerably behind the legislation which made the revival possible. The zeal and effectiveness with which the Japanese went to work to overcome this handicap is one evidence of their right to a position among the first-class powers and a proof that they are a remarkable people.

To what extent the United States, acting through the expedition of Commodore Perry, is responsible for this change in Japanese national policy it is hard to say. The change might, and probably would, have come about in any case; but that it hastened the change is not open to question. Nor did our influence in this direction end with the expedition of Commodore Perry. The friendly assistance given by the United States in securing for Japan more favorable commercial treaties with the rest of the world was by no means an unimportant factor in increasing her foreign commerce, and thus furnishing an incentive for the increase of her merchant navy.

By 1879, Japan had 166 steamers with an aggregate tonnage of 42,760 tons, and 714 sailing-vessels aggregating 27,550 tons. She had by this time developed shipyards in which their sailing-

vessels were built, but the modern steamers had to be purchased abroad. As will be noticed from the number of the ships and their tonnage, the ships were still very small—the 166 steamers having almost exactly the same tonnage as the two steamers built a few years ago for the American merchant marine (the "Minnesota" and "Dakota," which have a tonnage of 21,000 each), and the combined tonnage of the 714 sailing-vessels being but five times that of the "Thomas W. Lawson," a recently built American sailing-vessel. But, small as they were, these vessels formed the nucleus about which a merchant fleet was very rapidly built up. The increasing desire for naval expansion and the increased power to expand, consequent upon the marvellous industrial awakening of the country, constituted a twofold force before which all obstacles gave way. It is significant that although up to 1890 the bulk of Japan's steamers had to be purchased abroad, mostly in England, while the sailing-vessels could be built in their own yards, the difference in expense did not prevent the Japanese merchant marine from showing about the same ratio of increase between steam and sail tonnage as the merchant marines of the other nations of the world.

The first regular line of communication between Japan and the open ports of China and Korea, since the inauguration of the new *régime,* was established in 1884-5. Now there are thirteen regular lines to China and three to Korea. Two regular lines of steamers were established between Kobe and Tsingtau, one making trips every fortnight and the other every three weeks. Between 1902 and the breaking out of the Russo-Japanese war, a regular line was operating between Tsugara and Vladivostok. Previous to this there had been Japanese lines between other parts of Japan and Vladivostok, and some idea of the rapid development of their traffic may be had from the following statistics. In 1895, there were engaged in this trade but seven Japanese ships of an aggregate tonnage of 8,420 tons, while in 1900 the number had increased to sixty-three with a tonnage of 67,273 tons—an eightfold increase, while during the same period the total tonnage engaged in the world's commerce with Vladivostok had barely trebled. That the Japanese lines between Kobe and Tsingtau are more than holding their own in competition with the German lines between these two ports is lamented by a German authority who submits the following figures: in 1902, of the shipping be-

tween these two harbors, the German lines had a tonnage of about 8,000 and the Japanese 7,500, while in 1903 the tonnage of the Japanese lines had increased to 28,145 tons and the Germans to 20,000.

By 1902, about ten per cent. of the coasting trade of Korea had passed to the Japanese merchant fleet; and, in the traffic with the harbors of Northern China, the Japanese flag covered the bulk of the commerce—in fact, it had almost exclusive control. In 1903, there went from Kobe to North China ports seven foreign steamers with an aggregate tonnage of 12,167 tons, and 137 Japanese steamers with an aggregate tonnage of 152,927 tons. During the same year, there were no foreign ships engaged in the traffic between Japan and Korea, while 103 Japanese steamers, with an aggregate tonnage of 58,753 tons, plied between the ports of the two countries. Thus the traffic between Japan and Korea had by 1903 become in effect a part of the Japanese coasting trade. Within ten years their tonnage had increased from one-half of one per cent. of the world's total tonnage to three per cent.

The growth of the Japanese merchant navy is shown by the following table taken from the report of the American Commissioner of Navigation:

Year.	Steam.		Sail.		Total.	
	Number.	Tonnage.	Number.	Net tonnage.	Number.	Steam gross and sail net.
1890	147	123,276	104	27,721	251	151,000
1891	146	120,882	98	25,602	244	146,484
1892	143	121,679	100	26,505	243	148,202
1893	179	142,095	260	37,615	439	179,710
1894	193	171,901	256	36,867	449	208,768
1895	242	274,659	255	37,655	497	312,314
1896	267	313,563	249	33,880	516	346,443
1897	318	408,503	234	31,750	552	440,253
1898	334	439,509	240	30,515	574	470,024
1899	332	455,535	310	40,966	642	496,501
1900	338	477,311	1053	117,364	1391	594,675
1901	366	518,895	1502	170,790	1862	689,683
1902	365	530,057	1497	173,480	1862	702,537
1903	373	556,036	1521	174,624	1894	730,660
1904	556	645,978	1582	184,220	2138	830,198
1905	502	843,710	1336	166,723	1838	1,010,433
1906	582	962,701	1324	166,976	1906	1,129,677

Certain of the details of the growth make it still more striking. For instance, in 1895 they had but three steam-vessels of 4,000 tons or over, having an aggregate of 14,600 tons, while in 1905 they had thirty-five vessels with an aggregate tonnage of 194,971

tons. Thus in ten years the number of their large steamships had increased less than 1,000 and their tonnage 1,300 per cent.

It is a remarkable fact that though war is ordinarily destructive of the merchant marine of a belligerent, that of the Japanese not only did not decrease during the Russo-Japanese war, but actually showed a very material increase. During the war Japan had nine of her merchant vessels sunk by the Russian navy, six by storm and she herself sunk seventeen of them in her attempts to block Port Arthur Harbor. The aggregate tonnage of these twenty-nine vessels was 67,730 tons. To offset these losses the Japanese built five and purchased fifty-three steamers having an aggregate tonnage of 144,258 tons; and captured twenty-eight steamers, of which five were released and the remaining twenty-three condemned by prize courts for carrying contraband or attempting to run the blockade. While there is no official statement available of the tonnage of these vessels, conservative estimates place it at not less than 73,000 tons. The increase in the Japanese merchant navy during the first year of the war was, therefore, fifty-two vessels, having a tonnage of not less than 180,000 tons or more than eighty per cent. greater than during the preceding year.

The increase in the efficiency of her merchant fleet during the war was even greater than would appear from the increase in tonnage, and for this reason: the vessels captured by the Japanese were nearly all fine steamers, whereas the seventeen vessels sunk by the Japanese in attempting to block Port Arthur were, naturally, the oldest and poorest in her fleet, so that the loss of those 35,208 tons did not mean a proportionate loss in the efficiency or value of the fleet.

The attitude of the Japanese Government toward the growth of her merchant marine has changed from an attitude of hostility, which continued up to less than a century ago, to one of co-operation. Though the history of the change in the attitude of the Government is brief, it is, nevertheless, interesting. The active assistance given by the Government may properly be said to have been called into existence by the Chino-Japanese war. On March 25th, 1896, two laws which mark an epoch in the history of Japanese legislation in behalf of their merchant marine were passed. They affected vitally the development of the merchant navy and its relation to the state. One was for the purpose of encouraging ship-building, the other to encourage the owning

and operating of regular steamship lines. The first of these provided that steel and iron ships of not less than seven hundred and not more than one thousand registered tons, built according to the rules and under the supervision of the Minister of Public Ways, either by Japanese individuals or by a company formed exclusively of Japanese, shall be paid twelve yen (six dollars) for each ton; and that every ship of this kind having a registered tonnage greater than one thousand tons shall draw from the Imperial treasury twenty yen for each ton and five yen additional for each horse-power. In the building of these ships only such material may be used as is permitted by the Ministry of Public Ways.

According to the second law, each steel or iron ship of one thousand registered tons or more, owned exclusively by Japanese, carrying the Japanese flag and sailing between Japan and a foreign country, or between the ports of foreign countries, is entitled to a subsidy. In the year 1902 the following subsidies or subventions were paid under the declaration of the Ministry of Marine: a post subsidy of $3,091,981, or considerably more than the very liberal post subsidy of the German Empire, which for the same year was $2,131,385; a premium of $351,461 to encourage shipping; and a ship-building premium of $138,570. These are considerable amounts for a small country of limited resources to pay; yet such is the national sentiment in favor of a strong merchant fleet that the money is voted and paid without complaint.

Though the origin of this sentiment in favor of power on the sea dates back farther than the Chino-Japanese war, it did not until then reach the proportions of a full-grown conviction. The events of that war, together with the events immediately following it, made it abundantly clear to the Japanese that to be a first-class Power they must be a strong Power on the sea. They were also convinced that a navy to be permanently strong must have as a foundation a strong merchant marine. The practical and determined way in which they set about having both, and the success they have achieved are worthy of study and admiration.

The Russo-Japanese war certainly did not weaken their convictions as to the importance of sea power. We may, therefore, rest assured of the fact that in the future the Japanese merchant marine will be an important factor to be reckoned with in the commercial world, as will the Japanese navy in the political and military world.

EDWIN MAXEY.

THE UNITED STATES COURTS.

BY ORIN JUDSON FIELD, CHIEF CLERK DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

THAT a rapidly increasing amount of litigation of national importance is becoming the subject-matter of suits in the Federal courts; that earnest and successful efforts are being made to enforce our national laws, particularly those of recent enactment, such as the Pure Food and Drugs Act, the Safety Appliance Act, the Anti-trust and Interstate Commerce Laws; and that the Government is watchful of the commercial interests of its citizens through the operations of the Federal Bankruptcy Law of 1898 is shown by recent official statistics, which disclose that, during the year ended June 30th, 1908, there were 28,250 suits and prosecutions commenced in the United States courts and 16,838 petitions in bankruptcy filed. The aggregate judgments obtained and fines imposed amounted to $55,178,016. In bankruptcy cases the total liabilities were $122,621,509, while the assets realized were only $23,066,085.

Pure Food and Meat Inspection Laws.—During the fiscal year referred to, sixty-one criminal prosecutions and sixty-five civil cases were instituted for violations of the Pure Food and Meat Inspection laws, the aggregate amount of fines imposed and judgments obtained being $18,715. The administration of both the Pure Food and the Meat Inspection laws is under the Department of Agriculture, which maintains a system of rigid inspection; and as violations are discovered, they are reported to the district attorney for prosecution. In view of the statement that the American people consume 15,000,000,000 pounds of meat annually, the importance of the enforcement of the Meat Inspection law can be readily realized.

The cases so far brought under the Pure Food and Drugs Act

of June 30th, 1906, have involved the misbranding and adulterating of articles of food or drugs. Several prosecutions were brought for misbranding eggs—that is, labelling them "strictly fresh," while an official examination disclosed the contrary to be the case. Other cases involved the misbranding of distilled water artificially lithiated as natural mineral or lithia spring water.

By far the most interesting and important questions as yet arising under the Pure Food Law are those involving the branding of different kinds of spirits, claimed by their manufacturers to be entitled to the name "Whiskey," with or without qualifying words. The real question at issue is, "What is Whiskey?" Under what circumstances may a distilled spirit be branded "Whiskey" without qualifying words? Under what circumstances should a liquid be marked "Straight Whiskey," "Compounded Whiskey," "Blended Whiskey" or "Imitation Whiskey"? Within the meaning of the Pure Food Law, what is a "blend" and what is a "compound"? Is a mixture of whiskey with neutral spirit or ethyl alcohol a "compound" or a "blend"?

After being considered at some length by different Departments and no satisfactory conclusion being reached, the leading distillers and rectifiers of the country laid the matter before President Taft, with the result that he referred to the Solicitor-General of the Department of Justice, for investigation, the general question of the right to the name "Whiskey."

Lengthy and hotly contested hearings were held, all of the leading distillers and rectifiers of the country being represented, and the report of the Solicitor-General, recently rendered, is the latest chapter in the long story of the fight over the correct definition of whiskey under the Pure Food Law.

According to this report whiskey is not whiskey unless it is made from grain, and a mixture of an admitted whiskey with alcohol or neutral spirits is entitled to the name whiskey, provided the mixture retains a substantial amount of by-products in proportion to the volume of the mixture, giving distinctive flavor and properties, while all so-called whiskeys made from potatoes, molasses and other substances are not whiskeys at all.

The question, however, is one which in all probability will ultimately have to be determined by the courts.

Banking Laws.—Under the National Bank Laws, there were 137 cases pending at the beginning of the year. During the

year seventy-two additional indictments were secured, making a total of 209. Of these eighty-nine were terminated during the year, resulting in thirty-five convictions and nineteen acquittals, while in thirty-five cases the indictments were discontinued. There were twenty pleas of guilty and thirty trials by jury. These prosecutions involved presidents, vice-presidents and cashiers of national banks, as well as tellers and bookkeepers, indicted for embezzlement or misapplication of bank funds, making false entries, reports, etc.

Postal Laws.—No less than 1,901 cases were brought for violations of the Postal Laws, and the fines imposed and judgments obtained amounted to $241,651. These cases involved prosecutions for fraudulent use of the mails, robbing post-offices and suits on postmasters' bonds.

Twenty-eight-hour Law.—By the act of June 29th, 1906, it is unlawful for railroads, express companies or steam or sailing vessels carrying or transporting cattle, sheep, swine or other animals from one State into or through another State, to confine the same in cars, boats or vessels for a period longer than twenty-eight consecutive hours without unloading the same into properly equipped pens for rest, water and feeding for a period of at least five consecutive hours.

For violations of this act 490 suits were instituted during the year, and of the 375 terminated judgments for the United States were obtained in 283 cases. The aggregate fines imposed amounted to $71,282.

Several important questions were raised in the course of this litigation:

1. What is the unit of violation? A suit was instituted against the Baltimore & Ohio Southwestern Railroad Company, in the Southern District of Ohio, involving eleven shipments of live-stock, all of which were carried in one train. The railroad company raised the question that, inasmuch as all of these eleven shipments were in one train, there could be only one violation of the law instead of eleven; otherwise stated, that the unit of violation was the train-load and not the separate shipments contained in said train-load. The trial court sustained this contention and imposed only one penalty on the railroad. The United States took the case to the Circuit Court of Appeals, where the case was reversed, that Court holding that the unit of violation

was each shipment and not the train-load. The railroad filed a petition for a rehearing on the ground that the action was criminal in its nature, and therefore the Government could not appeal. This petition was denied by the Circuit Court of Appeals, and the railroad company has taken the case to the Supreme Court of the United States on a writ of error.

2. Are stock-yards railroads? Another question that has been vigorously contested is whether stock-yard companies who operate a few miles of railroad track, running from their yards and pens to trunk lines of railroads, are "railroads" under the terms of the act.

In a number of cases in Illinois, the trial court held that the St. Louis National Stock Yards Company is not a railroad within the meaning of this act. In these cases, the stock was consigned to commission firms at the St. Louis National Stock Yards, and the only means of reaching their destination was by having these cars transported over the railroad tracks owned by the St. Louis National Stock Yards Company. They were so transported by engines owned by the stock-yards and by the employees of the company. In this and similar cases no way bills were issued by the regular railroad companies for this part of the haul; neither did the stock-yards company participate in any of the freight charges for transporting the stock. The stock-yards company was paid so much per car by the regular railroad company, and it was contended that this was a switching service only. These cases were taken by the Government to the Circuit Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit, where they are now pending.

3. What is the proper equipment of pens? In the eastern district of Arkansas, in a case against the St. Louis, Iron Mountain & Southern Railroad for failure to unload the live-stock into properly equipped pens, it was shown that the stock-yards contained no pens; that the stock was fed by throwing the food on the ground. The court held that there was no violation of the law and dismissed the case. It was taken to the Circuit Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit by the Government, where it is now pending.

In a number of other cases penalties have been inflicted for failure properly to equip pens, without any particular contention being raised on this provision of the law and without any appeal from the decisions.

Internal Revenue and Customs Laws.—The reports show that during the year there were 4,116 criminal prosecutions and 801 civil cases instituted for violations of the Internal Revenue and Customs laws, and the total amount of fines imposed and judgments obtained in these cases was $607,835.

New York, being the principal port of entry, naturally had the largest number of Customs cases, 435.

The Southern States, where "moonshining" or illicit distilling prevails, show the greatest number of violations of the Internal Revenue Laws, namely: Mississippi, 661; North Carolina, 436; Tennessee, 417; Kentucky, 409; and Georgia, 398.

Anti-trust and Interstate Commerce Laws.—Litigation arising under the Anti-trust Laws and the Interstate Commerce Acts is attracting unusual attention, and the enforcement of these laws has become an important factor in our economic and political affairs.

For violations of these acts there were instituted during the year 109 cases; and of the sixty-four terminated convictions were had in fifty-four cases, the aggregate amount of fines imposed and judgments obtained amounting to $29,964,921. This amount includes the fine of $29,240,000 against the Standard Oil Company. As is well known, the judgment in this case was reversed by the Circuit Court of Appeals, and it was taken to the Supreme Court of the United States on a writ of *certiorari*. The Supreme Court denied the petition, and a new trial was then commenced in the United States District Court at Chicago, with the result that a verdict was directed for the Standard Oil Company on the ground that an established rate binding upon the shipper in a criminal proceeding cannot be shown by a tariff based upon a classification which has been revised since the issuing of the tariff, even though such revision was duly published and filed.

Among the more recent cases of interest under the Sherman Anti-trust law were suits against the so-called School Furniture Trust, the Tobacco Trust, the Powder Trust, the Fertilizer Trust, the Umbrella Trust, the Drug Trust, the Plumbers' Supply Trust and the Turpentine Trust.

Since the enactment of the Anti-trust laws, 64 cases have been brought, as follows: Harrison's administration, 7; Cleveland's second administration, 8; McKinley's administration, 3; Roose-

velt's administration, 46. There have been 11 convictions and 16 injunctions granted, while 22 cases are still pending. The total fines imposed have amounted to $147,000.

Under the Interstate Commerce acts and the Elkins Act of 1903, many suits have been brought against railroad companies and others for granting or receiving rebates, discrimination in the distribution of cars, false billing, and suits to enforce orders of the Interstate Commerce Commission as follows: Cleveland's first administration, 1; Harrison's administration, 35; Cleveland's second administration, 19; McKinley's administration, 22; Roosevelt's administration, 189; in all, 265 cases, resulting in 70 convictions, while 88 cases are still pending. The total fines imposed have amounted to $30,369,351.

Safety-Appliance Act.—Railroad employees are vitally concerned in the enforcement of this act, which requires railroads to equip their cars with automatic couplers and continuous brakes. For violations of this act there were, during the year, 283 cases instituted; and of the 159 cases terminated, judgments for the United States were obtained in 139 cases, the fines imposed amounting to $53,203. In only 4 cases were the judgments against the United States; 16 cases were dismissed and 18 were appealed to the Circuit Court of Appeals.

Land Laws.—For violations of the Land and Timber Trespass laws, there were 249 criminal prosecutions and 302 civil cases instituted, the fines and judgments amounting to $150,083. There are now pending before the courts over 900 cases for violations of the land laws, such as making false entries, illegal fencing of public land and cutting timber on Government land. Through these suits millions of acres are being restored to the public domain and damages recovered for timber illegally cut on Government land.

Bankruptcy.—A study of the operations of the act of July 1st, 1898, establishing a uniform system of bankruptcy throughout the United States is very interesting. During the year there were 16,838 petitions in bankruptcy filed, as compared with 14,160 for the preceding year. The States showing the largest number of cases filed during the year are as follows: New York, 2,210; Alabama, 1,554; Illinois, 1,380; Massachusetts, 1,223; and Pennsylvania, 1,112.

The States and Territories showing the smallest number of

petitions filed during the year are the following: Nevada, 27; Delaware, 17; Arizona, 15; Porto Rico, 9; Wyoming, 4.

The total net assets realized in the 11,879 cases closed during the year were $23,066,085, while the liabilities involved therein were $122,621,509. In 4,122 cases there were no assets, while in 3,885 cases the assets were less than $500.

The total dividends paid during the year were $13,959,873, while the fees and expenses incident to the prosecution of cases under the bankruptcy law were $3,881,691.

The reports indicate as follows the nature of business of those who went into bankruptcy, compared with the preceding year:

	1907.	1908.
Farmers	1,065	835
Wage-earners	3,387	3,512
Merchants	4,517	4,213
Manufacturers	935	617
Professional	272	252
Miscellaneous	2,026	2,460
Pauper cases	674	762

Organization.—The United States is divided into nine judicial circuits and eighty-five judicial districts, presided over by twenty-nine Circuit judges and eighty-eight District judges who are appointed for life, and thirty-five Territorial judges appointed for terms of four years each. A Circuit judge receives an annual salary of $7,000 and a District judge $6,000. Court, however, is held in several places in each district, and a District judge must pay his own travelling and hotel expenses when absent from his home. The Government is represented in each District by a district attorney, who is appointed by the President for a term of four years.

The total expense of administering the affairs of the United States courts during the year was $8,400,000.

Results.—The aggregate amount and results of the litigation in the United States courts during the last year are shown by the accompanying table:

CIVIL CASES TO WHICH THE UNITED STATES WAS A PARTY.

Number commenced during the year	3,202
Number terminated during the same period	2,483
Number of judgments for United States	1,410
Number appealed to Circuit Court of Appeals	197
Number appealed to Supreme Court of United States	25
Aggregate amount of judgments for the United States	$771,381

CRIMINAL PROSECUTIONS TO WHICH THE UNITED STATES WAS A PARTY.

Number commenced during the year	13,345
Number terminated during the same period	12,942
Number of convictions	8,412
Number of acquittals	1,434
Number of pleas of guilty	4,369
Number of trials by jury	2,631
Aggregate amount of fines, forfeitures and penalties imposed	$30,594,280

SUITS TO WHICH THE UNITED STATES WAS NOT A PARTY.

Number commenced during the year	11,703
Number terminated during the same period	9,128
Number of judgments for plaintiffs	3,195
Number of judgments for defendants	1,252
Number dismissed or discontinued	4,681
Amount of judgments for plaintiffs	$22,842,597
Amount of judgments for defendants	969,758

BANKRUPTCY.

Number of petitions filed during the year	16,838
Number of cases closed during the year	11,879
Total liabilities of cases closed	$122,621,509
Total net assets realized	23,066,085
Total dividends paid	13,959,873
Total fees and expenses	3,881,691
Number of petitions filed since the passage of the Bankruptcy Act in 1898	179,167

It will thus be seen that our Federal judiciary—one of the co-ordinate branches of the national Government—is charged with a grave and important work in passing judgment upon the thousands of cases coming before them each year, and, in many cases, in laying down entirely new principles of law and applying old principles to new and ever-changing conditions.

How greatly does our national security and prosperity, and the maintenance of our legal and civic rights, depend upon the zealous prosecution and the vigorous and impartial enforcement of the statutes enacted by Congress for our common welfare!

ORIN JUDSON FIELD.

FOREIGN INVESTMENTS OF THE NATIONS

BY CHARLES F. SPEARE.

EVERY nation that plays any sort of part in the world's business affairs is an investor in every other nation whether as a purchaser of government bonds, as a buyer of the securities of foreign railroads and industrial concerns, or, it may be, as a capitalist placing funds in the various lucrative fields of commerce and banking. It is said that trade follows the flag. There are earnest disputants of this argument. It is a well-established fact, however, that the foreign commerce of most countries expands or contracts in sympathy with the amount of capital that they have located in other lands, where markets are being opened and new commercial requirements are constantly revealed.

This is the day of extravagance and excess in expenditures among individuals, and also with governments, municipalities, States and corporations. Budgets everywhere are hard to balance; increased taxation has not solved the problem of the national deficit. But, in spite of these tremendous outlays, the universal wealth of resource and the inventive genius and productive capacity of the individual provide a very great surplus over outgo in the chief wealth-creating countries of the world. It has been estimated that every year, in Europe and in the United States, the saving for investment in newly manufactured or old-established securities amounts to $2,500,000,000. The nations with a surplus to invest, either at home or abroad, in their rank are: United States, $600,000,000; Great Britain, $450,000,000; France, $400,000,000; Germany, $300,000,000; Holland, Belgium and Switzerland, $250,000,000; Austria-Hungary, $160,000,000; Russia, $160,000,000; Italy, $60,000,000; Spain and Portugal, $60,000,000; and Norway and Sweden, $40,000,000.

From figures I have compiled and which appear in detail

further along in this article, I should say that the total foreign investments of the surplus-investing countries of the world aggregate between $26,000,000,000 and $29,000,000,000. As the world's negotiable securities, according to M. Alfred Neymarck were, in 1907, approximately $111,000,000,000, it will be seen that over 25 per cent. of the investments of different nations is in bonds and stocks of the *outre-mer* class.

In the trade of countries reciprocity of investments or, let us say, internationalism of securities, is steadily becoming an intimate factor making for commercial favoritism. As a rule, the nation with the greatest volume of exports is that one whose surplus wealth has judiciously been distributed where population is on the increase and purchasing power is growing. Great Britain was the pioneer in this line. Her numerous colonies gave her a broad market for manufactures and a fairly safe one in which to locate the idle funds of her people. Now she draws an annual income of $500,000,000 from $14,000,000,000 of investments abroad. Germany, soon after the close of the Franco-Prussian war, began to colonize and to invest systematically in foreign countries, employing the $1,000,000,000 indemnity from France as the base of capital supply. She has carried this policy further than any other nation and has, indeed, been a trifle reckless in liberal placements of capital in remote corners of the earth. German investments abroad are estimated at about $5,000,000,000. With France the governing idea of large foreign investments has not been a trade *quid pro quo,* but the distribution of her wealth so as to minimize the risk on the original investment. The desire to escape the growing tax bill on home securities, as well as to offset the possible danger to invested capital of the spread of Socialism in France, has also prompted French policies. France saves so much more rapidly than she spends, and her trade and new enterprise fluctuate so little that it is necessary she should have a foreign outlet for her surplus. French investments in other countries are about $7,000,000,000. In comparison with its wealth the United States has made very sparing investments abroad. The explanation of this is that it has paid the American better to place his capital in home enterprises than to turn it into foreign channels. Moreover, the rate of industrial development in this country has been so rapid that there has been little to spare for other nations, while hundreds

of millions were annually tendered the promoters of new domestic promotions. The foreign investments made in behalf of the United States have gone into Mexico, South America, the West Indies and the Philippines. Their value may be conservatively estimated at between $1,750,000,000 and $2,000,000,000. The outside investments of Holland will reach about $1,000,000,000; those of Belgium, $500,000,000; of Switzerland, $350,000,000; and of Austria-Hungary, $250,000,000. In recent years, Canada has become an investor on quite a large scale in Mexico and in Cuba, and contrary to what seemed possible a decade ago, Canadian capital has come over the border and played a part, even though a very small one, in encouraging commercial development in the United States. As late as 1900, Canada had not sufficient capital to develop her mines, her farms, forests and railroads. It was American and British enterprise that extracted the first dividends from the Dominion. Now Canada is one of the richest of the British colonies and each year has a surplus for investment abroad, although the opportunities for large yields on capital are better in native than in foreign enterprises.

It is possible with considerable accuracy to show just how the foreign investments of the United States, Great Britain, France and less definitely Germany have been placed, for a very careful study of this subject has been made in Europe by M. Alfred Neymarck, M. Arthur Raffalovich, Paul Dehn and George Paish of the London "Statist," while in this country we are indebted to the consular service and the Bureau of South-American Republics for a great deal of information available:

AMERICAN INVESTMENTS ABROAD.

Mexico	$600,000,000 to $700,000,000
Cuba and Porto Rico	130,000,000
South America	100,000,000
Central America	50,000,000
Canada	500,000,000
Europe	350,000,000
China and Japan	100,000,000
Philippine Islands	75,000,000

The distribution of the British investment in other countries is:

BRITISH INVESTMENTS ABROAD.

United States and Canada	$5,850,000,000
Africa	2,675,000,000
Asia	2,255,000,000
Australia	1,735,000,000
Europe (Continental)	1,025,000,000
South America	750,000,000

The French foreign placements of capital are vast and widely distributed, as the following table shows:

FRENCH INVESTMENTS ABROAD.

Russia	$1,750,000,000
Egypt and Suez	600,000,000
Spain and Cuba	500,000,000
Austria-Hungary	600,000,000
Turkey	450,000,000
Argentina, Brazil and Mexico	500,000,000
Italy	400,000,000
England and Colonies	250,000,000
Portugal	200,000,000
United States and Canada	350,000,000
Belgium, Holland and Switzerland	225,000,000
South Africa	200,000,000
China and Japan	150,000,000
Germany	100,000,000
Sweden, Norway and Denmark	100,000,000
Other states	700,000,000

GERMAN INVESTMENTS ABROAD.

South America	$750,000,000
United States and Canada	750,000,000
Africa	350,000,000
Central America, Mexico and West Indies	200,000,000
Austria-Hungary	500,000,000
Italy	150,000,000
China and Japan	150,000,000
Russia	1,000,000,000

In examining not only the geographical distribution, but the character of the foreign investments of these four countries, one is impressed by the varying policies actuating the American investor in contrast with those of the Britisher, and also the Frenchman's point of view of a good and safe investment and the German's. The French and the British are the most scientific of investors. They have been placing their surplus capital in foreign lands for generations. They go about the business much as they would conduct their professional labors. While both have been guilty of grave investment indiscretions, losing enormous sums in South-African gold-mines, they have, for the total amount placed abroad, more to show, at current market quotations, than any other nations. The Frenchman prefers government bonds with a fixed revenue. These form the greater part of his investments. M. Alfred Neymarck, who has studied the "*petit epargne*" of France more closely than any other one man, finds in a study of French investments great psychological as well as financial value, as it shows most accurately the temperament of the people. Of the $27,000,000,000 of divers securities quoted

on the Paris Bourse and the exchanges of the departments $18,000,000,000 represents bonds and stocks of a fixed rate of interest. The greater part of this vast amount is located in the choicest of securities. In Great Britain, of $25,000,000,000 of various issues belonging to the English people, from $16,000,000,000 to $18,000,000,000 worth are in securities whose rate of income fluctuates. This is also true of Germany, where the obligation with a variable rate is most conspicuous in the portfolio of the investor. In the United States, the value of American securities in public hands is placed at $36,000,000,000. This is divided between $22,000,000,000 stocks and $14,000,000,000 bonds. Summarized, France has 75 per cent. of her investment in fixed income-bearing securities; Great Britain, 35 per cent.; Germany, 25 per cent.; and the United States, 38 per cent. Inversely, the proportion in fluctuating income attracting American capital is 62 per cent.; of Germany, 75 per cent.; British, 65 per cent.; and of French capital only 25 per cent. We can realize from these facts how completely the advice of one of the French finance ministers of two centuries ago has been accepted by his compatriots. The admonition was: "If you would sleep well buy governments; if you would live well buy industrials." The Frenchman and, to a lesser degree, the Englishman are looking for safety of income; the German and the American seek after large returns in income and in appreciation of market value, both of which involve a considerable element of risk to principal.

It has been said that, in the last half-century, Great Britain has invested abroad nearly as much as all of the other leading countries combined. It is this enormous investment that has given London pre-eminence as the leading money-market of the world. George Paish reckons that, between 1884 and 1891, British investments in the colonies and in countries outside English jurisdiction took $2,150,000,000 of British capital. From 1897 to 1904 foreign investments of Great Britain were only about $500,000,000. In that period the demands at home were so heavy that there was not very much of a surplus available for other countries. In general, the trend of British capital is toward foreign markets, as the need of it to develop her own immediate resources is becoming smaller every year, with the population nearly stationary and the maximum of accomplishment about reached by her railroads and factories. In 1907 an income

tax was paid on $330,000,000. This compares with an income twenty years ago of $195,000,000.

British capital has been one of the most important factors in the development of the United States. But for it many of the railroads which are now paying dividends could never have been projected and as many more, which were wrecked, could not have been rehabilitated. To-day British capital is doing for Canada what it did for the United States. The money for new railroad construction in the Dominion comes from London. So does that for land development and the improvement of municipalities. The British gold sovereign is the fulcrum underneath the progress of Argentina, China, Brazil and Sweden. The British investor cuts his coupons from the bonds of twoscore governments. The political *entente* with Russia since the war has served to draw British funds into the Empire of Nicholas and bring about a renaissance in the industries of Siberia, Central Asia and the Caucasus. The Englishman finances his colonies most generously. Consequently, the home government must always guard its subjects in the seven seas against any calamities that would react unfavorably on the enormous money interests at stake.

When the American decides to invest his capital abroad he makes a compromise with his natural prejudice and tries to keep his capital as near home as possible. This accounts for the predominance of American money in Mexico. There is not a mining camp in the Republic to the south of us but has drawn on American capital. The City of Mexico is rapidly becoming Americanized. The money invested in Mexican mines is double that located in all other enterprises. In the past ten years American money has been flowing into Mexico at the rate of from $50,000,000 to $75,000,000 per annum. In 1906 Minister-of-Finance Limantour estimated that, of the total investment of $200,000,000 of foreign capital in Mexico that year American money figured for $125,000,000. He agrees that our aggregate investments in the Republic are close to three-quarters of a billion dollars. It is expected that, in the future, Mexico will draw on the United States in greater ratio for capital for banks, railroads, irrigation projects and strictly mercantile enterprises, as there has been a feeling that too large a part of American investment in Mexico is in one class of industry, viz., mining.

Of the $125,000,000 of American capital invested in Cuba the

greater part is in sugar and tobacco plantations, in the bonds of the Republic and in the banks and railroads. The largest banking institutions in Havana are supported by American capital. The $35,000,000 Cuban loan of a few years ago was largely placed in the United States, and what went abroad is steadily coming back here. American capital controls the telegraph and telephone systems of Cuba. Practically all of the electric transportation on the island has resulted from American enterprise and American dollars. The two main railroad systems in Cuba embrace a $25,000,000 investment from capitalists in this country. Sugar, tobacco and cattle absorb many millions more. In Porto Rico from $10,000,000 to $15,000,000 has been invested since the war in fruit and sugar plantations. The investments in the Philippines of $75,000,000 are mainly in steam roads, electric lines and light and power concerns and in government obligations.

The strongest appeal for American capital comes from the Latin countries south of the Gulf of Mexico. It has not been ignored. Although Europe holds one billion dollars of the debts of South-American republics, the United States is taking her place well up toward the top of the nations who are financing that country. Ultimately she ought to have first rank, as she is in the best position to secure trade and to watch over her investments. The visit of Secretary Root to South America marked an epoch in the financial relations between the peoples of the northern and southern hemispheres. It was followed by heavy American investments in Brazil. In Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo telephone, tramway, electric light and power concessions valued at $25,000,000 were secured. American investments in Brazil are now so large that there is a demand there for an American bank to compete with those which English, German and Italian enterprise has established. Two of the most important banking-houses of New York are behind the $25,000,000 railroad project in which the Government of Bolivia is concerned. Two large banking firms in New York have supplied capital for a $12,000,000 nitrate development scheme in Chile and still another has $15,000,000 in Brazilian coffee valorization. American capital to the extent of $10,000,000 is represented in the construction of a Peruvian railroad. Argentina has $10,000,000 of American money, Ecuador, $10,000,000; Colombia, $5,000,000; the Domin-

ican Republic, $15,000,000; and in Central America the American investment is reckoned at $50,000,000, of which the larger part is in Costa Rica. The dollar of the Yankee is being used to exploit the Congo; it is found in so remote a region as Norway, where an $11,000,000 ore company has progressed through American funds. Without American capital Japan could not have so successfully carried on her war with Russia. Now that China is awakening, American capital has as good a chance as any of recognition in the Chinese Empire. In Canada, American investments have been placed as high as $500,000,000. American capital, in fact, gave Canada her start and played the largest part in transforming the Dominion industrially, so that now she, too, has a place among the lenders of capital to outside nations.

France has assumed leadership in the outside world as a lender. She is a guardian of public debts. The influence of the franc is strongest in government circles. For this reason France to-day exercises more of a balancing power in the political affairs of Europe than does any other country. France holds $1,600,000,000 of Russian government bonds, but her investments in Russian industrial enterprise is less than $150,000,000. A similar disproportion exists between the enormous ownership of bonds of Austria, Roumania, Servia, Turkey and Greece and the investment in the privately owned companies of these states. Brazil, Canada, Mexico and Japan have all, in recent years, opened channels into which some of the French savings are expected to flow to quicken the development of industry in those countries. It was reported a short time ago that the French clergy, on account of the hostile attitude of the home government, would withdraw their investments from France and distribute them in other countries and that they had subscribed $10,000,000 to a new bank in Mexico.

There is scarcely a civilized country over which the sun sets that has not felt, in the past thirty years, the leavening effect of German capital. A study of German investments abroad is an index to German political and commercial ambitions. German investments are certainly cosmopolitan. The bills drawn by the three great Berlin banks are becoming almost as familiar in different parts of the world as those which originate around the Bank of England. Germany is a pioneer in the trade world, and even though her financial influence is spread very thin in

places, there is a universality about it that is attractive and compels admiration.

German capital has fought its way into the undeveloped corners of the globe and earned dividends in the most unpromising fields. There is a record of 4,000 German houses carrying on trade in foreign parts. The German colonizer with a good bank credit at his back has worked his way into the forbidding but fruitful parts of South Africa and set up his shop for barter among uncivilized and savage people. He has penetrated the forests and jungles of South America and is the best known of the foreigners along the Amazon. After him has come the agent of the German bank and the exporter and importer, so that by the time capitalists of other countries began to appreciate the profit of these foreign parts the German had rounded out his establishment and was in fair control of the business. German capital is to be found in places so remote that the average American would not recognize the name or identify the location and never realize that trade possibilities were there. No country's trade is too small for Germany to consider if the potential element of increase exists. When England first began to think of investments in Asia Minor, she found that German capitalists had already invested $50,000,000 there in very remunerative enterprises and were getting much more from the investment in trade returns than France, whose ownership of Turkish securities was double that amount. Spanish, Portuguese and Italian trade are dominated by the German. One German bank has twenty-three overseas branches, and if its supernumeraries in the various countries were brought together they would represent a curious medley of tongues and shades of color. German capital is rapidly working eastward from Persia and spreading all over the undeveloped portions of China. The race for possession of the commercially strategic points in China is between German and English capital. The plans under way for the economic unfolding of the Chinese Empire involve very heavy outlays of foreign funds within and without the limits of the great Chinese wall, and this the reign of a new dynasty may accelerate.

Has Germany used her surplus capital too freely abroad, and will she be forced to limit her scheme of foreign markets? This question has a leading place to-day in German financial discussion, and it would seem as though less oversea activity were likely.

Dutch capital abroad is mainly located in Russia, the United States, Austria-Hungary and Peru. The amount of it is about $550,000,000. Of this about 50 per cent. is invested in the United States and 30 per cent. in Russia.

Let us return to the question of how investments in foreign countries influence the oversea's trade of a nation. The export business of Great Britain in 1907 was nearly 50 per cent. greater than in 1903. This gain is believed by English economists to be directly due to the large increase in investments made by British people in foreign countries. Trade with the English colonies, in particular, has expanded freely. Nor is it to be wondered at when it is realized that two years ago $250,000,000 of British money was sent to them. For 1908 the amount has increased to $350,000,000. Germany, next to Great Britain, has benefited by this interplay of foreign investments with trade balances. Not only has she added very greatly to her exports, but she has created most advantageous markets abroad from which she draws an abundance of raw material for import, at favorable prices, and for subsequent manufacture into finished product. The same tendencies are to be noted wherever American capital has found a location abroad. They are especially prominent in the Latin-American countries whose trade with the United States last year aggregated $600,000,000 as against $234,000,000 ten years before. In this decade imports from Mexico, South and Central America more than doubled while exports trebled. Owing to the large investments of American capital in Mexico nearly 50 per cent. of the annual purchases of the Republic are made in the United States or three times those of England or Germany and five times greater than France, all of whom are considerable investors in Mexico. South-Americans especially have come to demand that nations to successfully compete for their trade should show a fair amount of liberality in using their surplus capital for the development of private and public enterprises, such as street railroads, water-works, electric light and water plants, terminals and railroads. The ship-loads of machinery entering South-American ports originate largely in England and in Germany. It is from those countries that the capital to create new enterprise in the tropics has been chiefly obtained.

It will be years, probably, before the United States plays a leading rôle as banker for the world. There is too much for

the American capitalist and merchant to do here at home to permit of investigation of foreign fields. It is exasperating, however, to see how lightly foreign trade is regarded in the United States and the loose methods that have been adopted in cultivating it. What we export other countries are compelled to buy from us. An exceedingly small percentage of our European trade reflects careful study of how to win and hold the foreign buyer. We are wasting our opportunities in this respect and are heedless of the future, just as we are exhausting at a rapid rate our material resources. No country could have greater opportunity for an extension of its foreign trade than America, for no country has the opportunity which tremendous immigration from all parts of Europe gives for advertisement of our products to the consuming world. Commerce follows capital and it also follows the immigrant. The increase from $40,000,000 to $100,000,000 in American foreign trade with Italy in ten years obviously represents a return on the human capital which we had borrowed. The same is true of the 50 per cent. increase in exports from the United States to Russia since 1897, and the 135 per cent. expansion in American shipments of produce and merchandise to Germany subsequent to the 1893 panic. The immigrant sees in our markets what his people at home would like to buy and recommends the purchase. Our manufacturers should appreciate better than they do their advantage in learning from the aliens what foreign markets require and in what way these requirements should be met to be attractive.

One aspect of this international investment of capital bears on the political side of it. The effect of American capital in the Latin-American countries is certainly powerful for peace. France could almost dictate, if she wished, the political policies of half a dozen European countries the bulk of whose debt she holds. It is most certain that, in the recent flare-up in the Near East, the balance of power was in Paris simply because French capital demanded peace as the *quid pro quo* of its relief of the belligerent states in times of financial stress. The internationalization of capital, if it continues at the present rate, may be more effective for peace than large navies and standing armies. Already it wields a power which the conferences at The Hague and the *ententes* between the monarchs of Europe have not been able to produce.

CHARLES F. SPEARE.

THE FORTIFYING PRINCIPLE IN SWINBURNE.

BY LOUISE COLLIER WILLCOX.

To one entirely uninitiated, reading the notices which have appeared since the death of the last poet of the greater Victorian tradition, it might appear merely that a great metrical artist had died or that we had lost a somewhat morbid and erratic poet who, in the days of his youth, gave sundry shocks to the British Philistine. The youth of the great poet just dead was, indeed, not lacking in the indiscretions which are the outcome of untested courage, untried convictions and young, exuberant genius. In the year 1862, an almost unknown poet, named Algernon Charles Swinburne, published in "The Spectator" for May 31st a poem, undoubtedly astonishing to the unaccustomed English audience, called "Faustine," but a clue was given to its order and derivation in an article from the same hand, on September 6th, on Charles Baudelaire's "*Fleurs du Mal.*" Indeed, a conscientious perusal of Baudelaire's volume of 1857, Gautier's of 1850, the poems published by de Musset between 1836 and 1850 and by Victor Hugo from 1820 onwards, would go far toward accounting for what was amazing and shocking to English readers in Mr. Swinburne's first series of "Poems and Ballads," published in 1866 when the author was still short of his thirtieth birthday. Never before, it was said, had a volume of poetry, on its first appearance, so taken the universities by storm. It was not a *succés populaire* even then; but young Oxford and Cambridge were set afire by the new and haunting rhythms, the alien and entrancing settings, the unfamiliar themes. The models, indeed, were not so far to seek, and what might not be gathered from French sources could be traced to the more familiar wells of Greek poetry, or to Hebraic influences as in the "Ballad of

Burdens," "A Song in Time of Revolution," or to mediæval studies as in a "Christmas Carol," the "Masque of Queen Bersabe" and "St. Dorothy." Already the poet acknowledged his debt to Victor Hugo and his allegiance to Walter Savage Landor, whose indirect influence could be felt in "At Eleusis." But despite his youth, the new poet cut a wide swathe and harvested from Finnish and Breton fields, no less than from Greek and French and Italian. In each case, however, he added what was distinctive, what was unmistakably his own, a new personality; not only new rhythms and rhyme schemes and a diction exceedingly vivid and personal, but a new point of view.

It was early then to see whither away the young poet was bound or where the muse was leading him with his strange, new vision, his passionate dreams and the singing verses he compares to blown leaves:

"The night shakes them round me in legions,
Dawn drives them before her like dreams,
Time sheds them like snows on strange regions,
Swept shoreward on infinite streams;
Leaves pallid and sombre and ruddy,
Dead fruits of the fugitive years,
Some stained as with wine and made ruddy,
And some as with tears."

There was, perhaps, more true philosophy and more meaning in the volume than could at the moment be pressed out and made clear. If he sang his daughters of dreams and of stories with candor and a wholly Latin lack of reticence and false shame, he did not end his thinking here. He followed up "Faustine," "Fragoletta," "Dolores," "Félise" and "Yolande" and "Juliette" with the "Garden of Proserpine" as inevitably, as loyally, as the King of old time, having given us the Canticles, gave us the Sermon, the Song of Solomon flowing quite naturally into the preacher's "Vanity of vanities, all is vanity!"

"There go the old loves that wither," and the mood that follows hard upon the lusts of the flesh had its own most perfect song:

"From too much love of living,
From hope and fear set free,
We thank with brief thanksgiving
Whatever gods may be,

That no life lives forever,
That dead men rise up never
And even the weariest river
Winds somewhere, safe to sea."

If he told the whole tale of fruitless and sterile passions he set forth, too, in "Hesperia" "the transient state through which a man may be supposed to pass, foiled in love and weary of loving, but not yet in sight of rest." The criticism, the outcome of the whole sad matter, was set forth in verse as exquisite. One point, at least, has been overlooked—namely, that only to the most narrow and superficial mind could he seem to be dealing otherwise than spiritually with one of the more mysterious and thwarting experiences of human life. That his own thought was sincere and serious may be derived from the very boldness and abandon with which he wrote, and from the fact that he was totally unaware that the profound subjects he dealt with could be basely or lightly handled.

"And the thorns are too sharp for a boy, too slight for a man to endure," he wrote later, pointing out that "desire is a respite from love, and the flesh not the heart is her fuel," in the poem that describes the mood that brings "a total pause of passion and of thought, when the spirit without hope of good things or evil hungers and thirsts only after the perfect sleep."

In 1871 appeared the greatest single volume of verse Swinburne ever published, "The Songs before Sunrise," and here we find the complete emergence from the turbulence of youth; and the great "Prologue," which strikes the key-note to the new composition, glances back only to make clear how far back lies the past and how manhood copes with the passions and the tortures of youth:

"Between the bud and the blown flower
Youth talked with joy and grief an hour,
With footless joy and wingless grief
And twin-born faith and disbelief
Who share the seasons to devour.
And long ere these made up their sheaf
Felt the winds round him shake and shower
The rose-red and the blood-red leaf.
Delight whose germ grew never grain
And passion dyed in its own pain.

"Then he stood up and trod the dust
Fear and desire, mistrust and trust,
And dreams of bitter sleep and sweet,
And bound for sandals on his feet
Knowledge and patience of what must
And what things may be, in the heat
And cold of years that rot and rust
And alter; and his spirit's meat
Was freedom, and his staff was wrought
Of strength, and his cloak was woven of thought."

In the first volume he showed the futility of passion, the immortal agonies of a man who, knowing life to be an ascetic discipline, "desirous of penitential pain, is damned to joyless pleasure." In the new volume he gave what he had to enlarge, to cheer and to fortify. Almost the first thing we feel is that he offered no easy solaces, no ready comforts. To those who have once absorbed the philosophy of Browning, Mr. Swinburne offers the next step upward. Browning assured us, with every aspect of full conviction, that there should "never be one lost good"; that "evil is null, is naught, is silence implying sound"; that "what was good shall be good, with for evil so much good more"; "on earth the broken arcs, in heaven the perfect round." Since it was impossible to close the eyes to the imperfections of this life, Browning accepted evil as a finite misconception, just our human, limited way of seeing the fragment instead of the whole; and the number of struggling and stumbling beings whom he set on their feet by his wide, courageous outlook, by his staunch promises of a future completion, by his hearty explanation that all the joy of growth and progress depended on a man's reach exceeding his grasp must never be underestimated or forgotten. Mr. Swinburne's offering was a different one. His poetic deliverance was far more spontaneous, more inspired, more perfect than Browning's; and, once the little matter of Browning's elisions mastered, Mr. Swinburne was frequently more difficult to follow owing to the wealth of imagery and the magnificence of verbal felicities in which his thought went clothed. But his philosophy, too, was harder to accept, colder and more austere. He made no promises, he paved no way to heaven, he pointed out no perfect rounds:

"For what has he whose will sees clear
To do with doubt and faith and fear,

Swift hopes and slow despondencies?
His heart is equal with the sea's
And with the sea-wind's; and his ear
Is level to the speech of these:
And his soul communes and takes cheer
With the actual earth's equalities.
Air, light and night, hills, winds, and streams,
And seeks not strength from strengthless dreams."

To accept what is, and "seek not strength from strengthless dreams," to endure and, above all, to love the soul's freedom, and worship courage and great-heartedness—this is what he offers us.

"Thalassius," which we must look on as an autobiographical poem, recounts the steps of a poet's life—child of the sun and the sea, "free born as winds and stars and waves are free," he grew up, gathering "fine honey of song-notes goldener than gold"—he learns:

"How he that loves life overmuch shall die
The dog's death utterly.
And he that much less loves it than he hates
All wrong-doing that is done
Anywhere, always, underneath the sun,
Shall live a mightier life, than time's or fate's."

Love and fear and hope and hate he learns; and then he follows the feet of that "lord of terrible aspect," Love, who when unmasked gives his name:

"O, fool, my name is sorrow,
Thou fool, my name is death."

Out of this, too, he passed

"forth of all those fierce ranks
Back to the gray sea banks,
Against a sea-rock lying, aslant the steep
Fell after many sleepless dreams, on sleep,"

till the same voice that taught him in youth aroused him:

"Child of the sunlight and the sea,
A fosterling and fugitive on earth;
Sleepless of soul as wind or wave or fire
A man-child with an ungrown God's desire;
Because thou hast loved naught mortal more than me,
Thy father and thy mother-hearted sea,
Because thou hast set thine heart to sing, and sold
Life and life's love for song, God's living gold,

Because thou hast given thy fire and flower of youth
To feed men's hearts with visions, truer than truth;
Because thou hast kept in those world-wandering eyes
The light that makes me music of the skies,
Because thou hast heard with world-unwearied ears
The music that puts light into the spheres;
Have, therefore, in thy heart and in thy mouth
The sound of song that mingles north and south,
The sound of all the winds that sing of me
And in thy soul the sense of all the sea."

Here, as ever in his poetry, the sun symbolizes intellectual light and spiritual truth; the sea, as always, freedom, liberty of soul; and the sound of all the winds is the voice of the spirit, that spirit that blows, as of old time, where it listeth and no man knows whence it cometh or whither it goeth. In the "Last Oracle" the poet hails the sun as,

"Thou the word, the light, the life, the breath, the glory,"

words which, from time immemorial, have been dedicated to Deity. This, then, is the poet's only promise: who endures to the end, who makes no compromise with truth, who asks no rewards and fears no punishments, shall come somehow to truth and liberty and shall grow into knowledge of the things of the spirit. This promise leans upon no dreams, but is merely the repetition in poem after poem of the saying,

"Unto each man his handiwork, unto each his crown
A just Fate gives."

There is nothing relaxing in this doctrine. Indeed, to a great number of weak-kneed men, who stay alive only by dint of hoping that they shall reap what they have not sown and shall earn more than they deserve, it is too difficult to accept. But whoso braces himself to bear it in all its austerity shall be fortified thereby.

Moreover, the poet's poignant sense of unbound sea spaces, untrammelled winds and wide, waste places is enlarging and liberating. Even in the first series of "Poems and Ballads," with its predominant scenery of country roadside and orchard closes, we get a touch of the sea without shore that haunted him to the end of his dreams, and which surely stood for the spaceless spaces of the soul.

Twenty years later, in the volume of 1884, with its splendid burthen of sea music, we have the great sea "that ends not till

the world's end"—the great shoreless sea again typifying liberty, and the singer's soul throughout, symbolized by the sea-mew or the stormy petrel, always seeking, and sometimes with the sense that some dark day shall sever "the sea bird's wing from the sea wave's foam." Here we have, too, his first questionings of the ultimate goal:

> "Friend, who knows if death indeed have life, or life have death, for goal?
> Day nor night can tell us, nor may seas declare nor skies unroll,
> What has been from everlasting, or if aught shall always be,
> Silence answering only strikes response reverberate on the soul,
> From the shore that hath no shore beyond it set in all the sea."

Like Shelley and like Marlowe, his twin brethren, he stood baring his soul before "the immensities and the eternities," and who shall say that in the end the great Presence did not make itself felt to him, not as shrivelling all personality into nothingness, but as gathering it up and holding it where nothing shall be lost. The type of his imagination, cosmic in character, wide-ranging, far-seeking, pursuing the ever-shifting horizons, liberates, and his readers feel the letting down of the narrower bars of life while the soul goes, free of its littleness, on wider quests.

As in later years he came nearer and nearer to that great channel, the type of which had been ever before him in the harsh northeastern sea, and strained his eyes to catch a glimpse of the serried ranks of his own beloved beyond, his thought becomes more and more hopeful. When he sings of his father's death he says:

> "The life, the spirits and the work were one
> That here, ah, who shall say, that here are done.
> Not I—that know not, father, not thy son
> For all the darkness of the night and sea."

And of his mother, "beloved above all utterance known of love," he asserts the victory of love over death. Surer and surer the vision; and in the New-year's eve song of Christina Rossetti, written three days after her death, he *knows* her voice unstilled. Mrs. Lynn-Linton's death brings back the thought of the "oldest singer," and he fancies the father and daughter reunited. The sonnets to Robert Browning are yet more assured:

"He who stands now on death's triumphal steep,
Awakened out of life wherein we sleep
And dream of what he knows and sees, being dead."

Surely the instinct of further life reaches gropingly into this; and, as we turn from one of the most spiritual, certainly one of the most bracing and fortifying of the great Victorian poets, whose guerdon can only be given by many generations of men made nobler by his singing, it is fitting to close with his own incomparable words:

"The night is upon us, and anguish
Of longing that yearns for the dead,
But mourners that faint not, nor languish,
That veil not and bow not the head,
Take comfort to heart if a token
Be given them of comfort to be:
While darkness on earth is unbroken
Light lives on the sea."

LOUISE COLLIER WILLCOX.

THE LAW OF AERIAL NAVIGATION.

BY LYTTLETON FOX.

THE many interesting problems of a legal or governmental nature, which may arise as a result of the achievement of practical flight, have already provoked some degree of speculative comment. The ways and means of policing the air, including the establishment of rules of the aerial road, the enforcement of speed limitations, the relative rights of heavier-than-air and lighter-than-air machines, regulations as to the character of ballast and the dropping thereof; the purely legal questions as to the international control and jurisdiction of the air, the rights of alien air-ships in time of peace and of neutrals in time of war, the dropping of explosives from air-ships (already the subject of a convention of The Hague Conference), all present problems which will tax alike the lawgivers and the executive. No question is so imminent in this country, however, and hence none so important as the construction which shall be put upon the law of trespass as applied to the air.

As soon as the navigation of the air becomes common, the question as to the legal right of the aeronaut to fly across the land of his neighbors will require immediate decision. Most American aeronauts have assumed that the upper air constitutes a sort of public highway through which any one is at liberty to pass, as is now the case in Germany and Switzerland, where the matter is regulated by special statute. A few aeronauts and some newspapers have undertaken to correct this impression by stating with positiveness the opposite view, that no person has a right to fly over any land but his own without committing a trespass. The reported cases bearing upon the subject are, to be sure, both meagre and somewhat ancient. It would be rash to predict to what extent our courts will feel

obliged to accept them as controlling, in view of the changed conditions which now obtain. But as the only existing authorities, they must be taken as constituting the law upon the subject at the present time; and an examination of them leads to the conclusion that the question is not so easily answered.

There are no American statutes upon the subject, and our own common law contributes nothing to it. We are at the outset referred, therefore, to the common law of England, and the Roman law. The possibility of invading the privacy of a man's land by passing through the air above it was considered by neither the Romans nor the English in laying down the law of trespass. The early lawmakers proceeded upon the assumption that man's movements were necessarily confined to the immediate vicinity of the earth's surface, and the law of trespass was framed in accordance with this view. The owner of the land held dominion of it from the centre of the earth up to the sky,—*cuius est solum eius usque ad coelum* was the ancient doctrine, beloved of the old judges, and the invader of this pyramidal empire of earth and air was a trespasser. If this rule is still law, there can be no doubt that crossing a man's land in an aeroplane, no matter at what height, is a trespass, and there is no question left for discussion. It is interesting to note, however, that nearly a hundred years ago some uneasiness was expressed by a Lord Ellenborough, Chief Justice, in regard to the wisdom of applying this rule literally in cases of aerial trespass, and more recent judicial utterances have tended to the same conclusion. Beyond question the old principle is firmly fixed as law both here and in England, so far as an invasion upon the surface or to a reasonable height above or below the surface is concerned. The exact problem as to which the decisions would tend to indicate that there is no such certainty, and the one which principally interests the aeronaut is this: Is it a trespass to sail across a man's land at a height greater than the reasonable scope of his effective possession; that is, at a height which cannot be held to interfere with his free use of his property? If it is not, the air is a highway for all practical purposes.

The earliest case in the books, that of Pickering *vs.* Rudd,* was decided in 1815. Rudd nailed a sign to a tree upon his land in such a way that the end of the sign projected slightly

* 4 Campbell, 219.

over the garden of his neighbor, Pickering. Pickering sued Rudd for trespass. Lord Ellenborough decided that it was no trespass. His decision, so far as it affects the right to maintain a fixed projection or encroachment over the land of one's neighbor has been repeatedly overruled both in England and this country. Indeed, the law is well established to the contrary. His Lordship's opinion is noteworthy, however, because it clearly anticipated the question which would arise in the case of an aeronaut. In it he instances a previous case in which a bullet was fired from outside a man's land, striking within it, and says that while he ruled that a trespass had been committed in that case, he would be doubtful in a case where the bullet should go clear across without striking. "I do not think," he says, "it is a trespass to interfere with the column of air superincumbent upon the close. . . . Nay, if this board overhanging the plaintiff's garden be a trespass, it would follow that an aeronaut is liable to an action of trespass *quare clausum fregit* at the suit of the occupier of every field over which his balloon passes in the course of his voyage. Whether the action may be maintained cannot depend upon the length of time for which the superincumbent air is invaded." This is only a dictum, to be sure, but it is none the less a forcible expression of the view that the air, above the scope of effective possession, is not subject to the landowner's control. Nor is it weakened by the later rejection of the decision itself as affecting fixed projections.

The next contribution to the law came with the English case of Kenyon *vs.* Hart,* in which the defendant fired a bullet from outside of the complainant's boundary-line and killed a bird within, so that both bird and bullet came down on the complainant's land. Inasmuch as the defendant was tried under a statute against poaching, the wording of which was such as to cloud the main issue of trespass, the decision itself is of little value; but the Court indicates in its opinion (by Lord Blackburne) that if the huntsman had missed, and the bullet had sped across the complainant's land without striking, it would have been inclined to hold, with Lord Ellenborough, that no trespass had been committed.

In 1887 a decision was rendered by Lord Henry Hawkins in a case† which arose out of a complaint of trespass made by the

* 6 B. & S., 249. † 4 Times L. R., 8.

owner of lands near the Wimbledon rifle-ranges. It appears that the marksmen were accustomed to fire across the plaintiff's land at the targets beyond, so that the bullets passed over his land, without falling upon it, at a height of about 75 feet. The report says: "As regards the complaint that when the 1,000-yards range was used the bullets traversed the land of the plaintiff, his Lordship did not look upon the ground of complaint as constituting a trespass in the strict technical sense of the term, but he did look upon such firing of bullets as grievances which under the circumstances afforded the plaintiff a legal cause of action." Doubtless the Court referred the plaintiff to his remedy against the daily firing as a continuing nuisance. But the passage of bullets across the land at such a height as not to interfere with its occupancy was distinctly held to be not a trespass.

The projection of the cornice of a building, or the maintaining of a bridge or a telegraph wire over the land of another, and all similar fixed encroachments, have, as already noted, long been held to constitute acts of trespass both in this country and in England. The Courts are vigilant to-day in affording a remedy for such offences against the right of property, and the books are replete with decisions confirming the rule. Casual considerations would suggest that in principle there is nothing to distinguish such cases from those in which a projectile is fired across a man's land, or an aviator skims across it, excepting the duration of time consumed by the invasion, which in itself is not, as Lord Ellenborough suggests, sufficient basis for a sound legal distinction. There is, however, one other and very important difference. In the case of a fixed encroachment the courts have always in mind the danger that if the invasion is continued for more than twenty years it will grow into a right of property. An easement will arise giving the invader a perpetual right to maintain the encroachment, and thereby substantially reducing the estate of the property-owner. This could never be true in the case of any single and temporary invasion by an aeronaut. The effect of this distinction is that it places fixed encroachments, such as those mentioned, no matter at what height above the land they occur, in the class of invasions occurring within the reasonable scope of effective possession of the land, because they interfere with the owner's free use of

his property. If the commission of the trespass may operate in time to deprive the owner of the land of some incident of his ownership, there can be no question of its having interfered with his effective possession.

The writer ventures the conclusion that in all cases where the invasion does not occur within the reasonable scope of effective possession, the courts will incline to regard the foregoing cases as controlling and will hold that no trespass is committed. This does not mean that an aeronaut may pass within a few feet of the surface of another's land or buildings without the commission of a trespass, because any passage so close as to cause annoyance or apprehension would be an interference with such possession. But a passage at such a height as to preclude the idea of substantial injury would be lawful. The cases mentioned do not in this respect appear to have been overruled, but have, on the contrary, been cited with approval in later decisions. Sir Frederick Pollock, in his work on Torts, approves the rule laid down in them as the most reasonable one under all the circumstances. They present a view which would suit the conditions arising from universal navigation of the air without doing violence to the existing common law upon the subject of trespass generally. Moreover, if mankind has really conquered the air, the courts will hesitate to lend discouragement by making every passage over alien land a trespass, so long as the common law can be reasonably and consistently construed to the contrary.

But supposing the courts to hold the contrary, and to declare the aeronaut liable to an action for trespass at the suit of every person over whose land he passes, what will be the result?

It is not conceivable that the aggrieved person would be able to prove any substantial damage, even though his right of action be sound. This in itself would probably be a very substantial deterrent of litigation. There are circumstances under which the courts will enjoin further repetition of continuing trespasses, but it is very doubtful whether aerial trespasses of the character in question would be regarded as ground for injunction. It may well be, therefore, that the mere inability of the law to afford any substantial relief for these trespasses would render the trespassers practically free from legal interference, though in fact violators of the law. But that frequent and universal trespass on a large scale, theoretically banned by the law while

in effect protected by it, should be permitted to continue seems hardly probable. Where there is a right there is a remedy, particularly if any considerable number of persons are clamoring for the remedy. It is entirely reasonable to suppose that many persons in the community would insist upon preventing these trespasses if a means could be found. Heavy objects dropped from flying-machines will be a grave source of danger. Some people would insist upon their rights through apprehension of this and similar perils, and others in order to exact money for the privilege of passing over their land. If trespass is committed, it will not continue for lack of active and interested persons to invoke the aid of the courts against it.

Should the state, by the exercise of the right of domain, take the air above a certain fixed height and devote it to the purposes of a public highway, this would seem to be a partial solution of the problem of trespass. It would not be a complete solution because as matters stand at present the aeroplanist, in order to make a landing, must arise and descend on a slanting course, and should this continue to be necessary trespasses would be committed while passing between the earth level and the upper air. The project of condemning the air, while in a sense novel, would be perfectly feasible from a legal standpoint. There is apparently no question as to the power to establish such a highway. Moreover, it would possess the rare virtue of involving little or no expense. Granting that the air stratum condemned should be at such a height as not to interfere with the most ambitious building operations, six cents would seem to be full remuneration for the property taken from any individual owner for public purposes. The simple European expedient of declaring the air to be a highway, by statute, without exercise of eminent domain, would hardly seem practicable in this country, as constituting a taking of property without due compensation, unless the courts hold, as suggested, that the air is already a public highway above the height of effective possession.

LYTTLETON FOX.

THE POWER OF TOLERANCE.*

BY THE EDITOR.

History is chiefly a record of battle. From the beginning, strife has reddened its pages,—the strife essential to physical existence, the strife requisite to mental development, the strife which cleared the way for moral growth and the gratifying of spiritual longings.

It is an appalling story, that of humankind. But from whatever view-point we regard creation, whether of directly divine origin or indirectly divine through natural processes, the incessant struggle plainly appears as the product, not of accident, but of design. When God set man over the beasts of the field, by that very act He called upon man to maintain his supremacy, if necessary, by force. When Nature evolved the primitive savage, she did not leave him to bask in the sun, but enforced upon him constant activity of mind and body to withstand the perils of the night. Such was the beginning, such has been the unbroken continuance, and such surely will be the perpetuation of the struggle for life, for the life of oneself necessarily, but also for the life of others, to the end.

It is war, unceasing, everlasting war, but purposeful, predestined, inevitable, noble. Between truth and falsehood, between right and wrong, there is no middle ground. Between the earnest searching for truth and resting contentedly in the acceptance of error there can be no compromise. Strife must continue forever between the mighty opposing forces for good and evil. That in the end victory will be achieved and complete dominance be acquired by the Right we may believe, but even so, in the mean time, clearly only works can justify faith. It behooves us, then, in this changed and changing era, to look well to our weapons. Just as

* The substance of an address delivered before the University of Kansas, on June 9th, 1908.

scores of battles have been won by the discriminating selection of cavalry or artillery or infantry to perform a specific act, just as thousands of duels have resulted favorably from the discreet choice of pistol or rapier, so the unending warfare on behalf of civilization must progress or be retarded as its conduct is marked by sagacity or stupidity. Consideration of the relative effectiveness of weapons is at times peculiarly imperative; it is so now.

THE POWER OF BIGOTRY.

To deny the power of bigotry would be to deny the facts of history. The superior capacity of concentration possessed by a narrow mind makes for strength. Mere persistence is one of the most potent of agencies. So the zealot has writ his name large and often upon the pages of the wonderful story of the world in which we live. His acts in many instances we of to-day can regard only with abhorrence. No savage chief has enforced decrees more barbarous than were some of the laws and customs of the kings of Israel. In the name of few, if any, religions have more crimes been committed than in that of our own.

But just as primitive man was impelled, not by instinct, but by the external necessities imposed upon him by Nature, to learn to kill that he might not perish from hunger or cold, so bigots almost invariably have been actuated by motives that were praiseworthy. Peter of Aragon undoubtedly felt that he was doing God service when he decreed that suspected heretics should be burned at the stake, and so paved the way for the horrors of the Spanish Inquisition. Calvin believed that he was only giving reality to faith in the minds of the people when he lit the fagots at the feet of Servetus. Luther's sole purpose in hounding the German princes to massacre thousands of starving and helpless peasants was to make permanent his great work of reformation. Knox was only striking at the symbolism which he detested when he incited the mob to destroy churches and monasteries.

These were not considerate men. Their measures were harsh, violent and, practised to-day, would be inexcusable. Fanaticism itself is inherently cruel, but how often has it proven effective when other forces were unavailing against injustice and wrong! The humanists drew back in terror from the cause which they themselves had launched before the thunderbolts of the great reformer, but Luther succeeded where Erasmus had

failed, and History opened a new and brighter volume to record the broadening of Civilization and Christianity.

THE NEW ERA.

Such has been the strength, the power of Determination, Narrowness, Relentlessness, even Bigotry. But the resolute spirits thus actuated depended for success, not upon themselves or their methods, but upon their cause, which almost invariably was revolt against infinitely worse intolerance than they themselves did manifest. They were the product of conditions, the creatures of environment, the slaves of necessity. Their spears were forged to beat down the like weapons of the enemy. The work they did constituted a requisite step in the unceasing struggle for life, life no longer in the sense of mere physical existence, but in the higher phase of mental development and moral emancipation. Its effectiveness we cannot question. But its methods we need not and should not emulate, its weapons we need not and should not employ, if others more potent in another and better era can be devised. Is not that the precise situation, the most vital question which confronts us of this new land in this new day of universal education and liberated conscience? And does not a peculiar responsibility devolve upon a Nation whose country was discovered simultaneously with the dawn of the new era, whose very life sprang from the same spirit of revolt against tyranny and superstition and whose eminence among states has already become so great as to almost insure its ultimate primacy among the nations of the earth?

THE CRUX OF LIBERTY.

For many thousand years this land, the most fertile and productive in the world, had lain fallow and unknown to civilized peoples when at last it met the gaze of Columbus. Is it not possible that the time of its discovery was a fixity from the beginning in the curious mechanism of constructive development of the human race? The background surely was complete, perfect. As we have seen, thraldom of mind and conscience had been broken by the zealots whose deeds mark the beginning of modern history. Oppressed beings throughout the world felt the impulse, the passion for liberty. The electricity of freedom was in the air. Sects, communities, even peoples, became restive

under conditions at home which were regarded as unchangeable. Eyes turned to this virgin field and gleamed with the light of hope and prospective happiness. And yet, it required the intolerance of England to drive from her borders to Plymouth Rock the men whose dauntless spirit became the heart of the Republic and still, let us hope and believe, exercises sufficient control to shape its destiny. From that psychological moment in the building of civilization, pages of history were written with incredible rapidity. Again and quickly intolerance played well its part and compelled the promulgation of the Declaration of Independence, to be followed by the war of the Revolution and the definite establishment of the rights of men as men and not as vassals. And when the time came to lay the corner-stone of the mighty Nation of to-day, how significant, how prescient was the work of the Fathers! There in Philadelphia were gathered together from all sections of the country Puritans, Cavaliers, Quakers, atheists, — all men of strong conviction and signal determination. But never for an instant in that momentous discussion did there appear the spectre of religious bigotry which from the beginning of the world had disrupted nations, wrecked communities and broken families. A new force had arisen. A new king was born. The adoption of the Constitution signalized the crowning of Tolerance. If to-morrow this Nation should be obliterated, if the earth itself should be destroyed, the greatest glory of any people would be left in these imperishable words:

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances."

TOLERANCE IN FUNDAMENTAL LAW.

There was the crux of human liberty, there shone the noonday sun from whose face the clouds of the Middle Ages had been swept away, there flashed the spirit of freedom from which is now springing government by the people from the land of the Spaniard to the home of Mahomet, but underneath and upholding all was and is the one great overpowering fact that there, for the first time in the history of the world, Tolerance was

written into the fundamental law of a land guided, guarded and inspired by Christian faith.

To make way for ideals it is necessary to shatter idols. And one by one idols have fallen. Simultaneously with the separation of Church and State disappeared taxation without representation. Followed slavery into mere hateful recollection. Arose a keen sense of protective forbearance towards weaker neighbors. Grows by leaps and bounds the movement against the most flagrant injustice of all, imbedded in discrimination, on account of sex alone, between humans possessing alike brains to think, hearts to feel, and souls to be saved. All through Tolerance. The mighty wrench of civil war has disappeared before common recognition of the fact that the conflict was inevitably essential to the maintenance of free institutions. The seating of a President believed by millions to have been defeated was accomplished quietly by a court of arbitration. In all essentials the people have continued steadfast to the spirit and the letter of the one great principle which, engrafted immediately upon their fundamental law, marked the inauguration of a new power in Christendom—the Power of Tolerance.

What of the results? Contrast existing conditions and what do we find? In France, peace and prosperity threatened by paternalism and socialism. In Russia, millions of peasants hungering for liberty still sweating and starving under reactionism. In Spain, where to this day none but the church of the State may erect an edifice of ecclesiastical design, poverty, dejection, threatening anarchy. In Turkey at last a ray of light which soon, alas! may fade. In Germany and England, at painful variance with the trend of civilization, a plain reversion to barbarism, through ostentatious preparations for war and carnage. In America, unprecedented material welfare, constant moral and spiritual upbuilding and, as an inevitable consequence, an ever-widening, ever-deepening influence. The foremost of recent historians died in the belief that ere long the United States would "stretch from pole to pole," and ultimately realize the poet's vision of "a parliament of man and the federation of the world."

THE HIGHER PATRIOTISM.

Whether or not we ourselves share that opinion, are we not in duty bound to recognize the possibility? And if so, how much

wider immediately becomes our horizon, how much more vital our acts, how much greater our responsibility! Patriotism assumes a new form. It ceases to be fealty to State or even Nation; it becomes an obligation to Christendom, an incentive to the service of all humanity. Because we hate war it no longer suffices to exercise the forbearance which happily we always have displayed toward others. By precept and example we must inculcate the love of peace throughout the world. That God and Nature intended that we should do so is clearly evidenced by physical conditions. Environment plays a leading if not indeed a controlling part in the development of man. Primarily all countries comprised broadly three distinct regions—a maritime region, an agricultural region and a pastoral region—and the characteristics of the people are determined by the requirements of their location. The resident of the belt along the shore, pursuing the line of least resistance in seeking sustenance, becomes a fisherman, and that occupation being notably precarious, he grows to be hardy, resolute, bold, disdainful of danger. The shepherd of the hills, too, being charged with the protection of his flock, acquires a warring disposition and, breathing an atmosphere of loneliness, grows moody and imaginative. It is the inhabitant of the plains who becomes domestic, tranquil, a lover of peace. Therein is found the chief distinctiveness of our land. The great commercial cities of our seaboards are peopled by millions whose natural attitude is that of defiance and too often of truculence; from the hills the first bugle-note tempts those whose manner of life has made them eager for fray; on the plains men instinctively think before acting, counsel precedes rash undertaking, the cost is reckoned, the family is of first consideration. Once enlisted in response to the call of duty, they are invincible because of the very sobriety out of which their determination has sprung; but they engage in conflict not lightly and never willingly except in defence of principle, life or property. To-day in France it is the peasantry, not Paris, that forbids the building of a huge navy in frenzied competition with Great Britain and Germany. So in our own country, despite the vaunted influence of our cities and the restiveness among the hills, the seat of real power is the vast plain stretching from the Alleghenies to the Rocky Mountains. Here is the productiveness which is the source of wealth and prosperity; here is the independence of individ-

ualism transplanted from New England; here is or should be the inherent desire for peace controlling our National policy.

THE MISSION OF OUR PEOPLE.

Can any one, least of all any one born and bred amid such surroundings, doubt that this instinct, as a guide, is safe, that the authority thus conferred by Nature may be exercised to the great gain of civilization? Because history is chiefly a record of battle, must it forever be? Physical warfare is not the strife decreed by the Creator. The strength of a country is not measured by armies and navies. Intelligence, character, conscience constitute the true bulwarks of national welfare. The schoolhouse at the corners is more potent ultimately than a "Dreadnought" of the seas. The little church on the hill is worth a score of regiments. Success in agriculture, commerce and manufacture presages certain triumph in war if the cause be just. During the scores of years when foreign peoples looked covetously upon our rich inheritance and realized the apparent weakness of possible resistance, none ventured to land upon these shores. Think you one would do so now when we are strong—aye, stronger in ultimate resources than any one or two or three foreign powers? Is it conceivable that in these days of enlightenment a ruler, much less a people, would invite the overwhelming reprisal which would surely ensue from an unwarranted attack upon or temporary victory over any portion of territory shielded by our flag? We need no mighty fleets, no great armies for or against foreign enterprises—only schools and churches, as of old, for the elevation of our citizens and the uplifting of oppressed human beings seeking the shelter of freedom. Such, the Fathers of the Republic and our fathers believed, was the true and holy mission of this new people under the protection of the Pilgrims' God! Let us not now be led astray in worship of idols which demand for their sacrifice the life-blood of nations. Rather let us continue steadfast in the purposes, the ideals, the faith of our ancestors, and not only stand firm for peace, but by practice and example discourage the building by others of great armaments which constitute a constant temptation to war.

THE INSTINCT FOR ASCENDANCY.

But it is not my purpose to deal with specific problems which confront us now or may demand solution in the future. It is

rather to present for consideration certain reflections deduced from a study of the past concerning the relative efficiency of methods which may be utilized. If it be true, as it surely is, that the strength of purposeful narrowness began to fade under the illuminating rays of forbearance with the inauguration of a new era, then clearly the supplanting force is one to be cherished, not only in our relations with other people, but among ourselves. No argument need be made to prove that solidarity is a first requisite of national influence. The indissoluble union finally established by force of arms affords living evidence of America's definite and irrevocable recognition of the statement as a fact.

But it is not a mere political Union that is essential to this solidarity before the world. There must be a Union of purpose, a Union of ideals, a Union of hearts, if the highest and noblest aspirations are to be realized. And this can be effected only through the exercise of the power of Tolerance. How this force can be wielded is indicated by experience as recounted by History. We have already noted the effect of environment in the shaping of primitive man and the building of the various segments of the human race.

To-day, despite the partial elimination of distances through the amazing discoveries and inventions of recent years, it is still an influence of magnitude to be reckoned with and regarded with considerate thought. Because a member of a financial community places commercial stability above other considerations, it does not follow that he is an enemy of his country. Because a resident of the seaboard, unduly apprehensive of foreign invasion, deplores immigration and incites aggressive resistance to it, we have no right to assume that his motives are unworthy. Because, as many of us believe, manufacturers demand excessive protection; or because tillers of the soil, regarding themselves, wrongfully to some minds, as consumers rather than as producers, would abolish custom-houses; because poverty insists that wealth should bear the main cost of maintaining government; because wealth would and, as many of us believe, does, place an unequal and consequently unfair burden of taxation upon poverty, the actuating motives need not necessarily be condemned as wholly base. The true cause often lies, not in lack of patriotic impulse, but in that instinct for ascendancy whose manifestations, however

distasteful in concrete instances, make, as a rule, for individual achievement.

THE SPIRIT OF PROVINCIALISM.

Obviously the environment or condition which gives rise to such feeling deserves the consideration of fair minds. And while detecting the beams in the eyes of our neighbor, surely no harm can result from searching for possible motes in our own. Neither, we may rest assured, can be removed by common objurgation or by wilful misinterpretation of purpose. Reason affords the only resource, and Reason is not only dependent for its very exercise upon forbearing consideration, but is in practice necessarily Tolerance itself. And just as we cannot hope to convince an individual by impugning his veracity, but may induce him to acknowledge his error through presentation of evidence, so only through acquaintanceship with and respectful consideration of the needs, no less than the attitude of a community, can the harmony essential to true unity be attained.

Often the statement is made that some section of our country is provincial, and so perhaps it may be. But there is no justification for stating the fact as an accusation. A community is only a small aggregation of individuals affected by the same conditions, subject to like influences, charged with conserving identical interests. And all individuals are and should be provincial in the common sense of the term. Else they willingly bury themselves in the morass of socialism and deny to themselves the glory of personal accomplishment.

This is not the spirit which merits deprecation. Far from it. This *is* the spirit, the true spirit of individualism which has made America great. It is the refusal to grant an equal right of self-thinking and self-striving to others, whether the others be communities or individuals, that is baneful, contrary to the theory of our institutions, destructive of personal liberty, and a bar in the path of progress whose setting would have been fitting in the long night of mediæval bigotry, but has no place in this new day of mutual forbearance.

CONCLUSION.

The conclusions then are these: that, in conformity with a fixed law of the unceasing development of the human race, Tolerance has supplanted its antithesis as an actual force; that the

beginning of its supremacy was coincident with the discovery of America; that here it received its first National recognition in formal and absolute separation of Church and State; that older countries have been and are being stirred to emulation; that, consequently, a peculiar responsibility devolves upon our people not only to maintain, but to enhance the new and better and higher power among men; and, finally, that we cannot hope to fulfil our mission unless we accord it supremacy among ourselves—among ourselves, not only as individuals, but as communities, as sections, as North, East, South and West, holding fast to faith in the integrity and well-meaning of one another, so long as the last vestige of uprightness and of patriotism shall be manifest.

In marshalling the facts from which to make these deductions, I have drawn largely upon the record of the past, upon that surest and safest of guides, experience. The present I have touched upon lightly because I feel that in recent years we have concentrated our thoughts too sharply upon what is, and have accorded too little consideration to what has been and what may be.

Remains the future. To those of yesterday be their due, to us of to-day is left hardly more than consciousness of passing; it is you of to-morrow who hold our thoughts and bear our hopes. I have spoken only to your minds. By simple reasoning I have tried to make clear a vital truth. Whether more is within my province I cannot say. But no one who loves his country could stand in this presence and look into your eyes and realize that you represent so many, many thousands like yourselves in all parts of our land about to go forth to take up the burdens and responsibilities and meet with the joys and sorrows of life, without longing for the magic wand of appeal with which to reach and touch the nobility of soul contained within every human breast. Tolerance the most potent material agency? Yes, as we have seen. But how much more does it stand for! How much better, higher, finer, is the aspiration to which it tends! Do you know that there is only one quality that distinguishes Christianity from a score of other religions? Other religions require faith of one kind or another; other religions inspire hope; but Christianity puts the seal of its supreme approval upon Charity, greater than either—not the charity of

giving, but of forbearance, of tolerance, of the brotherhood of man! Here is the foundation, the very corner-stone of all of our ideals. Ignore it and you drown in the sea of confusion. Despise it and you adopt distrust of all things, human and divine. Forsake it and you bury conscience and love and all of the sweetness of life. Refuse to see it and a cloud sweeps across your vision and hides in darkness the sun of inspiration to do for others what you would have them to do for you and those you love. You may not understand, but you *may* believe that:

> "What to thee is shadow, to Him is day,
> And the end He knoweth;
> And not in a blind and aimless way
> The spirit goeth."

The spirit; yes, the spirit of forbearance that goeth to make the world akin by inducing God's children, if not to love, at least to be patient with one another. Such is the now-living power and the never-dying glory of Tolerance.

THE EDITOR.

NEW BOOKS REVIEWED.

Miss Ellen Glasgow is undoubtedly one of the most capable of our present-day story-tellers, and in her recent novel she has turned back to her happy hunting-grounds, the Virginia of the Reconstruction. Her last two novels, "The Wheel of Life" and "The Ancient Law," proved to those who cared that she was a serious and a philosophical novelist; but the large novel-reading public takes its novels as it would champagne at dinner or an opiate at night, and doubtless the present story* will serve better for light diversion. The picture of Richmond and Richmond society is photographic, and many of the characters are easy for those who know the environment well to identify. The struggle of the hero to raise himself from the obscurest of human fates to prominence in the social and financial worlds is the theme of the tale, and a charming little love idyl stretching from childhood through married life is enwoven in it. "The Descendant" and "The Voice of the People" both deal with the same general theme, but setting and characters show how wide a range of human knowledge Miss Glasgow has.

Sally Mickleborough is the regular Southern type of heroine, pretty, proud, high-spirited, unbroken and unbreakable by Fate. She loves and marries the plain man, and during his reverses she is his mainstay and strength; in his prosperity, however, his preoccupation with business strains the relation between them, and the tale is of married love perfected through much pain. We predict an immediate popularity for Miss Glasgow's latest romance, though no one who knows aught of the real value of books could say that in any way it reached the heights of her "Ancient Law" and "Wheel of Life."

* "The Romance of a Plain Man." By Ellen Glasgow. The Macmillan Company, 1909.

Interest in "The Inner Shrine"* has been much stimulated by the announcement that it is the work of a well-known novelist whose name is not divulged. It has been attributed to Edith Wharton, Mrs. Humphry Ward and to Amélie Rives. That it is a woman's book no concealment can make us doubt, and but for the quality of a measured restraint, self-suppression and absence of the Virginia heroine we should be inclined to believe it to be the work of Amélie Rives. But if it is it means that this writer has gone industriously to school to Mrs. Wharton. The story has in it the excellencies of both writers, the care and the craftsmanlike structure of the one and the emotional fervor of the other. The heroine, half Irish and half French, has in her that strange blend of dreamy recklessness and gallant courage which might easily mark a high-bred Norman and Celt descent. Throughout the story she holds our sympathies by being really nobler than she is to outer seeming. The opening in the fast Parisian set and the transference to the old families in New York show a good knowledge of varying social ideals. It is a good story well told, and the analysis of the opposed racial ideals of honor is very acute.

Nothing in connection with recent American letters has been more delightful than to watch the steady growth and flowering of Miss Alice Brown's genius. Delicate, exquisite, but very shy at first, it has increased in scope and quality till it would be difficult to find another American story-writer to be called her equal. No one, remembering "The Day of His Youth," touched with poetic dream-perception, as it was, could have foreseen so fine a novel as "Rose McLeod." It was a delightful story, but it was so much more than a story; it was a wonderfully varied, moving bit of life caught and reproduced, with the poet's and the painter's glamour added. Florrie, the gay old lady of seventy-two, still busy with her love-affairs and her literary hoaxes and her sense of the sheer fun of living, was an achievement not easily paralleled. "The Story of Thyrza"† is a painting of lower life on a narrower canvas. Thyrza is the daughter of a poor village tailoress—a type of pure goodness, high thinking and plain living difficult to find

* "The Inner Shrine." By ?. Messrs. Harper & Brothers, 1909.

† "The Story of Thyrza." By Alice Brown. Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1909.

outside of small New England villages. There are two sisters, Laura, commonplace, pretty, kindly, matter-of-fact, and Thyrza, fiery, idealistic, high-hearted, ambitious. She is betrayed through the very innocence and nobility of her nature by the man who afterwards becomes her sister's husband. Though betrayed by her innocence, Thyrza pronounces her own judgment and inflicts her own penalty. For twenty years she follows her mother's trade in a small university town and brings up and educates her son. Hers is a noble and exalted character, and she reaps the blessing in the end of those who have hungered and thirsted after righteousness.

This same theme of a woman's fatal mistake has been handled in late years by three American women, Mrs. Deland, Mrs. Anne Sedgwick and Miss Brown. In the two latter cases the women take their fatal mistakes heavily and willingly expiate them, but there is in Miss Brown's a nobler purpose, a higher spirituality. As for the love-story, there is a story of real love running alongside the story of sin and mistake almost as exquisite as Rose's love-story. The final love scene of the dying Barton Gorse and Thyrza is one of Miss Brown's own inimitable touches.

"Silly, silly," says the dying man. "Everything is silly but being kind." One remembers that when, a generation ago, one of George Eliot's characters said, "Kindness is my religion" it seemed a bold and radical utterance, but to-day it is a truism that the best of religion and the best of life is the kindly service of man.

Marion Crawford is dead, and his work is finished. By all accounts and to all seeming he was the best and most companionable of men, and he was visibly a most industrious writer. In twenty-eight years he wrote over forty novels. In fifty years George Meredith wrote about half that number. Those who remember the vitality and exuberant fancy in "Mr. Isaacs" and "Dr. Claudius" cannot but feel that whatever Mr. Crawford may have gained in character by his unremitting industry he lost in genius and vitality by forcing his gift.

The plot of the "White Sister"* is good, but the characters are shadowy and unreal, and the telling of the tale is bald. We

* "The White Sister." By Marion Crawford. The Macmillan Company, 1909.

get little or no sense of reality and no by-product of description, philosophy, minute observation. "Look at a tree," Flaubert counselled his pupil, Maupassant, "until you see what everybody else sees, and then look at it till you see what nobody else has seen." Maupassant followed his master's advice; he is a world-genius, and his work is life-communicating. Marion Crawford never had time for the second look; he saw only what every one else saw, and so his gift is meagre and commonplace. He was a good man and a lovable personality, but he has left behind him only a large number of machine-made novels, neat but not durable.

"Araminta"* is a comedy of manners, highly polished and lightly handled—as delightful a book as one would want for a summer's day. Araminta is the incurably amiable second daughter of a country parson, big and bonnie and radiantly beautiful. Nor does it detract from her charm that she is entirely lacking in any intellectual subtleties. Adopted and brought out in the most complex of London society by her old aunt, the Countess Crewkerne, Araminta remains faithful to her interest in cream buns and her sister "Muffin's" mauve dress. She is far too simple to perceive the evils of London society and too sweet to be disturbed by her aunt's temper, although its normal condition is severe. A casual introduction, when by chance the splendid creature is seated beneath the Gainsborough portrait of her grandmamma Dorset, inflames the artistic imagination of Lord Cheriton and *costumiers* and milliners are summoned, and the great masterpiece of nature is decked out by the greatest artists in costuming and the simple Araminta is led forth to conquer. It is a tale of pure refreshment, merriment and fun, for Araminta, called "Goose" by her brothers and sisters because she is "ra-ther a sillay," is too simple and too amiable to be dazzled or spoiled by the proposals of Lords and Dukes and comfortably marries the young portrait-painter from Widdeford, who was the friend of her childhood. The story of "Goose's" sister, "Muffin," so called because she was "ra-ther a ragamuffin," is promised for a later instalment, and it is to be hoped she may rival her sister in charm. But it would be, indeed, a *tour de force* to repeat high comedy in so delightful a vein.

* "Araminta." By J. C. Snaith. New York: Moffat, Yard & Co., 1909.

John Galsworthy is, of all the novelists now at work, the one of whom one can say most securely that his work will live. His books are not written to amuse the idle, but to appeal to the thinking; and there is not one of his books but will stir them to fuller consciousness and deeper sympathy with the helpless and hopeless, the stragglers on life's march. It is one of the chief interests in comparing English and American fiction to note how much larger, more universal and therefore more permanent are the themes of the English writers. Business, humor, a love-affair, an intrigue, an individual mistake and retrieval; at best a single person's life or point of view are the matter of American novels. Mr. Galsworthy's novels deal with social questions; the relation of the victors to their vanquished, of the endowed and the fortunate to the downtrodden, the "lost dog"; this is his subject, and he has brought to it a rare and acute vision, a great sense of justice, insight and power of expression. How far is it one's business to identify one's self with others, especially the helpless, and how far one's business to keep one's self intact—*integer vitæ?*—this is the question the chief character in "Fraternity,"* Hilary Dollison, asks himself, and it is the most vital and urgent question of thinking men to-day. The solidarity of the race, the dignity of each human soul, the improvement of the present type of humanity that is the undercurrent of all modern endeavor; and Mr. Galsworthy, recognizing it, is in the front rank of modern novelists.

In "Fraternity" we get types as cleverly drawn as in "The Island Pharisees" or "The Country House"—types such as Purcey, the Philistine; Stone, the thinker; Hilary, the dilettante and man of taste; and the little model, Bianca, and Cecilia, who stand, respectively, for the untrained child of nature, the bloom of culture and the product of convention. The novel is a strong and vivid production, and we look to Mr. Galsworthy to become a novelist in the great tradition.

Frank Danby is a woman and she writes about women. It would be very interesting to have a clear statement of her scheme of morals. Sebastian,† who is by no means the chief character

* "Fraternity." By John Galsworthy. New York: S. P. Putnam's Sons, 1909.

† "Sebastian." By Frank Danby. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1909.

in the book, is the son of a literary mother and a self-abnegating father. The author deals severely with her chief character, the literary mother, who is so absorbed in her father's memory and her literary labors that she entirely omits loving her husband and petting her son. She is passionately devoted to Sebastian, but, believing in restrained expression of the emotions, she really turns him elsewhere for the closer intimacies of life. If Frank Danby intended her books as an indictment of the literary career she missed her aim, for in the end the literary mother seems to be more innocently employed than any one else in the book; she seems to have held herself firmly to high and fine, if not generous ideals and turns out the most likable character in the book.

René Bazin is well known as a great conservative. The inevitable wheeling of the world on its course and the inevitable changes of a progressive civilization are sources of endless distress to him, and he never tires depicting the unavoidable tragedies of mutability. It is the tragedy of the forsaking of the soil and the breakdown of the artificial barriers of caste which he laments in "This, My Son."* Of the charm of his style (even though it is at times ungrammatically rendered), of his keen and tender observation of natural detail there can be no question; but there are striking limitations of sympathy, and it is but to reprehend and point out flaws that he follows the fortunes of the ambitious young Noellet, who, coming of peasant origin, is eager, intellectual and proud. He lifts himself by means of education out of the home surroundings and starts out as a city journalist, only to be thrown back by thwarting and disappointments into utter failure and degradation. The description of life on the Noellet farm, the family life and the country labors, is charming, and it is not the author's fault if his readers cannot be convinced that Pierre's ambitions were false and his failures a just retribution.

Mr. Hall Caine is always devoutly attached to the obvious, and he carefully points out that the curt, harsh, realistic little story

* "This, My Son." By René Bazin. Translated by Dr. A. S. Rappoport. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909.

he introduces* does not accord with his own scheme of morality where the righteous flourish and the naughty are punished. Indeed, there is life, but no moral to be drawn from the tale, unless it be that the strong man will win good out of evil and the weak man make the right cause seem wrong. With unenlightened pessimism, doubtless drawn from Schopenhauer and an unrelenting objectivity learned from Flaubert, Bojer, the new Norwegian writer, tells his grim little tale of the flourishing landowner who signs his friend's note and then declares it a forgery when the time comes to pay. He builds and flourishes upon his lie, while the weakling goes under. This may not be the melodramatic morality of which Hall Caine is fond, but it is austerely truthful none the less.

More and more the tendency of foreign writers is to set down the hard fact and leave the reader to make all inferences. Maarten Maartens's "Brothers All"† is a volume of short sketches of Dutch peasant life admirably drawn, largely painful, but good reading because they give a sense of truth and reality. The outer trappings, although strange and alien to us, do not disguise the common humanity which flows in all our veins.

"There is a certain hour in life when the god passes; he exalts those who respond to him and breaks those who resist. The poacher, loving, grew divine; Thérèse, saving all who approached her, was saved in turn; Mademoiselle Peyrolles, sacrificing herself, was sustained by a truly maternal joy; M. Taffin, whom charity restrained, found resignation possible. For those who give their lives are saved. Egoism only is deadly; Lethois died of it."

This is the summing up near the end of Estaunié's treatment of the "Secret Life."‡ Taking the chief characters of a tiny village near Toulouse, a priest, a maiden lady who is also the chief landowner of the district, and an old scientist, the author shows each life pursuing some private end, some hidden hope,

* "The Power of a Lie." By Jan Bojer. Translated by Jessie Muir, with an introduction by Hall Caine. New York: Mitchell Kennerly, 1909.

† "Brothers All." By Maarten Maartens. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1909.

‡ "*La Vie Secrète.*" By Edouard Estaunié. Paris: Perrin et Cie.

or ambition, or joy until "the god passes," and each one in turn is called on to give himself and his "*vie secrète*" up to the common life of humanity, to a more general welfare. Each must give his life for another's or shrivel up in his own egoism. This is a charming story full of the soft landscape of Central France, the atmosphere of summer and autumnal fields, and the blind strivings of human hearts living, all unseeing, amid growing tragedies. The plot thickens and changes, the suffering and renunciation remain unalterable; but those who trust to the end in the ultimate goodness which rules the universe are somehow justified.

A new Tartarin de Tarascon, a gay braggart, a daring adventurer, a blossom of Provence, is offered us in Aicard's "*Maurin des Maures.*"* That sunny Southern land turns out these Quixotic characters from time to time; people who adopt a rôle and live so persistently in the ideal of themselves that it usurps the real. Maurin, the King, was as happy living upon fiction as the average man can make himself with the most propitious reality. Gay, gallant, unscrupulous, light-hearted and laughter-loving, living in the security and ease of a genial climate and a friendly people, Maurin, known as King of the Moors, with Parlo-Soulet the monologuist, the stone-breaker, and his daughter Tonia the Corsaire, and the military, make up a merry and adventurous tale of laughter, liberty and license of a people still living close to Nature and her untrammelled ways.

* "*Maurin des Maures.*" By Jean Aicard. Paris: Ernest Flammarion.

WORLD-POLITICS.

LONDON: CONSTANTINOPLE: WASHINGTON.

LONDON, *June, 1909.*

SEVERAL American papers have recently made a point of discountenancing the suggestion that in the event of a conflict between Germany and Great Britain the United States would side actively with the latter Power. I have not myself seen any such suggestion thrown out in any responsible British journal. The idea that lies behind it is certainly not one that British officialdom entertains. Naturally enough, considering the unquestionable gravity of the crisis which is threatened by the growth of the German navy, there has been a certain amount of discussion as to the position and policy of the United States. But no Englishman, so far as I am aware, whose opinion counts for anything, has even hinted at the possibility of an Anglo-American alliance to avert that crisis. This country has lamentably failed in many ways to meet the new menace to its naval supremacy in the spirit one would expect from "an old and haughty nation, proud in arms." It has displayed a degree of hysteria and puerility that almost sets one revising the traditional estimates of British character. Its nerves have been badly shaken; it has allowed itself to fall an unreasoning and ridiculous prey to the most fantastic scares. But it has not yet thrown pride and strength so wholly to the winds as to bid for an Anglo-American alliance; nor has it yet parted so completely with common sense as to imagine that in the event of an Anglo-German war the United States would take a single step beyond a strict neutrality. If any British journals have said anything to create a contrary impression, they can only be journals to which no one in this country pays any heed. If Americans have been misled, as they apparently have,

into thinking that Great Britain in any way relies upon the assistance of the United States in taking up the German challenge, I can assure them that the delusion is of their own making. Every rational man in the United Kingdom understands perfectly well, first, that Great Britain has got to see this business through alone, and, secondly, that the conditions and interests of America are such as to rule out the possibility of anything approaching an alliance. If Americans in an Anglo-German conflict were to show as much benevolent neutrality as Great Britain showed during the Spanish-American war it would be rather more than most Englishmen expect.

At the same time it is believed over here—whether rightly or wrongly, I will not attempt to determine—that on the general question between Great Britain and Germany American opinion inclines towards Great Britain. A great many pronouncements by American journals have been cabled to this country from which Englishmen infer, first, that Americans recognize that Germany's naval ambitions do not affect Great Britain alone and, secondly, that Americans would not willingly see the transfer of naval supremacy from British to German hands. An article by Captain Mahan in "Collier's Weekly" attracted, in particular, a wide attention. In that article the foremost living authority on the influence and history of sea power warned his countrymen that the expansion of Germany's fleet was "a portentous international fact" to which they could not be indifferent. "It is surely," he said, "incumbent upon us to recognize that there is now visible in the near future a foreign fleet decisively superior to our own in the class of vessel accepted at present by preponderant naval opinion as the determinative factor in naval war." He pointed out that while Germany had never contravened the Monroe Doctrine Americans were bound to look facts straight in the face and to understand that "in case of future offence given by some future Castro—a condition almost sure to arise—such superiority at sea as Germany is now establishing puts it in her power to exact whatever reparation she may please, irrespective of the Monroe Doctrine." "Are we willing," he asked, "to leave a permanent element of national policy dependent upon the uncertain indulgence of a foreign State which is notoriously thirsting for colonization in the supposed interest of racial development?" And he went on to emphasize the fact that "if the

United States should find herself decisively inferior on the sea," she would be obliged either to yield to Germany's pretensions without resistance or to fight with inadequate means, and that in the latter case not only would she be beaten on the main issue and her commerce strangled by blockade, but she might also be called upon to pay the war bills of both sides. So virile and perspicacious an utterance as this from a publicist and strategist of Captain Mahan's eminence could not but powerfully affect British opinion. Englishmen do not, of course, make the mistake of thinking that all Americans are as alert and far-seeing as Captain Mahan; but they judge that average American opinion realizes (1) that a disaster to Great Britain would react unfavorably on America's commercial, financial and political interests, (2) that Germany's predominance at sea would necessitate the building of a very large American navy to avert possible complications in the West Indies, in South America and in the Pacific, and (3) that the peace of the world is more assured while Great Britain remains the mistress of the seas than it would be if Germany were to take her place. For these reasons Englishmen conclude that, if it came to a struggle, American sympathies would be with Great Britain rather than with Germany. But they do not expect those sympathies to take any outward or practical form. They are well aware that America's traditional policy in such matters is one of neutrality and non-intervention, and they see clearly enough that there are a hundred reasons of internal policies why even in the contingency of an Anglo-German war it should not be departed from.

As to the question of an Anglo-American alliance all Englishmen who know America—and they are a large and increasing number—regard it as altogether outside the range of practical politics. If they are asked whether a Power so mighty as the United States and with such wide-spread interests can continue indefinitely to hold aloof from the rivalries and antagonisms of *Weltpolitik* they will usually answer, "No." In some unspecified and incognizable future Englishmen count upon the United States dropping the rôle of a hermit nation and playing a far more active and conspicuous part in international politics; and when that time comes they are confident that Americans will find it to their interest to work in co-operation with Great Britain. But that is as far as they go. They quite comprehend that

many prejudices will have to be overcome and many traditions discarded before Americans are likely to reach the point of translating Anglo-American friendship into terms of politics. They are perfectly content to wait. They have no desire to hurry matters in the least. In British eyes Americans are undergoing an unconscious education in the realities of *Weltpolitik*. The process will necessarily be a slow one, but there is no desire among responsible Englishmen to forestall what they regard as its assured and inevitable results, and in the mean time they are satisfied if in any question that concerns Great Britain they possess the good-will and sympathy of Americans. That I believe to represent with accuracy and completeness the official and popular attitude towards the relations between the two countries. All Englishmen, I need scarcely add, rejoice that the Anglo-American slate has now been wiped clean of nearly all contentious issues. They dismiss the very idea of a serious quarrel with the United States as inherently incredible. They realize perfectly well that Canada remains in the British Empire by American sufferance, and that even if they wished, which they emphatically do not, to be at odds with the United States they simply could not afford to be so. The British Admiralty has shown by its abandonment of old naval stations and garrisons in the West Indies and Canada and by concentrating nine-tenths of British sea power in the North Sea, the Channel and the Mediterranean, that it has ceased to reckon with the United States as a possible antagonist; and in the debates in the House of Commons a few days ago it was virtually admitted that America was habitually and as a matter of course left out of British calculations in framing the navy estimates and considering the scope of the two-Power standard. For the rest the English people are wholly content to leave the future of Anglo-American relations to take care of itself.

It was announced on June 4th, equally to the relief and the surprise of the country, that the Duke of Norfolk's Holbein, the "Duchess of Milan," was, after all, to remain in England. The fate of the picture and the rights and wrongs of its purchase and sale have been, apart from politics and the failure of the Australian cricketers, the main theme of discussion in England during the past few weeks. The Duke sold the picture, which was once the property of Henry VIII and has been in the country for nearly four hundred years, to a firm of art-dealers for $310,000.

The dealers offered it to the nation for $360,000 if bought within a month. The Government subscribed $50,000 from the public moneys towards its purchase and the directors of the National Art Collections Fund secured promises for $75,000 more; but at the end of the month the sum required was still far from being raised and everybody expected that the picture would be lost. Naturally but irrationally the public were irritated, first, with the Duke for parting with so famous a masterpiece and, secondly, with the dealers for demanding a profit of $50,000 on their outlay; nor were they reconciled by the announcement that the dealers themselves were subscribing largely to the national fund for its purchase. A few days' grace was allowed after the expiration of the month, and at the very last moment an anonymous donor came forward with a check for $200,000. The picture, therefore, is saved and will continue to hang in the National Gallery, to which the Duke lent it many years ago. But the problem of the drain of works of art from England remains. Italy, Greece and Spain forbid the exportation of their treasures, and England, which still boasts many of the finest private collections in the world, becomes more and more the happy hunting-ground of the wealthy connoisseur. The English nobility have pretty well ceased to collect; they are now mainly sellers of what their fathers collected before them. Throughout the whole of the eighteenth century every wealthy Englishman with any pretensions to taste surrounded himself with beautiful objects of art. From time to time they changed owners, but they rarely left the country; the firmness with which the English kept what they had acquired was the despair of the Continental collectors up to thirty years ago. Then, for reasons it would be difficult to trace back to their source, a change set in. The English nobles began to sell freely; the collecting millionaire from the United States appeared on the scene; the old masters fetched incredible prices; and though the National Gallery has secured, on the whole, its full share of whatever was to be had, many priceless treasures have been snapped up by the Berlin Museum and private American patrons. That the drain will continue unless vigorous efforts are made to stop it is certain. A contributor to the "Times" suggests calling in the aid of legislation. He proposes a Government commission of experts to inquire into and to register all the important works of art in the country; a classification of these

according to their artistic and historical importance; and, finally, legislation absolutely prohibiting the export of some, taxing the export of others and giving to the State the right of pre-emption in the case of all. It is a bold scheme, but I think a very strong body of opinion might be formed in support of it. What at least is unquestionable is that so long as the National Gallery lacks anything in the nature of an Intelligence Department, so long as the custody of British art is intrusted not to experts, but to well-meaning amateurs, and so long as the Government declines to set aside a large annual sum for purchasing pictures before they come into the open market or to supervise or restrict in any way the disposal of private collections, so long will England be gradually denuded of her stock of artistic treasures. That is a prospect which no one contemplates with equanimity, and it may conceivably prove that the attention aroused by the near loss of Holbein's "Duchess of Milan" will be the starting-point of something like a national movement to keep the remaining masterpieces in the country. It has also been proposed that works of art of great value or historical interest should no longer be included in the death duties, but should be taxed upon their passing out of their owners' hands by sale.

Very great interest has been stirred up in England and Ireland by the publication of a letter written by Mr. Roosevelt a day or two before he left office. The letter was addressed to Mr. Bryce, and in it the President paid a high compliment to Sir Horace Plunkett's work among the Irish farmers and named him as the true and only begetter of the Country Life Commission. The President wrote the letter obviously under the belief that it would be published widely and at once. Mr. Bryce, of course, was debarred from giving it to the world; he could only forward it to the British Foreign Secretary. The Foreign Secretary, seeing that it dealt with Irish affairs, would probably turn it over to the Irish Secretary. But the present Irish Secretary is Mr. Birrell, and Mr. Birrell has no affection for Sir Horace Plunkett and no great belief in his work. One of his first official acts was to turn Sir Horace out of the Vice-Presidency of the Irish Department of Agriculture in obedience to Nationalist clamor. Mr. Birrell, therefore, might easily have worked round to the conclusion that the best way of dealing with Mr. Roosevelt's inconvenient testimonial was to ignore it. Nothing, at any rate,

was heard of it; Sir Horace Plunkett was not informed of the striking tribute paid to him by the President; and it was not until a Western American agricultural paper got hold of a copy of the letter and published it that its contents were known on this side of the Atlantic. There may be some adequate explanation to account for the official suppression of the document, but I am bound to say that the explanation generally suggested is simply that Mr. Birrell considered it better "politics" to disregard President Roosevelt's wishes and rob Sir Horace Plunkett of the credit awarded him.

For the next few months, probably, indeed till the end of September, the House of Commons will be occupied almost exclusively with the Budget. I dealt fully with its general provisions in my last communication and need not now go over the same ground. But besides the Budget time will also somehow—nobody, I imagine, quite knows how—have to be found for Mr. Birrell's Irish Land Bill and for three other measures that bear witness to this Government's insatiable appetite for social and industrial reform. Two of these measures stand in Mr. Winston Churchill's name, and deal, one of them with the creation of a national system of labor exchanges, and the other with a compulsory scheme of insurance in certain trades against unemployment. The third measure is Mr. John Burns's Housing and Town Planning Bill—a Bill dealing with the cognate but distinct subjects of providing better houses for the working-classes and of facilitating the growth of towns along lines of health and beauty. To these three measures, so typical of present-day politics in England, I shall hope to recur later on.

CONSTANTINOPLE, *June, 1909.*

YOUNG Turkey's revolutionary honeymoon is over. The dream-like idyl with which it opened a twelvemonth ago has been rudely broken by the sudden inrush of life's every-day cares. Worse than this, the young nation has had to face a very sea of troubles and do battle for its life. And the struggle is still going on with varying event. Some keen-sighted observers hold that when it is definitely ended the face of the Ottoman Empire and the colors of the political map of Europe will have undergone a momentous change. They add that those who would fain christen

that change before it is yet born may find a clue to the future in the political currents of the present. In the stability of the new order of things hardly anybody now believes. Hence every Government has its gaze fixed upon Turkey. Eagerness to foresee the coming change, to make it subserve their interests, and to further their political strivings, constitutes the essence of the present foreign policy of all the great Powers.

But the danger that threatens Young Turkey should not be gauged only by the severe trials by which the nation is beset. A better standard will include the sum of forces with which the community can meet them. And the application of this criterion discloses a set of flaws and hitches in the political, social and intellectual equipment of the nation which circumstance may at any moment render fatal. The beneficent and bloodless revolution that amazed and delighted all liberal-minded men a twelvemonth ago was but a soul-soothing vision—viewed through the emotional haze which then prevailed—a prosaic fact transfigured and glorified by a sympathetic world. People ascribed the bloodlessness of the upheaval to the humanity of the mild-mannered, peace-loving exiles who in Paris or London had for years been preaching the Gospel of parliamentarism and the drawing near of the kingdom of brotherhood and peace. Accordingly, men marvelled at the new departure in revolution. For the eye of the distant foreigner beheld in it a latter-day miracle in which ends were attained without adequate means. But to the keener vision of the close observer it was the handiwork of the army, nay, of a mere section of the army, which was quite ready to employ its rifles and heavy guns had not the Sultan opportunely hauled down his flag and offered up the sacrifice of his power. It was Abdul Hamid's timely submission, therefore, that stayed the hand of the army in July, 1908. And what was taken for clemency and forgiveness, on the part of the Young Turks, was but the prompting of prudence, rooted indeed in their feeling for the moral law, but only in so far as that law is reflected in the stern sanction of foreign public opinion. In other words, it was a frank acceptance of the logic of external facts.

Students, aware of this because they had dropped their plummets deeper than the average man, had also a presentiment that a period of storm and stress was at hand. They sniffed thunder in the air. And those among them who went so far as

to predict mass massacres and local risings have to-day the grim satisfaction of seeing their predictions come true. In this, however, there is nothing surprising; a band of political theorists unfolding exploded tenets cannot sway for long the concrete impulses, habits of thought and feeling and the religion of the masses. For it is the bulk of the nation,—rude, genuine, in touch with life's realities,—who alone hold a strong grasp of the roots of national existence. It is their horny hands that must ultimately give its trend to the revolutionary movement and rough-hew the destinies of the political organism. And the bulk of the Turkish nation is saturated with hatred of the principal innovations introduced by the reformers.

In July, 1908, the Young Turks would have made a clean sweep of the *régime* and all its works and exponents, including the Sultan himself. But enforced respect for the public opinion of Europe imposed self-restraint. Subsequently when the danger of troubles from outside had paled the reformers began to rue their moderation. For Abdul Hamid, the hodjas, and the reactionaries were still in evidence, while their "dangerous intrigues" were hidden from view. And the effect of their presence was deemed to be that of a system of fortresses in an enemy's country; there was no going forward until they had been captured and made harmless. The Young Turks accordingly bided their time, kept their eyes open and gave their adversaries rope enough to hang themselves. And their adversaries were believed to be using it. Hence in Constantinople people with a cultivated sense for political conditions claimed to know that a handle for "wholesome measures of repression" would be speedily forthcoming. Last November it was bruited abroad that Kiamil Pasha's Son, Said, whom I often met just then, was suspected of intriguing with Abdul Hamid, that he was being closely watched and would soon be caught red-handed. And report added that Said was only one of many.

But what actually came to pass differed widely from what had been anticipated. The disorders took their rise among the Young Turks themselves. It was a section of the reformers that rose up in arms against the reformed *régime* in the name of religion and with the help of the army.

After the July revolution the Young Turks, like all parties that pass from pulling down to building up, split into groups.

Of these groups one, headed by the Speaker of the Parliament and the officers of the second Army Corps, set the salvation of the Empire in political centralization and the hegemony of the Turkish race. One of its chief aims was gradually to weld together the various ethnic elements of the Empire—Albanian, Greek, Armenian, Bulgar, Arab—at first by cajoling them and afterwards by prevailing upon them to give up their privileges and merge themselves into an Ottoman Empire, one and indivisible. And in that community the Turk, in virtue of great foregone achievement, would play the part of master of events to a greater extent than does the Prussian in the German Empire of to-day.

Opposed to these was the group of home-rulers, headed by Prince Sabah Eddin, whose ideal is a federal State organized on Swiss rather than on American lines, willing to bestow a large measure of self-government upon the various nationalities, to respect their privileges, safeguard their special legislation and sanction their languages, religions, schools and culture. Under this system the mass of Moslems in whom fierce fanaticism, like cruelty in a "tamed" tiger lies dormant, would perhaps have had a better chance of working out its own salvation in the way hallowed by use and wont than on the Procrustean bed of centralization, even though decked out with the embroidery of liberty, equality and brotherhood.

The April rising was started by this home-rule group of Young Turks, who deftly played upon the religious chord that evokes a quick response in the soul of every true Mussulman. The cry they raised was for a return to the religious law of the Sheriat,* and it was the soldiers who uttered it. Religious fanaticism, with which the soul of every Moslem warrior is instinct, was fired. Dimly these simple people felt what keen-sighted politicians had long ago discerned, that Islam and parliamentarism are mutually exclusive, and they were ready to die, as they had lived, for Islam. Accordingly many of them gave up their lives for it. Their premise was right enough. It is no exaggeration to assert that the promulgation of the Constitution was the death-knell of Mohammed's creed. For as Moslems are in their own eyes a chosen and privileged people, it would be impious to draw them

* The law founded on the Koran, ancient tradition and the authoritative interpretation of both, which in the Ottoman Empire is that of Abu Hanifa and his school of jurisprudence.

down to the level of the *giaours*. Yet this is what the Constitution is doing. To unbelieving officers this equality mattered little. But to believing soldiers it was the inexpiable sin. In Stambul the men accordingly protested in their own rude fashion, slaying nearly two hundred of their unbelieving chiefs, and acclaiming Abdul Hamid the protector of Islam.

It has been alleged that the outburst was reactionary. And the contention is correct. Henceforward every attempt to live and worship Allah in the spirit of the Koran will be branded as reactionary. Mohammedanism itself is reactionary, and in its eyes every hodja now executed by the Cabinet is a martyr.

This was the opportunity of the revolutionary army. It was likewise the opportunity of the Turkish dictator, under whose leadership the army marched upon Stambul to set things right. Mahmud Shefket Pasha won his military reputation and his vast political power during the eight historical days that elapsed between the military mutiny in the capital and the arrival of the parliamentary troops that quelled it. His plan of campaign is described by strategists of marked quality as a masterpiece, his march on Constantinople revealed uncommon gifts of organization and foresight, of caution and boldness, a fiery energy and a delicate sensitiveness to the moods of men, and a grasp of the significance of events which are the outflow of an inborn source.

The victory of the parliamentary army over the Sultan's disorganized followers was gained at a moment when all danger of foreign entanglements had seemingly disappeared. The victors, therefore, could humor their revolutionary passion to the top of their bent and show themselves as they really are. Character, immutable in individuals, cannot be speedily modified in nations. Hence the Turkish people to-day is what it was five years ago. The masses are fanatical, ready on any pretext or none to hew the "dogs of Christians" to pieces. The ruling classes deal with their political adversaries in the same spirit: they slay the more important among them and imprison or banish the rest. This they do, however,—and herein they differ from the Old Turks,—in the name of the Constitution.

Voltaire wrote that in his day when Mohammedans killed a sheep they invariably said, "I slay thee in the name of Allah." Those words hallowed the act. The Young Turks do their slaying not of animals, but of men, in the name of the Constitution,

which they affect to think is near and dear to the heart of Mohammed. "I have taken over the reins of power," Hilmi Pasha piously declared in Parliament, "solely because I rely on the help of the Prophet."* And at that moment he had an irade awaiting the Sultan's signature for the hanging of the ex-Sultan's first eunuch, Djever Aga, of the Secretary of State, Tayar, of Colonel Halil, of the newspaper editor, Lutfi, of the Custom House officer, Teufik, of the editor, Feizil, and another irade depriving of liberty, property and civil rights the ex-Minister of War, Riza Pasha, the Grand Master of the Artillery, Zekki Pasha, the ex-Minister of the Marine, Hassan Rahmi, the Ex-Home Secretary, Mamduh, and Secretary of State Tachson.

Yet these men, who cannot curb their own passion for vengeance, sit in judgment on the common people and ruthlessly send them to death for being just as Allah and heredity have made them. Tens of thousands of political adversaries were thus punished in the latter end of April and the first half of May by the Young Turks zealous for constitutionalism. To-day 27,000 more—civil officials and military officers—have been put on the black list. The Albanians offer another curious illustration. Fidelity to their religion, loyalty to the Turkish race and devotion to the Caliph inspired them to stand by Abdul Hamid and the Koran. But Young Turkey, having returned from its Hedjira, ordered Chafer Pasha to chastise them. And he is acquitting himself of the task right thoroughly. Fire and sword are his favorite weapons. He takes a delight in trampling on everything they hold sacred, in humbling them to the dust. In one of his orders he tells them that they are to deliver up their weapons within twenty-four hours, to abandon the costumes which have distinguished their people for thousands of years and to cut off their pigtails. He has further ordered the Albanian leaders to make windows in the thick walls of their houses which hitherto served them as strongholds. Refusal or even delay will entail the demolition of the dwellings. The Young Turkish Government, a telegram informs us, are resolved to quiet the Albanians at all costs, "even though it should be necessary to flood the land with blood, so that the Albanian wound may not eat away the constitutional organism."

By dint of such drastic remedies they are trying to purge the

* 24th May.

country of conservatives. Thousands have already been shot, hanged, imprisoned, sent to penal servitude, for fidelity to the Koran and Abdul Hamid. Gallows with three legs—a Young Turkish specialty—were erected before the Parliament, before the Ministries, in front of the bridges, in frequented parts of the capital, and the dance of death began. Swift trials, no appeal and speedy deaths decimated the dissentients. Neither rank nor services availed aught. Even Prince Sabah Eddin was arrested and might, it is said, have been hanged or shot if a wholesome fear of public opinion abroad had not acted as a deterrent. And, like priest like people, the massacres of Adana, the murders at Marash, the sickening scenes of torture and butchery at Mersina, the gutting of shops and slaying of people at Hajin, all point to characteristic traits which will continue to distinguish the Moslem masses for decades to come. At Adana the regular troops fed the flames of burning houses with kerosene, and two Armenian missionaries who were working hard to put out the fires were killed for their pains. The troops despatched to Mersina on the 24th of April for the express purpose of restoring order, landed under the protection of foreign guns and then augmented the crimes and for three days went on murdering the inhabitants unchecked.

Are those people fit materials for a constitutional community?

To sum up, equality of races and Turkish hegemony, equality of religions and the maintenance of Islam, are sets of mutually exclusive principles. And between the two the Government must now choose. It cannot combine fire and water. For the millions of Moslems in Asiatic Turkey there is still but one God, whose prophet is Mohammed, and Moslems who drink wine, eat ham and allow their wives to go unveiled are renegades unworthy to live. For these true believers Abdul Hamid with all his faults was a great Sultan who ruled his people with the fear of Allah and the love of Islam in his heart, whereas his successor is a grown-up helpless baby. In a word, Turkey has no Padishah and Islam is without a Caliph. Now a constitutional Sultan in Constantinople is as a constitutional Pope in Rome, and to subject the Vicar of Allah to the sway of a secret revolutionary society whose power is not tempered by responsibility is as though the rôle of the Vatican were reduced to the promulgation of decrees framed by the Grand Orient Lodge of French Freemasons.

The work of July, 1908, seems to have achieved less a political revolution than politico-social confusion. For the Ottoman Empire to-day resembles a Turkish rosary, the string of which has been consumed by fire. The shiny, black beads are still all there, but they cannot be put together again without another string, and none other is to be had. The burned cord, which can never now be restored, had two strains, religion and the army, and the two were one. Religion was the source of the courage, daring, fortitude which rendered the Turkish soldier successful at his best and heroic at his worst. Religion consecrated once for all the triumph of the Turkish race and dynasty; bound every subject of the Emperor to honor, obey and, if needs were, to die for the Sultan and for the maintenance of Turkish rule. It imposed clearly defined duties upon all, promulgated a law which, coming straight from God, commanded implicit obedience and underwent no change. It enacted pains and penalties against law-breakers and supplied the people with a rough framework of a political administration and military organization which has stood the test of centuries.

In undermining the groundwork of this remarkable structure the Young Turks have been eminently successful. People are still waiting with a feeling deeper than mere idle curiosity for a glimpse of some token that they will be equally successful in raising some stable fabric in its stead.

WASHINGTON, *June, 1909.*

NEARLY three months have elapsed since President Taft convoked Congress in extraordinary session for the specific purpose of revising the Dingley Tariff, yet it now looks doubtful whether a bill to that effect will be sent to the Executive much before the Fourth of July. Following a custom, which of late years has grown up, that of leaving the hard work to be done in the Senate, the revision bill introduced by Mr. Payne was carried with relative promptitude through the House of Representatives. Undoubtedly it made many reductions in existing rates, yet in the aggregate it imposed a somewhat larger tax upon the people than the Dingley act. Then it went to the Senate, which under the leadership of Mr. Aldrich has since been engaged in augmenting the rates materially in many of the schedules. The "conserva-

tives," as Mr. Aldrich's followers may be called, on the ground that they wish to conserve all the protection that Dingley gave and to add to it, believe in revising the tariff upward on the strange plea that what seemed sufficient protection in 1897 is inadequate in 1909. That is to say, an infant industry, if nursed twelve years, loses strength instead of gaining it. The "progressive" Republicans, on the other hand, hold that even if their platform made no explicit pronouncement on the subject, their party was irrevocably committed during last year's campaign by the utterances of their candidate for the Presidency in favor of revision downward. As on most divisions, however, the Progressives have only mustered about a dozen votes, they have been unable to offer much serious obstruction to Senator Aldrich, especially as the Democrats themselves are by no means united in favor of reduced duties on all commodities.

Although, however, the progressive Republicans are not numerous enough to upset Mr. Aldrich's plans, they undoubtedly represent a preponderant sentiment in the Middle West, and unless placated they might be able to weaken the party materially in that quarter at the next Congressional election if not also in 1912. The necessity of averting such an event was the subject of a conference on June 8th between Senator Aldrich and the President. Mr. Aldrich explained to Mr. Taft, it is understood, that the time had arrived for the Republicans in Congress to get together for a final disposition of the tariff controversy. It is not surprising that the Senator from Rhode Island should have found the President in entire sympathy with the desire that the tariff measure now to be enacted should be supported in all its parts by a solid alignment of Republicans and not include provisions for which the Democrats could claim equal credit with a Republican minority. The object which the President as well as Senator Aldrich is presumed to have in view is to place the Republican party in a position to say to the country: "This is a Republican tariff law passed by Republican votes. It was approved by Republican Senators and Representatives from the Middle West as well as from New England. It preserves the Republican principle of protection while reducing many duties, and at the same time it compels wealthy producers to pay a share of the cost of maintaining the Government."

It is admitted that for some time to come the Payne-Aldrich

bill, after it emerges from the hands of the Conference Committee, will not by means of the customs duties which it levies raise sufficient revenue to meet the annual expenses of the Government, and it is proposed to lay a special burden upon rich men either by an income tax or in some other way. Senator Cummins for the progressive Republicans and Senator Bailey for the Democrats have agreed upon a tax of two per cent. on incomes of $5,000 or over. Both of these Senators are confident that such an income tax will be adopted on June 18th, when a vote is to take place. Senator Aldrich and the conservative Republicans hope that before that day arrives some of the "progressives" can be persuaded to accept an alternative to an income tax. Among the substitutes suggested is a tax of two per cent. on the net earnings of interstate corporations when these exceed $100,000; and there is another proposal which meets with more favor among some progressives, namely, a tax of two per cent. on the dividends of interstate corporations. In the case of the latter impost, however, it would not be levied for more than two years, by the end of which time it is asserted by Mr. Aldrich that the new tariff will yield sufficient to provide for the support of the Government. The constitutionality of such a tax seems to be taken for granted, whereas among the objections to an income tax is the certainty that the collecting of it would be enjoined temporarily, and that a considerable time would pass before the decision of the Supreme Court as to its validity could be looked for. In the interval the Federal Treasury would continue to face a deficit.

Up to June 18th, when the vote on the income tax takes place, every effort will be made, no doubt, by Senator Aldrich and his friends to commend to the progressives the alternative tax on corporation dividends. Thus far, to be sure, the proposal has not been received with enthusiasm in the insurgent ranks, but the fact that Mr. Taft approves of it is likely to have much weight with them. It must be borne in mind that hitherto the progressives or insurgents have posed as the representatives of the President, not that Mr. Taft has authorized them to do so, but because their programme does coincide far more closely than that of Senator Aldrich with the declarations made by Mr. Taft during the last Presidential campaign. It is not true that the Republican candidate for the Presidency never countenanced the imposition of increased duties on some articles. On the contrary, when discussing

the tariff, he was always careful to say that in "some," or "a few," instances it might be desirable to augment the duties levied by the Dingley bill. Undoubtedly, however, he conveyed the impression that in his opinion the tariff as a whole should be revised downward. With what consistency, then, can he sign a bill which embodies the opposite principle? Nothing seems more certain, nevertheless, than that he must sign such a bill or none. The Payne bill, when it left the House, represented on an average, as we have said, a somewhat heavier tariff than that which bears Dingley's name; and the Aldrich bill in its final form, whatever concessions its proponent may consent to make in the conference committee, will be worse than the Payne bill from the point of view of the downward revisionists. Does it follow that the President is sure to veto it? Should he do so, he would incur at the outset of his term the enmity of those conservative Republicans who constitute a large majority of the party in the Senate. That would be a very grave step for a Republican President to take, and especially for a man of Mr. Taft's temperament and character. Suppose, on the other hand, he signs a bill which imposes on the country a much heavier tariff than that which now exists. Can he hope to retain the good-will and confidence of the Middle West? Evidently the "progressives" do not think so. One of their leaders, Senator A. B. Cummins, of Iowa, predicted in the Senate on June 11th that the Republican party would face defeat and destruction unless it met some of the objections made to the woollen schedule then under debate. To retain the proposed duties, he said, would be to subject the Republican organization to "unanimous ridicule, unlimited criticism" and total ruin at the ballot-box. "How do you expect," he asked, "to go before the people and defend these schedules? I marvel at your blindness and your willingness to commit the party to such a blunder!" He added: "I am not urging you to accept amendments drawn up here in a hurry, but how can you refuse to recommit the bill to the Finance Committee with a command to report a bill in keeping with the promises of the party?" Of course Senator Cummins is qualified to speak only for the Middle West. But how can the Republicans elect a President without the help of the Middle West?

THE EDITOR'S DIARY.

Vagabondage.

THERE are two old sayings excellent to bear in mind in view of the holiday season; one is:

"Mistrust all enterprises that require new clothes,"

and the other is Stevenson's excellent warning:

"Whichever way the highways tend,
Be sure there's nothing at the end."

Once a year, at least, the complete man must have the courage to put on one side his habitual state and try his resources alone. The restless element of precipitousness in our natures requires us to go adventuring once in a way; with our best clothes and our worldly estate left far in the background, we must go forth afoot or on horseback or in a catboat to see and hear what our spinning world may have to confide to us as it wheels round the sun and among the planets. We live so much of our lives in the complete disguise of our finest raiment, parading up and down the stupid, crowded highways of life, hearing only the futile clamor of empty human utterance. How are we to know ourselves or the earth which brought us forth if we do not from time to time make the complete escape and play alone between sea and sky? A holiday on an hotel porch or a crowded steamer brings no refreshment to the spirit, no new messages from the stars.

It is pleasant to hear in England and Scotland of a new mode of vagabondage. Many who want to be free for a season from finite cares go off in caravans, with a rough housekeeping outfit inside, a folded tent for the night and patient oxen to draw them. Then the hours grow long, and the old-time leisure of the world sets in; strife and ambition fall asleep; machine-made talk and artificial sentiments shrivel and life is sweet because the horizon is wide, the winds free and the sea's voice laden with wonder tales,

and the golden flood of the changing hours is glad to watch. Do you remember the greeting of the Romany child when he met his world-weary brother? He said:

"Life is sweet, brother."

"Thou thinkest so?"

"Think so! There's night and day, brother; both sweet things; sun, moon and stars, brother, all sweet things; there's likewise a wind on the heath. Life is very sweet, brother. Who would wish to die? A Romany child would wish to live forever."

"In sickness, Jasper?"

"There's the sun and the stars, brother."

"In blindness, Jasper?"

"There's the wind on the heath, brother, and if I could feel that I would gladly live forever."

If the rich man has his estate and his pride and his fears and his avarice and his industries and his ambitions it is the man who, from time to time, can go forth a-vagabonding who tastes life itself. He best learns what a fruitless breeder is the human heart, heaping selfish desire upon desire, nourishing the cravings which shall eat the heart that gave them birth. But the soul is very lonely and whatever else of the triple human being thrives in the herd it shrivels and must learn to wander alone and know the surging of the "wrath-faced father, Sea," and hear his liberating song of the endless march of the worlds among the stars. If it seems at first too great a song, too triumphant for mortal heart to bear, it has its homely moments too, its sunshine interludes; the wide stretch of horizon beneath which the sea sings and the earth spreads itself heals wounds and binds the gashes of fretful human life; it restores all that the narrowed, artificial life of mere social strife has stolen; it soothes the distempered intellect and opens boundless vistas; it remarries the human heart to earth.

We should recommend as a cure for all nervous invalids two weeks alone and afoot in an unknown country, or a month in a caravan in untried woods, or skirting the coast of an unseen land in a catboat with one silent skipper. How should earth and sea and sky fail to cure the brain made of its dust and froth and air?

Who goes a-vagabonding knows what health is; and he learns that, despite all thwarted hopes and insistent deprivations, life is good, and the sun and the stars and the wind on the heath are the soul's true happiness; they are all sweet things, brother.

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SOCIALISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

BY THE REV. PERCY STICKNEY GRANT.

THE Church, some recent critics have pointed out, is trying to get back to the people. This undertaking is unmasked as if it were a plot—a sly attempt at material rehabilitation, with an eye to an increase of ecclesiastical power. As a matter of fact, the democratizing of the Church is a healthy instinct and an evidence of leadership. All our institutions might well follow its example. None needs to get back to the people more than our Government itself; more democracy is its only salvation. Lowell, a quarter of a century ago, called American democracy an experiment. To-day it is still more of an experiment, because farther from the ideals of its founders. The democratizing of the Church is not an ecclesiastical programme; but it is the attempt of an originally popular organization to set its own house in order and to oppose the undemocratic tendencies—the plutocratic and oligarchical tendencies of our times.

During the last two years the Church of the Ascension, in New York, has been holding Sunday-evening services for working-men. The preacher has been Mr. Alexander Irvine, once a working-man himself, now a member of labor unions and of the Socialist Party. Mr. Irvine is a man of wide experience and sympathies, a brilliant writer and an eloquent and influential

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speaker. At the conclusion of the service in church, which lasts an hour, there is an after-meeting in the adjoining Parish House, which is addressed by some expert,—like the chairman of a commission, a college professor, a philanthropist, a socialistic leader, a man of letters or the head of a city department. Some of our recent speakers have been Professor Dickinson S. Miller, Professor Edwin R. A. Seligman, Professor Henry Crampton, Mr. Edwin Markham, Mr. Fulton Cutting, Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Dr. Darlington and Commissioner Hebberd. After the address there are questions and short speeches from the audience. This meeting lasts from 9 until 11 P.M. A third of the audience are Hebrews, or, at any rate, are not natives of the United States; a half are Socialists; for in dealing with working-men I soon learned that the most alert and interested, the most curious to hear and question, are the Socialists. This is true also, I am told, in labor unions, where the Socialists, though they number only ten per cent., perhaps, of the entire membership, are, nevertheless, the most aggressive element.

I have mentioned these meetings because the material for this article is mostly derived from discussions I have heard in them by Socialists and economists.

What is Socialism? What is Christianity? Socialism is an economic theory that proposes to make the state supreme over the individual, rather than to allow the individual to be supreme over the state. Christianity, in the terms of the Baptismal Service in the Book of Common Prayer, is, "To follow the example of our Saviour Christ and to be made like unto Him." Socialism has so many descriptions that its foes feel they have triumphed when they ask, "What is Socialism?" Christianity likewise has so many interpretations that its opponents often choose the worst, or, at any rate, the most characteristic—the individualistic definition—viz., the salvation of the soul through belief in Christ.

Some Socialists can see no relation, no point of comparison between Socialism—an economic theory dealing with the production and distribution of wealth, and Christianity—a religion bent upon the salvation of souls. Nevertheless, Socialism, as its most valuable characteristic, presents a religious motive; it is stirring thousands to new ideals and to self-sacrifice in a purely religious fashion, and is even taking on the methods and habits of religion. On the other hand, Christianity, it must not be for-

gotten, is a doctrine of a Kingdom of Heaven, which is not only an inner, but an outer condition; moreover, Christianity is the child of Judaism, a religion which had more to say about the duties of the rich to the poor than any religion in the world. What is more, Socialism, in its economic position, is changing from a purely mechanical to a more ethical ideal, at the same time that Christianity, in its religious attitude, is changing from a purely spiritual to a more economic outlook.

The following quotations appeared in a recent letter to the "New York Times." I have not verified them, but I use them because they illustrate the feeling of masses of uneducated Socialists I have listened to and represent the older but prevailing attitude:

"Marx said: 'Religion is a fantastic degradation of human nature.'"

"Liebknecht, the grand old man of Socialism, said: 'Socialism must conquer the stupidity of the masses in so far as this stupidity reveals itself in religious forms and dogmas.'"

"And Bebel, the present great world leader of Socialism, says: 'We wish in politics the republic, in economy Socialism, and in religion atheism.'"

Socialism inherited atheism from Marx and Lassalle. These pioneers did not derive it from their economic position, but from Feuerbach and his Hegelianism. Their followers, however, have accepted their philosophical as well as their political views. The practical effect of Socialistic atheism is to deny immortality, to concentrate attention upon this life and to intensify confidence in material well-being. In our Sunday-night meetings, after an eloquent individualist had held forth about the soul, a Socialist would stand up and say: "I know nothing about the soul. Where is it? I only know that I have a stomach and that it is empty."

Socialism denies to religion any economic influences. The Pope, for instance, has nothing to fear, theoretically, from Socialists who will not for a moment admit that Catholicism has retarded the development of any country in Europe; not because they have studied the facts, but because they claim, as a general principle, that history is interpreted economically; that moral and religious forces have had nothing to do with the growth or decline of states.

Behind this denial of influence to religion is the denial of important constructive power to ideas. Socialism has not wished

to work by means of the slow influence of ideas, but by means of various compulsions—military, legislative, etc. Nevertheless, their propaganda is an appeal to reason and conscience.

Socialism asserts that morality is the offspring of society. The good individual is the product of a good society; a good society is not the product of good individuals. Moreover, that moral codes are the handiwork of the dominant class, which codifies and gives authority to what will preserve its order.

Socialism maintains that the Church is hypocritical, because it received the command, "Love your neighbor as yourself," but supports, nevertheless, an industrial system under which it is impossible to love your neighbor as yourself—whose maxim, in fact, is the old pagan *caveat emptor*—let the buyer take heed.

Socialism considers the doctrine of the forgiveness of sin to be the source of much industrial and private injustice, because it frees the wrong-doer from the sense of responsibility. Until the priestly power of absolution is destroyed, tyranny will flourish.

Socialism calls pietism and passivity (two traits of Christianity) injurious to civilization, because progress has been attained not by meekness, but by struggle.

Socialism hates the religious way of dealing with poverty—that is, by charity and philanthropy—because these are remedial and based upon a voluntary spirit. Socialism would legislate poverty out of existence and would have what are now sporadic acts of kindness made compulsory usages. In short, Socialism considers religion a rubbish-heap of arbitrary laws and gross superstitions used as a prop to social injustice.

SOME ETHICAL MISTAKES OF SOCIALISM.

These attitudes of unfriendliness to religion are scientifically mistaken or are ethically weak. Socialism regards religion in an old-fashioned way as an artifice of priests and powerful castes, and not in the new-fashioned way as a biological product—created and perpetuated because it was of use, changing and reshaping itself in response to criticism and increased knowledge.

It was a mistake for Socialism to take on atheism, which has no logical connection with its economic position, simply because Marx and Lassalle were atheists. Socialists declaim against mixing up religion with economics. Why, then, mix up irreligion with economics?

Socialism is a new form of pity—the self-pity of "the proletariat" and the world-pity of the fortunate. Now world-pity is a Promethean and magnanimous trait, but self-pity a pigmy and rather contemptible exhibition. Socialists in America will not win the respect of the older blood of the country until they stop calling themselves "the proletariat" and "children of the abyss." There is a beggar whine in these epithets thoroughly un-American. A people which has subdued a continent is not quick to sympathize with a cult that accuses circumstances and upbraids fortune. In this respect Americans are Stoics. "The worst state of man," said Epictetus, "is to accuse external things; better than that is to accuse a man's self and best to accuse neither."

Furthermore, it is an ethical mistake to suppose that all the torments of the soul are to vanish before personal prosperity. There is no such thing as a noble peace and rest in terms of considerate circumstances, which graciously supplies what we desire; but there is peace in terms of a spiritual attitude which can look on all things with serenity.

Nor can the Socialist state make its members happy in spite of themselves. The virtue required for carrying on a co-operative commonwealth will not be generated by the mere running of the machinery. Honesty, temperance, unselfishness cannot be born, willy-nilly, out of a new industrial system.

Nor will an assured and sufficient livelihood obliterate selfish ambition and greed. No improvement in material conditions is going to make saints out of sinners. Boost Socialists to opulence and they would merely repeat the experiences of the well-to-do of to-day; they would meet temptation and often succumb; they would have children and hand down to some of them evil traits. Human progress is made by steps, not by leaps and bounds. This law will not be changed by merely rearranging the handicaps.

A great believer in democracy, James Russell Lowell, could say:

> "Men prate
> Of all heads to an equal grade cashiered,
> On level with the dullest, and expect
> (Sick of no worse distemper than themselves)
> A wondrous cure-all in equality;
> They reason that To-morrow must be wise
> Because To-day was not, nor Yesterday,
> As if good days were shapen of themselves,
> *Not of the very life blood of men's souls.*"

Considering the methods of Socialism, its confidence in brute force, in mechanical laws, Nietzsche was not far wrong when he wrote: "Socialism is not a problem of right, but of power—no violent redistribution, but a slow, gradual reformation and regeneration of the mind are needed; the sense of justice must be increased everywhere, whilst that of violence must be weakened."

Socialism has no place for sorrow or suffering. It expects general well-being to do away with suffering. This is too naïve. Have we nothing but bodies? And are our bodies to be pain-proof under Socialism? Is there no pleasure of the heart to be hoped for or regretted? Is there no aspiration of the spirit to be fostered or mourned?

Socialism in its teaching exalts love. But does it know of some new kind of love that is exempt from suffering? Neither is it romantic love alone, the love of a Werther that suffers or suffers most deeply; the love of humanity—the Christ-love of a Mazzini suffers most profoundly of all. In fact, the more the Socialist's brotherly love is developed the greater will be his capacity for suffering. This elimination of suffering as a practical and as a moral factor in a well-fed world contradicts the experience of the body and the soul.

"Be the world great or small," says Anatole France, "what matter is that to mankind? It is always great enough, provided it gives us a stage for suffering or for love. To suffer and to love—these are the twin sources of inexhaustible beauty. Suffering and pain; how divine it is, how misunderstood. To it we owe all the good in us, all that makes life worth living; to it we owe pity and courage and all the virtues. The earth is but a grain of sand in a barren infinity of worlds. Yet, if it is only on earth creation suffers, it is greater than all the rest of the universe put together."

The most serious question put to Socialists is a moral question. They must exert themselves in a co-operative commonwealth as much as they do in a competitive state or more, but spontaneously and with good-will, as from either love or duty. This is the highest ethical ideal of conduct.

A co-operative commonwealth, if all are to have an abundance, must be asked to produce as much per capita as now. The present waste in strikes, in lockouts and in various forms of industrial conflict, besides the waste of vanity, dissipation and luxury, would

then be required for those who now are below the margin of consumption—a very appreciable percentage of the population.

But the co-operative state can never do this until its citizens have a high sense of moral responsibility and altruism. Some men work to-day as hard for humanity, science or art as they could possibly work for purely selfish ends. This kind of enthusiasm for work would have to extend to all industrial branches. Such moral ardor is a spiritual as well as an economic necessity by which, through labor, men can develop the possibilities of their souls. Is Socialism equal to it?

Christianity is now so largely supported and interpreted by the propertied classes that it fears a doctrine that criticises private property or seems to threaten it.

The heterodoxy most dangerous, at present, to a clergyman's status in the Church is not doctrinal, but industrial. There is a good deal of truth in what Karl Marx said in the preface of the first edition of "Capital."

"The English Established Church will more readily pardon an attack on thirty-eight of its thirty-nine Articles than on one-thirty-ninth of its income. Nowadays atheism is *culpa levis*, as compared with criticism of existing property relations."

Christianity takes hold of the opposite end of the stick from Socialism; it would renovate society by first renovating the individual. Christianity considers the eternal welfare of the soul above the present well-being of the body. Christianity regards the hardships of life as providentially sent to school the soul.

Christianity fails to perceive that ethical laws have not been produced out of the needs of the individual as an individual, but out of social relationships.

"Morals and conscience," says Lydston, in his "Diseases of Society," "have developed from the social necessities of the human race and are not natural attributes."

Christianity, therefore, is indebted to the very social environment it has tended (in its extreme care for the individual) to neglect.

Christianity makes a mistake in being still so other-worldly; in clinging to dogmatic belief as the path to spiritual safety; in encouraging intense individualism without a sufficient social balance; in allowing itself to be so largely tied to the stability of the comfortable classes; in not admitting the fundamental im-

portance of the bread-and-butter problem and in not acknowledging that heredity and environment (outer, not inner conditions) have spiritual influence.

Socialism criticises Christianity for not promoting the general welfare; in not securing a larger share of the world's wealth for the working-man. Christianity retorts that property is not its field and echoes Jesus's words, "Who made me a judge or a divider over you?" Socialists assert that there is food and clothing enough in the world for all—that none should suffer want; and that until the problem of waste and want is settled all other problems are insignificant. Christianity replies that the Socialist thinks only of the body and of this world, and that he neglects the soul and the world to come and quotes its Master: "A man's life consisteth not in the abundance of things which he possesseth." Both the Socialist and Christian hold extreme positions. The Socialist cannot ask that all other effort ceases until everybody has enough to eat. Life is not such a single-track road as that. Christianity is equally obtuse when it will not admit that the bread-and-butter problem is at the basis of civilization. Christianity is too individualistic; it leaves the personal fortunes of men and women too much to the strength of their inner nature; it does not utilize, in their behalf, the boundless power of social co-operation.

SOCIALISM AND CHRISTIANITY NEED EACH OTHER.

Socialism is a new religious movement, a new expression of justice, of fraternity and real democracy. Its methods are political, its ends economic; but its spirit (which is its greatest gift to our time) ought to live in spite of its methods and beyond its goal. Its most advanced advocates are no longer basing their arguments upon Marxian economies, but upon the plea of justice, brotherhood and of better opportunities for higher human development.

Its political programme, so far as it aims at material advantages, might easily be captured any day by either of our political parties, but its spirit of co-operation and of higher justice is needed and must persist.

Socialism uses religious propaganda; its Sunday-schools are increasing in Europe and America. In the British Sunday-schools the following are some of the texts taught:

"The New World, its Foundations to be Justice; Love to be the Spirit of its inhabitants."

"All things pass away, but Love abideth forever."

"He who owns the things men must have, owns the men who have them."

"That which is not in the interest of the whole swarm is not in the interest of a single bee."

There is nothing to be alarmed at in this; it is as old as Aristotle and St. Paul. "The end of the state and the individual," said Aristotle, "are the same." "Now abideth faith, hope and love," said St. Paul, "but the greatest of these is love."

Socialism demands practically a transformation of human nature, for it must depend upon honest and self-controlled men when its civilization is in the hands of Government employees. Consequently, it demands clean politics, which cannot be secured merely by better political machinery, but by better men. These Christianity, if true to itself, can produce.

Socialism must correct not only the greed of overpaid rich, but the materialism of underpaid poor; both are unlovely. For after material well-being is secured the moral and spiritual problems of human nature still remain unsolved.

Many Socialists ignorantly call themselves such when they only demand reform. The most popular subjects discussed before our Sunday night and Tuesday night groups were: The Teaching of Market-Gardening and Farming to School Children; The Means of Stopping the Spread of Tuberculosis. The enthusiasm of working-men over these subjects, disclosed to me the fact that these audiences were unfamiliar with definite lines of attempted social improvement, but could appreciate the advantage of reforms, as contrasted with revolutionary legislation, when such reforms were pointed out and explained.

Socialism is not a new idea, but a rate of speed; consequently, what is wanted is intelligence to hasten progress rather than revolution to destroy present gains. Highroads, city water, public schools, courts, etc., are all socialistic, and the present will surely enlarge the list of state-controlled institutions.

Socialists have a tendency toward a new Puritanism. They are largely vegetarians and total abstainers from alcohol.

Socialism needs religion's pursuit of moral ideals by which alone happiness can be secured; otherwise Socialism, in despair at the emptiness of its attainment, is in danger of committing

suicide in its hour of victory. The words of the celebrated psychologist, Dr. Paul Dubois, may well be a warning:

"... Let us beware of placing all our happiness on cards liable to be shuffled at any moment by others' hands or blown away by the least wind. It is this point of view that gives me only a very moderate confidence in the benefits of civilization, so long as it only brings us material advantage, greater comfort in our homes, better food and more cheerfulness of spirit, however noble they may be. Happiness is not there; it dwells in the deepest part of us, in our inmost ego; it can only have its existence in the most complete of our ideal aspirations, in the worship of the True, the Beautiful and the Good."

Socialism needs patience and charity. Two hours were required in one of our Sunday-night meetings for the Commissioner of Charities to convince the Socialists present of the good faith of a bill, introduced in the Legislature of New York, which proposed to create a labor colony for vagrants. In the end it turned out that the bill had been drafted by leading Socialists.

The objection the Socialist makes to the individual's religious isolation is well taken: "Religion is a relationship to God; a cleanly and high ordering of the soul," says the individualist. "Yes," says the Socialist, "but the relationship to God must include relationship to men; and how can your relationship to them be profound if you will not actively help them? Your own Bible should reprove you: "Whoso hath this world's goods and seeth his brother have need and shutteth up his compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?" "If a man say, I love God and hateth his brother he is a liar; for he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?"

The poor man cannot understand a religion that is an assent to propositions and is satisfied to hold itself aloof from life—a religion that is a mental state or an emotion and pays no attention to the clamor of empty stomachs.

We shall always have, perforce, vicissitudes enough to whet our spiritual appetites for moral combat. We need not manufacture hardships, as ascetics have done, nor maintain them as modern mystics are inclined to do. Indeed, when we are willing to allow hardships to remain in the world, particularly the hardships of others, we are about as good Christians as Artemus Ward was

a patriot during the Civil War. He said that he was willing to sacrifice all his wife's relations upon the altar of his country.

THE SOLUTION.

Neither individualism nor Socialism, as a solitary principle, governs progress, but rather a combination of the two. Until a man has made something of himself—is a healthy, sane and energetic individual—he is a burden to society; until society is organic and protects the individual it is not discharging its function.

The point at issue between individualists and Socialists is capable of solution—a solution that does not demand the surrender of either side. The future is not to see a purely individualistic or a purely Socialistic order, but one in which both principles are realized.

In biology the individual life and individual efficiency appear first, then a collectivism for the sake of a higher individuality. The individual, as an individual, must be good for something before he can be good enough for collective use; but by his collective relationships becomes of still further importance.

In psychology we discover that there are other influences affecting personality besides that which originates in the mind and is self-directed; there are exterior influences—viz., heredity and environment. The Christian individualist holds that the will is the great instrument of regeneration; the atheistic Socialist holds that environment is the agent of improvement. But will, according to its most modern definition (cf. Professor James), is a form of suggestion; it is a holding of an ideal before the mind until action follows. Environment also is a form of suggestion.

The depths of human consciousness are the product of heredity, environment, education, will—not of one, but of all. If, then, nature works with all these agents, have we a right to demand that our fellows work with only one? Man will always continue to be the child of many parents. Cromwell did not know how much his iron will borrowed from his inheritance, environment and education.

Socialism is continually declaiming against the superior individual, against genius and its masteries, but in the same breath begs the genius to arise and emancipate the wage slave. If Socialism ever wins it will be by the aid of what it despises—genius and religion. The first it needs to perfect the organization

of industry; the second it needs to change the human heart and equip mankind with the virtues required by its new organization.

The Christian Socialist is laughed at and repudiated as being neither a Christian nor a Socialist. He is too Socialistic for capitalistic Churchmen and too individualistic for "the proletariat." The Christian Socialist is the man in the middle of the road in spiritual and industrial progress. He is the Christian who is not purely an individualist. He is a Socialist who believes in moral idealism. This is a perfectly clear and valuable distinction.

On the Continent Christian Socialism is a movement largely organized and directed by the Roman Catholic Church to counteract the effect of Marxian Socialism. Continental Christian Socialism is also, I believe, anti-Semitic. Both these considerations render it repugnant to the American Socialists, who, being so often of non-British races, do not know much about Charles Kingsley and Maurice, and the manly advocacy of working-men's projects that characterized the founders of English Christian Socialism. The test of modern civilization will be its willingness to face the problem of co-operation and to attempt a purer democracy. What does Whittier's "Barefoot Boy" know about classes?

But if the farmer's boy, when a successful man of business, separates himself from the rank and file; if he forms alliance by marriage with European aristocracy; if he favors the social system and pleasures of the leisure class of Europe, he is playing into the hands of Socialism. He is creating classes in a democracy, and so is furnishing the factors for that "class struggle" which Karl Marx pronounces the evolutionary road to Socialism.

The separation of heads of great corporations from their workmen, by the necessity that keeps one in a financial centre and the other in an industrial centre, suited to their special product; the separation in sympathy between capital and labor, as labor has become more and more foreign—all these causes have produced in America to-day what we denied a quarter of a century ago existed, namely, classes.

Success, too, separates the fortunate from the unfortunate. Not only is there a social change in the status of the man who has arrived, but there is little sympathy felt by him for the man who is left behind. Success and humility rarely go together.

"*Qu'il est difficile, messieurs, d'être victorieux et d'être humble tout ensemble!*" cried the French orator, Fléchier, in his eulogy on Marshal Turenne. Our victorious captains of industry are not often enough Turennes,—at once successful and humble.

Under the circumstances of an increasing class separation in the United States, anything that can counterbalance undemocratic influences should be looked upon with favor. The Church to-day can help stem this undemocratic tide and can be of great social, industrial and political usefulness.

The permanent utility of the institution known as the Church is grounded in its power to affect association—to bring classes together. No other institution, except the state, gives one so large and permanent a tie with his fellows. The family is small and shifts. School and college meet the needs of only a part of our lives. Organizations for special objects, even great ends, are naturally one-sided and change complexion with success or failure, as can be seen in labor unions and political parties.

The Church represents a permanent interest from the cradle to the grave—a universal interest; an organization of ideals which all can share and aspire to; an association of all classes in a common hope.

The best thing about the Sunday-night meetings at the Church of the Ascension—upon which the views expressed in this article are based—is that they have done just the thing the Church can and should do; they have brought extremes together—the rich and poor, the educated and uneducated. When thrown together the good in each is mutually appreciated. The sincerity of the capitalist and the honesty of the radical working-man have been made apparent. While no attempt to make proselytes was for a moment contemplated or permitted, yet, to my surprise, a large number of persons, who supposed themselves hostile to religion, experienced in the course of these meetings almost an emotional conversion to a more peaceful and spiritual view.

The power of popular government is an ethical power. The masses cannot reason as well as a selected, trained aristocracy; but they reduce political problems to ethical terms and solve them by the use of a healthy conscience. The Church to-day, like the prophet of old, should be the voice of conscience and should keep a democracy true to its moral ideals.

PERCY STICKNEY GRANT.

SOME IMPEDIMENTS TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

BY MRS. GILBERT F. JONES, FOUNDER OF THE NATIONAL LEAGUE FOR THE CIVIC EDUCATION OF WOMEN.

THERE is little doubt that we are indulging in a twentieth-century "feminist" movement. It has been tried in the past and history repeats itself. Women have made themselves felt in the destiny of nations before now, and it will be interesting and instructive to see if the woman's political efforts of to-day will be effectual and whether the results will be permanent.

The plea of the Suffragists is for the equality of the sexes. They assume, as a rule, that women have been browbeaten and downtrodden; that they are now awakening; and if we are willing to admit the equality of the sexes, that they should stand on an equal footing in the pursuit of industry and in the control of the Government which they must obey. The Anti-Suffragists grant the equality of the sexes. Men are no better than women, and science assures us that they are no more intelligent. But the "Anti" insists that the *difference* between the sexes shall not be ignored. Consequently, all suffrage arguments may be reduced to the proposition of "*equality*"; all Anti-Suffrage arguments to that of "*differentiation.*"

The "Woman-Suffrage" agitation has been in active operation since 1848. In these sixty years many more complex issues have been before the public and have been more generally and keenly felt. Slavery has been abolished, the Spanish war has been fought, the Silver problem has been settled, but we still have the Woman-Suffrage question with us, after sixty years of dispute from Massachusetts to California. Of late the efforts of the Suffragists have been more pronounced, but their failures have increased proportionately. In the last twelve years the Legislatures of the various States have turned

down Suffrage proposals on an average of once in every twenty-seven days. Why is it that the American public cannot be aroused? Such a simple issue, such simple arguments should have caught the popular imagination long ago. Public opinion has been at white-heat many times in this interval. Take the Civil War, for instance: the nation was determined to give the negro political equality; it was willing to go through a long and bloody war, and to give the lives of 500,000 men to have it done. The Suffragists have been telling us, ever since the days of Lincoln, that we are denying our mothers, sisters, wives and daughters a privilege to which they have as much right as the negro. Why is it that they have not set the country aflame, from one end to the other, with this argument? If they are right the men of this country are not only unfair, but tyrannical, and public opinion, on which our Government depends, has been countenancing manifest injustice. But even if they are wrong, if women have not the same right to political equality that all men have, why have they not succeeded? One would suppose the claims of the Suffragist stirring enough to rouse the most indifferent, so what have really been the impediments?

The thorough reform in the laws regarding women is unquestionably one impediment; the great respect which the American man has for the American woman is another. In no other country and in no other time has woman been held in such high estimation as she is in the United States of America to-day. She has never before had such complete educational and industrial opportunities offered her. In social, civic, philanthropic centres she is a leader and a power. More women have their individual bank accounts here than in any other part of the world. Woman is granted freedom of religious expression, freedom of speech and pen, freedom from a too conservative home life and parental dependence. Complete emancipation is hers, if she chooses to find it—from a "preacher in the pulpit" to a "full-fledged blacksmith"—from "motherhood" to female "bachelorhood." The American woman of to-day, the average woman, is *further* in advance of the average woman of other countries than is any other class of our population, and all this *without* the ballot. So where is the practical injustice in not granting women the vote?

It is by studying the fundamental principles of our Govern-

ment that women can find one certain reason why they have been refused the ballot after their sixty years' pleading. The framers of our State Constitutions saw the wisdom of naming "men" only as voters. The Government's right to restrict the citizen and demand certain qualifications has a simple but very direct meaning. Instinct and tradition have made men the protectors of women. This is a natural law. Our Constitution is basically, fundamentally and structurally framed for *safety* and *stability*, "as the safety of the whole is the interest of the whole." What was needed in our earlier days to create confidence in our form of Government is quite as important to-day. Foreign forces, the foreigners within our borders and our own native interests must be considered and cannot be provided for without a stable government. Our Federal and State constitutions amply fulfil this need, and it is significant to find the word "male" inserted, in designating who shall be the voters, for "*men*" are the only citizens who can preserve the safety of our country, our laws and our women. Uncle Sam insists on a full-grown man, of the age of twenty-one years, as the voter, with qualifications as to age, place of residence, etc. Women are certainly within the age and residence qualifications, and they offer morality, intelligence and tax-paying qualifications besides. But the Government does not impose these qualifications on men. Men do not vote *because* they are moral, intelligent or taxpayers *only*.

Then what does the Government require of man that the woman cannot give? The Government asks the man to accept the responsibility of maintaining it, of preserving its very existence. It recognizes that the man forms the *only* basis on which any Government *can* rest. A Government owes its *existence* not to the obedience of its subjects, not to the taxes it receives, but to the fact that the men of the State will come to the support of the State. Even a despotism recognizes this fact in a dim sort of way. But in a democracy this is, and must be, the key-note of the whole structure. The *man* is the rock on which the Government is built, whatever its form. The woman never was and never will be. Giving the man the vote is nothing more than a recognition of this fact. Giving women the vote would be to *deny* it. For it must be remembered that the women in asking for the vote are asking not only for a voice in such public affairs as interest them especially, but for complete sovereign power.

But this is a *contradiction,* for if women vote men must protect that vote, and, to illustrate this truth, a quotation from the "New York Times," April 7th, 1909, will suffice:

"If women had the franchise, and then all the women should vote on one side and the men on the other, and the women should cast the biggest vote, would the men, with their greater physical force, go to arms? And would the women have to give in? That was the question which Mrs. Florence Masterton proposed at the meeting of the 'William Lloyd Garrison Equal Franchise League' at its annual meeting at the home of Miss Florence Guernsey, No. 2 West Eighty-sixth Street. 'Not at all,' said one of the women present; 'majority rules in this country, and if the women were in the majority *then* the Government would come to their assistance and force the acceptance of their vote.'"

How could the Government *force* the acceptance of their vote? By calling on the able-bodied men to *enforce* it. That is the real meaning of Government, and it therefore lies actually only in the hands of men, and our theory of Government should conform to fundamental facts. To guarantee safety and stability to our Union Government cannot indulge in sentiment or emotional methods, as it is a practical business organization. To give women the ballot would be but adding "voice and expression" to our already difficult settling of elections. There are voices enough now. The question is, Should we not have more restriction rather than add to our mixed voting population?

Government has again to be considered. "Votes for women" would also mean that women would hold office, executive, legislative and judicial. Women could be elected to sit in our Legislatures, become Governors, Mayors, judges and jurors. Certainly the nation's legal and judicial authority will not be strengthened by placing women in these official positions, as women are not fitted for such tasks. Government can be likened to a bank and full-grown men are Uncle Sam's capital. If a weaker being is to be intrusted with the guidance of the nation it will have the effect of making silver, instead of gold, our money standard. Both are excellent in their way, but one cannot wholly replace the other. So in the last analysis men must be the basic power and the leaders to guarantee safety to our country, and women cannot relieve them of that burden.

As to the service to the State, given by women in bearing sons, the men work not only to support those sons, but support also their mothers and wives, and that *far* beyond the child-bearing

age. Motherhood is unquestionably the greatest service to the human race that can possibly be conceived of. The State benefits by it. But Motherhood is neither a State duty nor a State service. The State gives the franchise when it demands service; Motherhood it can neither demand nor deny. Motherhood will still be Motherhood whether the State is a democracy or a despotism, and Motherhood would still continue were all Government abolished. The State depends on it, as it depends on the rain that falls and the sun that shines in the heavens. But it cannot invoke a natural law which must operate as long as the human race survives, as an obligation under which the State shall rest, and therefore part with its privileges.

That tax-paying women should vote seems a claim easily granted if it could prove an advantage to the woman or the State; but it cannot, and an infinite amount of idle sentiment is displayed over this particular subject. Universal Manhood Suffrage is the crowning result in the long evolution of Government. It did not exist in our earlier history. Voters were defined as "Freeholders" who had some moneyed or property qualification. From 1619 there was a gradual and determined struggle to keep property-owners and tax-paying citizens as the only voters or persons having a voice in elections. The constitutional provisions regulating suffrage were in constant dispute, and because of these difficulties fraud and deception were prevalent. It was easy to contract for small pieces of property, "freehold," before election and give them up afterwards with no exchange of money. Taxation and representation of this kind had its many variations and "freeholds" became merely nominal. Reforms were needed and enacted and constitutional amendments were not infrequent. Statesmen, lawyers, citizens and the wise men from the North, South, East and West have been consulted and have conscientiously discussed this question of who should vote, with the result that Universal Manhood Suffrage has been generally adopted. Invariably they have worked away from qualified suffrage and no citizen in the United States votes *because* he pays taxes. Taxpayers are represented in every State in the Union. Legislators are responsible to taxpayers, but there is no reason or precedent for the proposition that legislators must be responsible to *every* taxpayer in order to avoid taxation without representation and it cannot be turned into an *individual* right. Woman Suffragists

insist that women should vote because they pay taxes, yet the history of Suffrage proves that this basis for the suffrage is unwise and inexpedient and does not apply in the case of the male citizen. If tax-paying women alone are granted the privilege of the ballot on this plea, will it not create distinct class legislation for rich women? In former times aristocracy prevailed and many voted in proportion to the amount of property they held. The rich man had more voting power than the poor man. This was *undemocratic,* and gradually all moneyed and aristocratic qualifications disappeared.

The Suffragists frequently assert that all women are taxpayers because of our system of *indirect* taxation. In one sense this is true; yet it must be remembered that the vast body of women, including the wage-earning women in this country, are not economically *in*dependent, as they are mainly supported by the men of their families. No woman who is economically *de*pendent on her husband or father or whoever may be supporting her may properly be said to pay taxes. The man supporting her pays them for her or she pays them with his money. So far as this argument is concerned she should therefore be eliminated, and the question should be confined to the woman who pays direct taxes. If tax-paying women are to vote because they pay taxes, may not corporations, minors, non-residents and unnaturalized citizens ask for the same privilege? If it is just to one it must be just to all. Corporations are persons in the eyes of the law and can be indicted, tried and convicted under the criminal laws. Their stockholders are men and women and they pay enormous taxes. Minors' estates are taxed, and neither they nor their guardians, as guardians, have a voice in elections representing them. Unnaturalized citizens often pay taxes a lifetime and can never vote. A non-resident can only vote in the State of his residence, and yet he may pay taxes in several others. There is but one rule for all of these instances, only one reason why they have no vote. The Government cannot exact their allegiance; they cannot be called on to support the State they do not reside in or of which they are not citizens. Women who demand the ballot do not take this into consideration; they ignore these facts.

Women Suffragists say they are "American citizens" and have the "right" to vote as such. This assertion must be corrected, as it does not apply even to the "male" citizen. Citizenship is

a granted right, not a natural one, derived and regulated by each country or State, according to its ideas of Government. Mrs. Rossiter Johnson states in her book, "Women and the Republic" (the best authority on Anti-Suffrage), "Where a majority deemed the preservation of the State depended upon disfranchising a number of voters they would be disfranchised, although they remained citizens." The fallacy of the Suffragist that a voter and a citizen should be one and the same must be disclosed with emphasis, as in this they mislead many women. Chief-Justice Waite, of the United States Supreme Court, decided that citizenship carried with it no voting power or right. The same decision has been handed down by many courts in disposing of test cases. A resident of the District of Columbia has all the privileges of citizenship; but he cannot vote, as that is a State right, and the District of Columbia is not a State. Citizenship does not entitle a man or woman to vote, so the injustice to woman cannot be found here.

There is no one issue of the Woman-Suffrage question that should be so severely condemned as that of promising the wage-earning woman increase of wage when the ballot is within her power. How this can be accomplished has not yet been demonstrated by the Suffragists, and their promises end in *vague* socialistic generalities which delude many hard-working women. It is a well-known fact that the wages of men and women alike depend on demand and supply, an economic, not a political condition. No one has yet shown that the ballot in the hands of the working-man *has raised his* wages. If his wages have increased the causes are generally to be found in the prosperity of the country and in the power of the labor and trades unions. Co-operation has enabled him to obtain higher wages, not the ballot. Woman, as a rule, does not support the family, and her wages are generally of a supplementary character. She undercuts both men's and women's wages, and until she demands and maintains a standard she will never obtain equal pay for equal work. Certainly the ballot cannot help her. Co-operation and organization can.

There is no longer any doubt that women *can* compete with men in some industries. The question is, Does such competition mean *advancement* for women? Medical research finds that where married women are forced to work in factories the birth-rate decreases

and the death-rate of children increases alarmingly. Our sociologists are proving that many kinds of work where women compete with men are invariably injurious to women. The demand for more protective legislation for women workers is constant and increasing. What does this mean? "Emancipation for the women," cry the Suffragists—"another proof that women are equal to men." It is clear that in trying to prove the equality of the sexes they are encouraging one of the greatest evils society has to deal with in this twentieth century. Judge Brewer has said, "Women must be protected from the greed as well as the passion of men." The fact that more women earn their living every year is an evil and not an advance. Strength tests show that the average woman has less than half the physical strength of the average man. When we remember that the care of the home (if she is married) must be carried on besides, we see that the handicap is too great and that the movement is unwise. If she is unmarried the effect on her nervous system, of work in factories and stores, is well known to be injurious and only tends to unfit her for the duties of marriage. If the result is to discourage marriage it is unquestionably an evil.

Imagine that a law could be passed forbidding women from carrying on their professional life. If all women lawyers or doctors, etc., were suddenly withdrawn from their occupations, would there be any serious inconvenience? Or, if most of the wage-earning women in industry were suddenly relieved of their arduous work, would industry stop? No. And the vacancies would soon be filled by men. But imagine for a moment that a law should be passed by which all men should stop working in professions and trades! One cannot calculate the result!

The presumption of the Suffragist is apparent when the foregoing proposition is fully understood. The economic "equality of the sexes" cannot be proven, and the "Antis" challenge their opponents to show how the ballot can be used to bring about the remedy in question for the wage-earning woman.

The Suffragists have created a spirit of unrest among all classes of women. Many Suffrage organizations have become affiliated with and have been endorsed by Socialists. In two successive years either Mr. Hillquit or Mr. Spargo (Socialists) has pleaded the Woman-Suffrage cause before the Senate or Assembly in Albany. Well-known Suffragists have established a sympathetic link with

this revolutionary party, and it will be utterly impossible to separate it in the future development of the movement. Socialism is an enemy to our political and social order, and Women Suffrage *cannot* succeed without its aid. Social and professional leaders of the movement have openly declared themselves Socialists, and their speeches are often revolutionary to a degree. The average American woman, and the Anti-Suffragists in particular, emphatically resent the utterances made at some of the Suffrage meetings. To quote one or two instances will suffice: "The United States Constitution is a dirty piece of brown parchment" —"American women are slaves and drones and drudges." This method of procedure must, in the end, add another impediment to their cause, as both men and women in this country are not in sympathy with such distorted sentiments. "Slaves, drones and drudges" refer generally to married life. Suffragists resent obeying laws made by men and deplore woman's dependence on them. They believe that political enfranchisement will remedy many domestic evils and will tend to make men and women equal. If the sexes are once recognized as being equal and the women are non-dependent the question of maintenance should be altered. The *obligation* of the husband to maintain his wife is of more value to women than all the so-called "equal rights" and "liberties" possibly could be. Women would purchase their freedom dearly if they surrendered this social and legal position, as man now *must* support his wife and also pay her debts even if she is rich and the husband is poor. The law protects the woman in property, conjugal and parental rights. Woman's dependence on the husband is her safeguard, the rock on which her ease and security rest. Self-support is more difficult for a woman than it is for a man by virtue of her physical inequality. Rich and poor men will always be able to secure wives of their own rank and generally on their own terms. If the man is able to sustain the family and provide shelter, food and clothing for the home the average woman will gladly consent to be a co-worker in a lesser or greater degree. Political emancipation on the woman's part will not alter so practical and every-day a condition, and when it does our middle classes will be more unfortunate than they are.

The four Woman-Suffrage States, Utah, Wyoming, Idaho and Colorado, do not give an interesting object-lesson of how Suffrage can be effective. Suffragists have "Suffrage" testimony

that is encouraging and convincing to the many credulous uninvestigating converts. Anti-Suffragists have ample evidence to prove Woman Suffrage in these States a dismal failure. The late General Palmer pronounced Woman Suffrage a "failure" in Colorado just before his death; yet no one in that State had the welfare of its citizens so dear at heart as that magnificent old General.

The much-discussed Judge Lindsey, of the Juvenile Courts of Denver, expressed his views in an interview presented in the "New York Times," February 7th, 1909:

"I can't say that the women's vote has helped things much in Colorado. Both the political parties of the State have been, and still are, under absolute domination of the public-service corporations. Now this is a point that I want you to make clear: I have found that women in politics are *no* better and no worse than men. Don't forget that when a question narrows itself down to the bread-line, to selfish interests, both sexes follow the same line of action—they look out for No. 1. If a woman wants to get a political job she will stand for iniquity; if she's afraid of losing her job she'll do the same thing."

The thoroughly unprejudiced opinion is that "Woman Suffrage" has proved to be utterly "futile." Not bad and not good, or rather, not worth while. It has not brought about one single benefit that cannot be found in other States where women do not vote. Certainly no State can boast of good, safe political conditions when it must call out a *stalwart, forcible reserve* of "women and the kids" to elect *one* good man to office. New York State had a greater victory in electing Charles Evans Hughes as Governor, and the men of the State alone were needed to accomplish the fact.

In the States where Woman Suffrage is in practice divorce laws are singularly lax, and men and women from other States flock there to take advantage of them. In strong contrast to this state of affairs, it is well known that the Anti-Suffragists demand universal divorce laws. Equality that women ask for and further emancipation of women will lessen the chances of marriage, and divorce will soon be created at will. Nearly a million divorces have been granted in the United States during the last twenty years; that is 1,000 every week or an average of 140 every day, yet women ask for more liberty.

Throughout women have shown themselves singularly credulous. Suffrage leaders have but to make a statement and it is accepted at

once. Investigation, on the part of the women, is very rare. For this reason the "National League for the Civic Education of Women" has been organized. Its purpose is to give women of the country the best possible means of obtaining information bearing on their rights, responsibilities and economic position in the community. At present it is investigating the Woman-Suffrage question. Civic education can hardly be complete unless the use of the ballot is understood by both men and women. If women had studied the fundamental principles of Government, Woman Suffrage could not have gained the headway that it has and many of them would very clearly see how the movement is strongly allied with Socialism. Hundreds of members of the League have done so, and in consequence feel the importance of sustaining our present form of Government and are now known as "Governmentalists." This is prompted by their spirit of patriotism, their faith in intrusting Government to the men and a consistent adherence to our true American and Democratic principles.

The tendency to ally with Socialism, the emptiness of the promises to the wage-earner, the groundlessness of the cry, "Taxation without representation is tyranny," the fundamental truth that Government is the work of the man because it depends on him alone for its very existence, the failure of Suffrage in the four Suffrage States; these are some of the impediments in the way of the Woman Suffragists. But the most important of all lies in the long-continued indifference of the great mass of the people. It cannot be said that they do not understand the movement or that they have not heard of it; nor can it be said that there is nothing in it to appeal to the popular imagination. On the contrary, few propositions, not even Socialism, afford the stump-speaker such excellent material for rousing his hearers. It can hardly be believed that this indifference is due to the fact that the public has found the fallacies in the Suffrage arguments. The Suffragists believe that this negative attitude is due to long-standing prejudice. The last sixty years have seen every *important* legal restriction on women removed in New York State and in many of the other States of the Union. The same legislators at Albany that have removed property-holding restrictions from married women granted them full contractual and conjugal rights; in short, placed them on a legal equality with men, have turned a deaf ear to the annual demand for political equality.

The public opinion of the State has looked with approval on these legislative reforms and has sanctioned woman's demand for equal opportunity in every detail of life. Yet this same public opinion stands neutral. This is not prejudice. The most striking arguments fail to rouse and we have simply a complete lack of interest, but next to no opposition. The active Anti-Suffragists are a mere handful and could not for one moment withstand the issue if public opinion were really back of it. Is it not absurd to say that the movement has been downed for sixty years by prejudice against women when everything else they could possibly ask for has been granted them unreservedly, and when all the efforts of the Suffragists during that time have not even aroused resistance except spasmodically?

No one can deny the equality of the sexes, but there is still a chasm between them, in spite of the fact that the heights on either side are equally majestic. This chasm has never been adequately explored, but it will not for that reason do to tell us that it does not exist. It is by instinct rather than by reason that the great American public has remained passive on this subject. The American man feels strongly that he is, and must always be, the protector of his "women folk." He does not ask why; he knows that it is true. He also feels dimly that the demand of women for the ballot "to protect themselves" is inconsistent with his protectorate. He is willing to give women everything they ask. But if he is going to protect women he *will not* give them the "ruling power." He cannot, therefore, be roused to enthusiasm on the subject. The women feel this as strongly as the men and that is why they cannot be roused. That this attitude is unreasoning must be to a great extent admitted; that it is prejudiced must be strongly denied. It is an unstudied acknowledgment of the distinction between the sexes. If it is to be removed, then there will go with it much of the best that there is in men and women. When men come to feel that they are no longer the protectors of their wives, daughters, mothers and sisters, and when the women look to the ballot for their protection rather than to their husbands, sons and fathers, then Woman Suffrage will be a necessity and public opinion will be clamoring for it. But till this is true the subject will be one to which the American people will remain indifferent.

MRS. GILBERT E. JONES.

STUDENT ACTIVITIES.

BY THEODORE STANTON.

In 1906 and during the summer school of 1907, I spent altogether some four months at Cornell University, residing with a body of undergraduates in their house on the Campus. By this means I became pretty well acquainted with student life as it exists to-day at Ithaca and at some of the other leading universities, for I was careful to question students of those institutions who came our way either on short visits or as candidates for advanced degrees.

One evening we had at dinner at the upper-class table, a graduate of two years before, a young man in the wholesale coal business, if I remember rightly, in one of the large New York towns. During the post-prandial conversation he asked the Seniors and Juniors sitting around him to try and guess what part of his work in Ithaca did him the most good when he got out into active life. One thought it might be his study of the modern languages, another asked if it were not his political-economy lectures, while a third remarked that it might be his English. "No," answered he, when the whole table had given up the conundrum, "it was the training I got as manager of the baseball nine. Nothing I have done so far in the actual business world has put such a strain on me as did those tours with the nine, and never have I felt so much responsibility as during the season when I filled that undergraduate position."

I have since wished that President Eliot had been at that dinner-table and had heard that statement. He might then have been willing to admit that some good thing can come out of Nazareth and agree with that other former ruler, Mr. Roosevelt, that the beginning and the end, especially the end, of college sports is not on some University "Field."

The fact is that I, like almost all the alumni of our universities, had never seen all that is really good in these Student Activities, with all their curious and valuable ramifications, until I spent these few months with my undergraduate friends. It is quite true that those activities were generally more talked about than university studies; or at least they were, to use a racing phrase, neck and neck. "Well, I think I have sufficient honors now and will stop here," I heard a Sophomore say one day, and I naturally inferred, especially as the speaker was perhaps the most intellectual of "the crowd," that he meant scholarship success of some kind. But I soon found that I was mistaken. He was the assistant editor of one of the undergraduate publications, was manager of a "minor sport," or something of that sort, and had just been elected an officer of his class. These were the "honors" he had in mind.

I learned, too, that many of the professors at Cornell as elsewhere are almost as interested in some of these Student Activities as they are in their teaching duties. Thus, during a whole week I remarked that the Junior who sat next to me at table was continually referring in covert terms to his fears and worries about some suspended calamity. So I immediately jumped to the conclusion that he was going to be "busted out of the university," to use a term more forcible and picturesque than elegant which prevails on "The Hill" at Cornell. But in the end I discovered that what was rendering this young man's life miserable was the risk he ran, on account of some university shortcoming, of losing his position as assistant manager of the football team, and what I thought one of the most curious features of the case was the fact that his stoutest champions before the faculty committee were two professors holding high positions in the teaching body.

In fact, this close union of members of the faculty with the sports and many of the other activities in our American universities is one of the most notable and one of the best differences between the undergraduate life of the present and a generation ago. Goldwin Smith attending a rowing contest at "the corner of the lake" was an event in my college days back in the seventies. But now the professors present at Ithaca football matches are "too numerous to mention." The same thing is true of all our institutions, small and great, for higher education. I well remember, for instance, how the late President Potter used fre-

quently to lead in the applause at a Hobart College baseball game, especially if the good play were made by the Geneva nine.

Let us now examine a little more closely what are these Student Activities and what is the spirit that governs them. For this purpose I have addressed myself to some of the representative undergraduates themselves of different institutions, preferring not to trust wholly to my own observation in this delicate and rather complex matter. I am especially indebted to Mr. Edmund Eitel, Cornell '07, who was editor-in-chief of the "Cornell Daily Sun" during his Senior year and who is now pursuing post-graduate studies at Harvard, to Mr. George Hurley, a recent graduate of Brown University and now at Oxford as a Rhodes Scholar, and to Mr. B. B. Snowden, who was recently, if he be not still, an undergraduate at Williams College. Mr. Eitel writes:

"The phrase 'Student Activities' can best be understood if you think of the four undergraduate years as a miniature life, for then you have your beginners, the Freshmen, who are at the bottom of the ladder, and your venerables, the Seniors, who are the leaders and the counsellors. And just as in the world outside men honor highest those who have done the most for their community or country, so inside the college the students honor those highest who have done the most in their interest. The undergraduate who wins several points for his university in a track meet has done, it is held, as much for the good name and renown of his little community as the general who wins on the battle-field a victory for his country. The students praise and encourage their hero after the same fashion as national patriots praise theirs. It is amusing, but not entirely absurd, to draw a parallel between the nation's army and navy with the accompanying generals, admirals, military experts and financiers, and the college's elevens, nines, crews, etc., with their captains, commodores, coaches and managers. Again, just as there is the national press, so there is the college press in all the forms that the outside world furnishes models of—the daily, the weekly, the comic paper, the monthly, etc. If you turn to politics you will find that the same comparison holds good. It is curious to notice that the 'campaign of purity' which swept over parts of the United States in the autumn of 1906 had its repercussion in 'class politics.' Cornell and other universities had their reforms. The boyish mind, with its vivid imagination, readily lights on these points of similarity, and the resemblance enhances his own affairs and gives them a fuller meaning and importance. The college man frequently says: 'If high principles cannot prevail in our little community, what kind of men will we make when we get outside?' This is one of the reasons why a student is so earnest and serious about his 'college activities.' In a word, whatever the line of activity, it is governed by the same laws that regulate the world's work. Men honor those who serve them best, especially when the deed is con-

spicuous and the usefulness of the service prominent. Hence the wonderful and extensive development of undergraduate activities is largely explained by the encouragement given to beginners by those who have gone before; they are eager to win the laurels which they see their elders wearing."

Perhaps the most remarkable example of Student Activities to be found in the whole American university system is that offered by the "Cornell Daily Sun," whose organization is here described somewhat in detail, thanks to Mr. Eitel and to Mr. Lewis Henry, '09, the present editor-in-chief.

"The necessity of producing every day, without fail, an eight-page paper," writes Mr. Eitel, "*forces* us into an excellent system, and the fact that the paper is incorporated in accordance with the laws of the State of New York gives the concern certain serious elements, such as a board of directors, an inviolable constitution and by-laws, etc., which render the "Sun" *sui generis,* perhaps, in college journalism."

These young men take great pride in the excellence of their organization. The board is composed of ten students—an editor-in-chief, a business manager and an assistant business manager, two Seniors who edit, two Juniors who edit, a managing editor and two Sophomore reporters. The bulk of all the work, both news-gathering and business, is done by "competitors," younger students who are trying to get on the board. They are paid nothing. Some twenty-five Freshmen compete each fall and about as many more in the spring. But one student is selected from each competition, and the two become the new members of the editorial staff. Another reporter is chosen in the fall of the Sophomore year. The assistant business manager is elected after he has competed from Easter in his Freshman year to Easter in his Sophomore year. The two last students do not become full members of the board, therefore, until the new board is organized, which occurs at Easter. The managing editor is chosen from the three reporters—the two who are on the board and the successful competitor of the Sophomore class. "He is judged," says Mr. Eitel, "on ability in editing, reporting, original ideas, editorials and on personality." The "Sun" competitions are recognized as the fairest in the university. "They have to be so, for the ability of the board depends on the honesty of the competitions and the success of the competitions depends on the

squareness with which they are conducted." This statement is admirable and speaks volumes for the high moral force which so permeates the American undergraduate body and so largely helps to render our universities, it has always seemed to me, one of the finest products of our civilization.

The business side of the Cornell "Sun" is very notable. A system of monthly audits by a professional accountant, hired by the board, insures competent bookkeeping and honesty. "The business manager has a mass of work to perform, the filling of a large advertising space, the dictation of numerous letters, seeing that the papers are properly delivered and the supervision of the competitors. He generally 'signs up' the bulk of the advertising during the spring and summer preceding his Senior year. To convince the town merchants, who have been assailed by similar managers and numerous solicitors for other college publications for the past decade and more, and to obtain a contract when the advertiser often doubts the value of it, is a feat which requires much real ability and is the more praiseworthy when it is borne in mind that this is the first step in the business world taken by the young manager. But all those who have ever passed through this mill agree that it is one of the rare valuable experiences of college life."

This is what Mr. Eitel has to say about the editorial side of the "Sun": "The board is highly systematized. It took two weeks before the editors of the eight-page daily, when it was first introduced, could get it out in time for delivery at 7 A.M., and even then any little accident would sometimes cause a delay in the issue. But to-day prompt delivery and accuracy are taken as a matter of course at Cornell." The editorial work begins in the morning when the managing editor, who has charge of the college news matter, writes the assignments for the regular reporters in a book kept at a convenient place on the campus. At seven o'clock in the evening the news editor comes into the office and reports to the editor-in-chief or inserts his name on a time-stamped card kept in the former's desk. There is a fine for lateness, which moves on a sliding scale. The news editor finds on his desk a list of all the important items. This is furnished by the managing editor. The former now begins reading copy, writing head-lines and immediately starts sending matter to the compositors. Freshmen competitors, transformed for the nonce

into a sort of printer's devil, carry copy to the printing-office, answer the telephone and write out in its first form the bulk of the news matter. But all that they pen does not get in. What is printed, however, is given credit for in inches. "No excuse is accepted for mistakes, even though Dr. Schurman himself might have misinformed the unfortunate tyro." A fine of so many inches of credit is deducted from his account. But this punishment is not limited to the beginners. The news editor is fined, when necessary, up to two dollars. While the writing of the editorials is done almost exclusively by the editor-in-chief, his work consists of much more than the filling up of this column. If he is a young man of parts he will spend much more time in discussing and getting light on all student movements and undergraduate affairs than in mere writing. Then he has a great deal to attend to in seeing that every one is doing his proper work and in consulting with those below him. "In a word, he is the actual head of the concern. The subject is on his mind all day long, and when he leaves the office at midnight or perhaps at one o'clock in the morning the worry is not ended, for he trembles at what may happen to the telegraph service during the hours immediately following." The telegraphic news sent up from New York by a high-salaried journalist, who has taken an interest in the enterprise and has consented to do the work at a very reasonable price, reaches the printer between two and three in the morning of publication. "Unfortunately the lateness of the hour prevents us from assigning the editing of this copy to a member of the board, with the result that not infrequently egregious errors creep in that take the breath away the next morning. It is the weak side of the 'Sun.'"

The question of establishing schools of journalism in our universities has often been mooted and even tried. In fact, such a course existed in Cornell a few years ago, and I believe there are others in operation at this moment elsewhere. But most of these attempts have died or are withering, the theoretical killing the practical, which is the soul of journalism. But the undergraduates of all our universities and even of our best high schools, with the wonderful initiative of the American youth, have solved by themselves the problem while their elders have been deliberating over it. No board of trustees or faculty could have produced a better school of journalism than the "Cornell Daily Sun,"

a perfect triumph, it seems to me, of the Student Activities. The only wonder to me is that the English Departments of our universities do not more fully utilize these living student publications, associate them more closely with the class-room work, and, in fact, base the more practical side of the instruction on such excellent foundations. But perhaps this is too much to ask of the pedagogic spirit which so often prevails even in our American faculties.

So far I have dwelt more on the material side of Student Activities. But a brilliant Brown graduate has sent me what might be called the philosophy of the subject, and I now give some extracts from Mr. Hurley's interesting letter. He says:

"They strike me as one of the finest elements in the undergraduate life of our American colleges. They are to us what atmosphere, so called, is to Oxford or Cambridge, what the corps are to Germany, what nothing is for France, so far as I know; and they are to me even better than these. Compared with that oft-mentioned adjunct to Oxford life—atmosphere—they are a typically American development. Their name shows it—activity, energy, virility, initiative power, force, compared with the quiet, orderliness, repose, critical aloofness of the Oxford Students' undergraduate life. To keep up this odious contrast they are the field for robust enthusiasm as opposed to gentlemanly dilettanteism. Better than that from my point of view is the fact that they fit into my idea of what a university should be, viz., a realization of the higher social life. As some one has said, the college man lives in an artificially protected environment; and it is fortunate that he can. Only the aim in America should be to make this environment as near to the ideal state of a democratic society as we possibly can. Now the faculty can equip us with better and broader minds, and libraries and laboratories can provide the materials for work as far advanced as any one can go. But what will give us students the attitude towards the world which will make our widened, deepened outlook of most value is precisely participation in undergraduate life, if that life is of a type such as prevails in my own institution.

"Undergraduate activities call on students for all the virtues of service for their fellow men—the very morality which a democracy lives on, I should suppose. In a small institution, especially, every man must get behind 'the college' and keep up its standard. True, too great emphasis is put on the men who play the games for their fellows. But in our best institutions this evil is not so great as the good that comes from the wholesome devotion to athletic exercise—a devotion which continental young men so badly need. And in our best institutions, too—at least, it is so at Brown—other things besides athletics absorb the student body to a great degree. Wherever debating and philosophical societies thrive and wherever the literary magazines still live, despite

the baneful influence of the 'practical' engineering courses, the tone of undergraduate life is sufficiently 'elevated.'

"The burning question is, I suppose, whether our best men are not distracted from their work by being called upon to do all the detail management of this complex life that has grown up in the colleges. All I can say is that *noblesse oblige*. I may add that it might seem likely that students without their 'activities' would give more time to the curriculum or to deeper delving in some one line of thought. But I have my doubts about this. The live man finds some excuse for distraction. Student activities lead him into a life where his spare effort and spare time count; and I have always remarked that the thoroughgoing student finds plenty of time for his debate or 'discussion' club without sacrificing a whit of his future career. In fact, I think more might be made of the undergraduate's own activity than is now done."

I fully share the closing statement of Mr. Hurley. My chief criticism of the Activities is that they are left too much in the hands of the undergraduates, or rather that the faculty and the board of trustees do not draw from them all the good that is in them. The first and principal move in this direction should be made through the Fraternities, where could be quickly eradicated most if not all of the evils lurking in these Activities. If these "Greek Letter Societies" were all that they should be the Activities, which have their mainspring there, would be all that they can be. But this is not the place to go into the complex question of the reform of the Fraternities; that is a subject quite by itself. All I wish to say now is that the real character of the Fraternities, or rather the undergraduate side of these organizations, is quite unknown to faculty, trustees and old graduates, strange as this assertion may seem. Exact knowledge of the spirit that rules there can be obtained only by residing with the undergraduates for a long period. Those of us who have done so are in accord as to the importance of "doing something," and when this something is done then, and not till then, will the evils of the Student Activities disappear and all their greater possibilities be attained.

THEODORE STANTON.

OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES.

BY W. G. BALLANTINE.

OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES was the most "clubable" man that ever lived in New England. He was the incarnation of social communicative geniality. The "Saturday Club," which used to meet at Parker's, and which included Emerson, Hawthorne, Longfellow, Lowell, Motley, Agassiz and others, was the most brilliant company of men of letters that ever forgathered about an American table, and Holmes was, confessedly, the most brilliant talker of them all. His literary work is all self-revelation to a social circle. His prose is confidential talk to a group. His poems are rainbows that flash across the spray of talk. His self-chosen title, "Autocrat of the Breakfast-Table," has never had another claimant.

Conversation differs from lecturing just in the personal element. It is the incidental revelation of personality. Therein lies its charm. Dr. Holmes said, in the "Poet at the Breakfast-Table": "I shall say many things which an uncharitable reader might find fault with as personal. I should not dare to call myself a poet if I did not, for if there is anything that gives one a title to that name it is that his inner nature is naked and is not ashamed." The same principle holds for the conversationalist. For as Dr. Holmes said again: "One cannot gather some of the best fruits of life without climbing out to the ends of the slender branches of the Ego. What have we better worth telling than our impressions of the great show at which we have been looking ever so many years?" This last sentence well describes his writings. They are the record of his impressions at the great show of life. "*Liberavi animam meam,*" he said, which may be freely rendered, "I have made a clean breast of everything." Certain it is that we have never been taken into the innermost

confidence of any of our literary men as into that of Oliver Wendell Holmes. And that is the reason why many of us feel for him an intensity of personal attachment we feel for no other. When Emerson and Lowell and the rest have taken their hats and gone home we wheel our chairs up before the fender and talk the day over with Holmes.

Egotism in general is offensive because the ordinary kind is grounded in self-ignorance. The candor of one who confidentially discloses the truth of his inner life is something far different. It is the highest compliment that mind pays to mind. Scientific perspicacity and moral courage unite in it. He who talks truly of himself becomes, *ipso facto,* objective and impersonal and may justly affirm, "This I say of me but think of you, Love." It must be stipulated, of course, that the candor shall be that of a noble, modest, normal soul. The naked shamelessness of old reeling Silenus and his Bacchanalian ruck belongs in another category.

Holmes early discovered the representative quality of his own egotism. He said:

"I have told my story. I do not know what special gifts have been granted or denied me; but this I know: that I am like so many others of my fellow creatures, that when I smile I feel as if they must; when I cry I think their eyes fill; and it always seems to me that when I am most truly myself I come nearest to them and am surest of being listened to by the brothers and sisters of the larger family into which I was born so long ago. I have often feared that they might be tired of me and what I tell them. But then, perhaps, would come a letter from some quiet body in some out-of-the-way place, which showed me that I had said something which another had felt but never said, or told the secret of another heart in unburdening my own."

So, still at the age of seventy-seven, writing the trivial happenings of his hundred days in Europe, he could say:

"I have daily assurances that I have a constituency of known and unknown personal friends whose indulgence I have no need of asking. I know that there are readers enough who will be pleased to follow my brief excursion, because I am myself and will demand no better reason. If I choose to write for them I do no injury to those for whom my personality is an object of indifference."

Physically, Dr. Holmes was not particularly well equipped for eminence. In a letter he speaks of himself as five feet five, "not four, as some have pretended." His face he always considered

"a convenience rather than an ornament." He spoke of one of his photographs as "very ugly, but horribly true." He "was not altogether satisfied with what nature had done for him." One of the depressing experiences of his life was the little ripple of disappointment which his bodily presence created among those who had known him only in his books. He tells with charming frankness of the hotel clerk in Harrisburg who "confided to me with infinite naïveté and ingenuousness that, judging from my personal appearance, he should not have thought me the writer he, in his generosity, reckoned me to be."

But whatever scanting there was externally there was none within. There was material there for half a dozen ample personalities. The professor, the poet, the theologian, the man of science, the humorist, the table-talker co-existed complete—six persons in one Holmes. He did a solid life's work as physician and medical professor. His paper on the "Contagiousness of Puerperal Fever" initiated a diminution in the death-rate of young mothers. His name, simply as that of a scientist, has a permanent, if not conspicuous, place in the history of human progress. The wit and the humorist stood upon a solid basis of serious and accurate work. He was trained and accustomed to deal with realities.

The charm of Holmes is in the directness of his perceptions, the dry light of his intelligence, the wholesome spontaneity of all his emotions of mirth, pity or enthusiasm. There was a tranquil unity in his personality. The wonder is in the normal balance of so many faculties ordinarily incompatible. The description that he gave of one of his Parisian teachers may be applied to himself—"Modest in the presence of nature, fearless in the face of authority, unwearying in the pursuit of truth." He was religious after the type that Professor William James denominates "healthy-minded." That is, he was naturally on the side of right. He continued throughout his long life to look at things with the innocent directness of a three-year-old child.

Many of his characteristics arose from the extraordinary rapidity of his thought processes. He observed:

"If you ever saw a crow with a king-bird after him you will get an image of a dull speaker and a lively listener. The bird in sable plumage flaps heavily along his straightforward course, while the other sails round him, over him, under him, leaves him, comes back again,

tweaks out a black feather, shoots away once more, never losing sight of him, and finally reaches the crow's perch at the same time the crow does, having cut a perfect labyrinth of loops and knots and spirals, while the slow fowl was painfully working from one end of his straight line to the other."

The king-bird fashion was always Holmes's with other minds, and, singularly enough, also with his own. Around his own main line of thought he always looped his spirals of wit. And is not this the real secret of humor, to be able to carry on two or more lines of thought simultaneously, to see oneself objectively, from all possible points of view, in all lights, against all backgrounds? And here may be an excuse for punning. The speaker is alive to all the overtones of his vocables. Holmes, like Shakespeare, was an incorrigible punster. He said of a certain man, "I think he does not touch the world at a great many points—in which particular he differs from the porcupine." His grandest hymn, praise to God as Ruler of the sun and stars, is entitled "A Sun-Day Hymn." Yet he himself confessed: "A pun is *prima facie* an insult to the person you are talking with. It implies utter indifference to, or sublime contempt for, his remarks, no matter how serious. . . . People who make puns are like wanton boys that put coppers on the railroad tracks. They amuse themselves and other children, but their trick may upset a freight-train of conversation for the sake of a battered witticism." This is by no means a correct account of the Doctor's own punning, because no wit ever derailed his trains of thought or disturbed his fundamental seriousness. The electric flashes around his wheels did not impede their progress. When, in advancing age, his sight began to fail he wrote that one of his eyes had "a *cat*aract in the *kitten* state of development," he realized and felt all that the anatomist and the poet could know and feel of the fact and its sinister significance.

Wordsworth wrote:

> "The child is father of the man;
> And I could wish my days to be
> Bound each to each by natural piety."

This wish of the Lake poet was the happy fortune of Dr. Holmes. His long life had a singular unity. The very narrowness of its extension geographically gave it intension sentimentally. He grew up to manhood in the house in Cambridge in which he was

born. With the exception of two years and a half, spent in professional study in Paris, his whole life was passed practically within sight of that spot. For an American of his culture he had travelled very little. An interval of fifty years separated his only two visits to Europe. He went through college without leaving home, and later was for thirty-five years a lecturer in the same institution. With natural piety Dr. Holmes idealized the old gambrel-roofed house and every object within and around it. He loved even "the stone with a whitish band" in the pavement of the back yard. He spoke with emotion of the experience of "dying out of a house"—of leaving it forever, as the soul dies out of the body. "So real," he said, "is the life of a house to one who has dwelt in it, more especially the life of the house which held him in dreamy infancy, in restless boyhood, in passionate youth—so real, I say, is its life that it seems as if something like a soul must outlast its perishing frame." It was so with his later houses. "I had no idea," said the professor, "until I pulled up my domestic establishment the other day, what an enormous quantity of roots I had been making during the years I was planted there. Why, there wasn't a nook or a corner that some fibre had not worked its way into." All these objects about which his affections twined we know in detail. They are immortalized in his verse; they are the illustrations of his prose. We know just what was familiar to his eyes when he looked out of his windows—West Boston Bridge and the little barefoot negroes on it, fishing for flounders and catching sculpins; the gulls and the ducks upon the river in wintry weather; and a little further round Bunker Hill Monument.

He loved his ancestry, Dutch, English and American—his grandfathers and his grandmothers. He placed a special value upon his summer home in Pittsfield because it had once been part of the estate of one of his forebears. He loved Colonial history. With his unfailing mixture of reverence and fun, he enjoyed stories of the quaint ways of the Puritans. He loved Cambridge and Harvard University. Above all, he loved Boston —the gilded dome of the State House and the Common. To the former he gave the nickname, "Hub of the Universe," which it will never lose. With him the pleasantry was more than half earnest. He created the character of "Little Boston" in the "Professor at the Breakfast-Table," one of the finest and most

original of his creations, in order that he might without offence pour out through the mouth of the misshapen little dwarf what would otherwise have seemed extravagant praises of the incomparable city.

The average American, torn from his Eastern home before he was old enough for any but the most indistinct memories, passing his boyhood in hired houses in various unlovely towns in the vast, crude West, educated at schools without traditions—this American, living now in still another accidental spot, himself a piece of driftwood on a sand-bar, envies a man like Holmes. Many of us who have not had so much geographical drifting have, however, behind us life-stories made up of chapters as inconsequential as if torn from separate biographies and patched together by some blundering redactor. Many of us have yielded for seasons to the pressure of environment, only to rise later in mental insurrection "envenomed with irrevocable wrong." Holmes from the start combined loyalty and independence. He loved everything about him, but as an equal sovereign high contracting party also born in the purple. By unquestioned birthright he unfolded his personality in liberty. As he had never admitted outside domination, so he never had occasion to fling away anything that had once been a part of himself.

With all his enthusiasms, Holmes saw realities in the dry light of truth. He wrote to Mr. George Abbot James:

"How formidable a little cheap knowledge looks to those who are wholly ignorant of its familiar terms. I recollect that the word 'forwarding' made almost a sensation, as Sumner spoke it. What is 'forwarding'? It includes all that part of a bookbinder's work which is necessary to the preservation of a volume. All the rest is 'finishing'—coloring the leather, gilding and ornamentation of any kind. When you hear a distinguished personage using long words or technical phrases that frighten you and make you think how learned he is, and how desperately ignorant you and all your acquaintances are, as soon as the speech is over and the company separates go to your dictionary or encyclopædia and look out his polysyllables, and ten to one you will get him off his high horse in five minutes. If he quotes a Latin sentence, see if 'Bohn's Hand-Book' hasn't got it. If a line of any English poet or prose-writer, look in your 'Bartlett's Familiar Quotations.' This will probably fetch him."

And with all his broad, human sympathies Holmes was every inch an aristocrat. He was always conscious of belonging to a

superior class. He invented a name for it: "the Brahmin Caste" of New England. By this he meant the people whose ancestors had been college graduates and professional men and social, civil and military local magnates from the seventeenth century down. Sir Walter Scott never dwelt with keener interest on the contrast between the gentleman born and the common man than did Holmes upon the contrast between the young Brahmin from the "mansion house" and the cheaply-gotten-up youth from "the huckleberry districts." This very name, "huckleberry districts," illustrates a talent he had for coining appellations innocent in themselves, based maybe upon some simple and undeniable botanical or geographical fact, but inexplicably and exasperatingly expressive of disparagement. It seems the most natural thing in the world to call institutions of learning that happen to be away from the seaboard "fresh-water colleges." But the term carries with it a connotation of inferiority and stirs resentment. "Mediocrity" is a term that the Doctor often used in a concrete sense to designate a lot of earth-born people, who, stand on tiptoe as long as they might, never could reach up into the intellectual and æsthetic atmosphere of the Brahmins. His own social position was as secure as that of a German who has a "*von*" before his name. He had the comfortable sensation pervading all his veins and capillaries that every fact, historical, geographical, genealogical, religious or educational, leading up to the birth and development of Oliver Wendell Holmes was a fact of distinction. He wrote to Motley:

> "My mother used to tell me that her grandfather (Colonel Wendell) lost forty buildings in that fire [of 1760], which always made me feel grand, as being the descendant of one that hath had losses—in fact, makes me feel a little grand now in telling you of it. Most people's grandfathers in Boston, to say nothing of their great-grandfathers, got their living working in their shirt-sleeves, but when a man's g.-g. lost forty buildings it is almost up to your sixteen quarterings that you knew so much about in your Austrian experience."

Motley, when American Minister at Vienna, had found that nobody who had less than sixteen quarterings in his coat of arms, indicating so many illustrious marriage alliances of his ancestors, could be received at court.

No college class has ever been immortalized as Holmes immortalized the Harvard class of 1829 by the poems which for

forty successive years he wrote for its class days. The comradeship, the mirth, the tender sentiment and the high aspirations of the American college student find a wonderful expression in this cycle. As, thirty-nine years out of college, the Doctor looks round the table at his classmates, now become famous, he exclaims, pointing to one and another:

> "You've won the great world's envied prize,
> And grand you look in people's eyes,
> With HON. and LL.D.
> In big brave letters, fair to see,
> Your fist, old fellow! off they go!
> How are you, Bill? How are you, Joe?"

There is nothing in this sort of stuff to suggest the writer of "The Chambered Nautilus." That poem was written when the author was, to use his own words, in "the highest state of mental exaltation and the most crystalline clairvoyance, as it seemed to me, that had ever been granted to me—I mean that lucid vision of one's thought and of all the forms of expression which will be at once precise and musical."

As a prose-writer Holmes is at his best in his comments upon characters and manners and social life as he saw them around him in New England. His novels, whatever their defects of plot and technical construction, will be read with delight as long as New England is loved. His four volumes of table-talk come very near being novels, since they all contain love-affairs and beautiful portraits of women. His three novels are full of the sparkling sallies that set the table on a roar. The despair, in writing about him, as in writing about Horace, is to know when to stop quoting. "A man's ignorance," he said, "is as much his private property and as precious in his own eyes as his family Bible. Ignorance is a solemn and sacred fact and, like infancy, which it resembles, should be respected." What a vista of experiences is opened by the remark that "Poets who come to recite their verses and reformers who come to explain their projects are among the most formidable of earthly visitations." What a comfort to the discouraged student it is to come across his frank remark about Emerson's Brahma, "To the average Western mind it is the nearest approach to a Torricellian vacuum of intelligibility that language can pump out of itself." How often have we verified the memorandum that "a communicative friend is the greatest

nuisance to have at one's side during a railway journey, especially if his conversation is stimulating and in itself agreeable. 'A fast train and a slow neighbor' is my motto."

Holmes's fun is of a high type. He was the son of a Puritan minister. He drew his first breath, and he grew up in a world of purity and moral dignity. His was the inborn refinement of Christianity. In the utter abandon of hilarity it would have been impossible for him to pass into the realm of indelicacy or profanity. He had escaped the narrowness of Puritanism while retaining its elevation. As spontaneous and as fearless as Burns or Byron, he had nothing to say that a maiden might blush to hear. Of his humorous poems "The Deacon's Masterpiece," or "The Wonderful One-Hoss Shay, a Logical Story," is doubtless the funniest:

> "Have you heard of the wonderful one-hoss shay,
> That was built in such a logical way?
> It ran a hundred years to a day,
> And then of a sudden, it—ah, but stay,
> I'll tell you what happened without delay,
> Scaring the parson into fits,
> Frightening people out of their wits,—
> Have you ever heard of that, I say?"

The first effusion by which, as a college boy, our poet became known to the American public was that patriotic outburst, "Ay, tear her tattered ensign down," which thrilled the national heart and saved the old frigate "Constitution" from being broken up for junk. A natural expectation, after such a beginning, would be to find him pre-eminent among the bards of the Civil War. He was at that time in the heyday of his powers. His son, the present Justice Holmes, was a gallant officer thrice wounded in action. Thus all personal and patriotic emotions combined to inspire him. But, on the whole, his war-time poems are the least characteristic of all that he wrote. He was no Tyrtæus. The battle-field was not his arena. He had not been identified with either side in the fierce struggle that led up to the war. He did not, like the Abolitionists, see the glory of the Lord in the "trampling out of the grapes of wrath." For the time the great turbid flood of popular passions confused his moods and his vocabulary. "I do believe," he wrote to Motley, "that Hell is empty of Devils for this last year; this planet has been so full of them helping

the secession liars." The utterance is not in the real manner of Holmes, although it contains a Shakespearean allusion; it recalls rather to those of us who are old enough to remember it the kind of eloquence with which Northern regiments were recruited in the early sixties. The delightful Autocrat was eclipsed. But what he said of General Grant is fine: "One of the simplest, stillest men I ever saw. Of all considerable personages I have seen, he appears to me the least capable of an emotion of vanity. I doubt if we have any ideal so completely realized as that of the republican soldier in him. I cannot get over the impression he made on me."

He was no more drawn into the Teetotalism of his times than into the Abolitionism. Residence as a student in France seems to have reinforced in his case the traditions of the older Puritanism in regard to beverages. In a serious passage of the "Autocrat" he said: "I believe in temperance, nay, almost in abstinence, as a rule for healthy people. I trust I practise both." But, just as in reading the life and words of Jesus of Nazareth, we notice the absence of any sense of danger from the seductions of the wine-cup. He seems to have felt that *ex officio,* as a poet he must sing of wine, as he did of love and friendship. One of his poems of the class of '29 begins with the exclamation:

> "Flash out a stream of blood-red wine,
> For I would drink to other days,
> And brighter shall their memory shine,
> Seen flaming through its crimson blaze!"

Unexplained allusion was, perhaps, the Doctor's favorite rhetorical embellishment. One characteristic of his mind was the firmness and scientific severity of his thinking. But another characteristic was the rapidity and poetic affluence of his ideas. He was always the professor of anatomy who saw the skeletons of propositions and their exact articulations. But he was just as much the poet whose imagination clothed those skeletons with breathing beauty and the wit who saw their amusing aspects. The extraordinary swiftness of his thoughts demanded an equally extraordinary richness of materials for the simultaneous activity of all the mental powers. Such could be provided by constant allusions—that is, by the suggestion of volumes there was not time to say. As we pass with him down the main corridors of his thought he gives at each step glimpses into side cabinets or out-

of-door vistas through doors only slightly ajar. With a flash he throws the side-light upon the matter in hand. If our minds are alert and nimble enough to take it all in we get the benefit. But, in any case, not a moment's delay is granted, not a syllable of explanation; the Doctor is at once far ahead on the main line.

Some day some one will write a key to Dr. Holmes's allusions. It will cover a good many pages and learning will be required in him who compiles it. Most of us must confess that the Doctor leaves us not infrequently with the foolish vacancy of one who is conscious of having missed a good point that others see and enjoy. Allusion is a compliment to a bright companion and a humiliation to a dull one. "That sounds like a cock-and-bull story," said the young fellow whom they call John. "I abstained," says the Autocrat, "from making Hamlet's remark to Horatio and continued." Alas! for the reader who does not know his Shakespeare and who does not instantly recall, "There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio, than are dreamt of in your philosophy." But most of us are equal to an allusion like that. Speaking of the incrustation on the door of an old church in England, which microscopical examination proved to be a human skin, and which was probably taken by Saxons off from some Danish pirate and nailed up *in terrorem,* the Autocrat says, "It was a genuine historical document of the Ziska drum-head pattern." If you don't already know the story of the grim old Hussite leader and his dying directions to have a drum made out of his skin that he might still inspire and lead the faithful in battle you will never learn it from Holmes. The professor says, "The great end of being is to harmonize man with the order of things, and the church has been a good pitch-pipe and may be still. But who shall tune the pitch-pipe? *Quis cus—*" Breaking off in the middle of a Latin word, he adds in parenthesis, "On the whole, as the quotation was not entirely new, and, being in a foreign language, might not be familiar to all the boarders, I thought that I would not finish it." The reader who does not happen to remember *Quis custodiet custodes?* and the meaning of that Latin question, "Who shall watch the watchmen?" here loses scent of the game provokingly. "Achilles," says the Poet, "was little better than a Choctaw brave. I won't quote Horace's line which characterizes him so admirably, for I will take it for granted that you all know it."

Dr. Holmes was a profoundly religious man. There is not in all his jests and sarcasms a single irreverent note. But his rejection of his father's theology and of Puritan moods was absolute. The old New England Primer had taught, with the first letter of the alphabet, that, "In Adam's fall we sinned all." To protest against this dogma was the inspiration of a large part of his literary activity. To exhibit how our characters are made for us by pre-natal or other influences for which we cannot be held in any sense responsible is the purpose of his three novels: "Elsie Venner," "The Guardian Angel" and "A Mortal Antipathy." Elsie Venner is a beautiful and gifted girl whose mother was bitten by a rattlesnake a few weeks before Elsie's birth. Thus in her nature were mingled the noble impulses and affections of a woman and the sullenness and sudden murderous malice of the serpent. "Do you want an image of the human will or the self-determining principle, as compared with its prearranged and impassable restrictions?" asks the Autocrat. "A drop of water imprisoned in a crystal; you may see such a one in any mineralogical collection. One little fluid particle in the crystalline prism of the universe!"

Joined with his protest against the doctrine of hereditary sin was his protest against the associated doctrine of eternal misery for a vast portion of mankind. People less than fifty years old to-day cannot realize what it meant to breathe an atmosphere highly charged with those doctrines.

When I was a child in southern Indiana the handful of "New-School" Presbyterians among whom my parents were numbered, being unable to afford an edifice of their own, worshipped in a small building which they rented from the Universalists. This building, familiarly known as "The Little White Church," had been erected by a single citizen of some means for a society so few in numbers and so low in public favor that they could not maintain regular services even after a place had been provided. The audience-room was destitute of architectural beauty, as were all the other churches of that region, except that on the front of the white-painted pulpit there was a circular black medallion bearing in the centre a gilded cross and above it the three golden words "God is Love." Upon that sole object of religious symbolism in the bare room my childish eyes always rested with interest and wonder. It was full of mystery, but also of cheer. But

as, in the course of time, our feeble congregation gathered a little strength and theirs still further dwindled, the ownership of the modest edifice passed from them to us. The only change made was the removal of the medallion with its golden motto from the front of the pulpit. Nothing was ever said about it in my hearing, and I asked no questions, but none the less deep on my childish mind was the impression that God's love was something which people of correct views did not think best to make too prominent. The same sentiment was in the air breathed by the child Oliver Wendell Holmes, and it became one great purpose of his life to affirm the contrary.

> "That one undoubted text we read,
> All doubt beyond, all fear above,
> Nor crackling pile nor cursing creed
> Can burn or blot it: *God is Love!*"

This man of jests had a heart of tenderest sensibility. He exclaimed to Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe:

> "Pity I feel as if that would be all that would be left of me if I live but a few years longer. To you I suppose sin is the mystery—to me suffering is. I trust that Love will prove the solution of both. . . . Educational suffering I can to a certain extent understand. But the great solid mass of daily anguish which the sun looks upon—and looks away from, as if he could not bear it,—antedating man, including everything that has a nerve in it,—that I can do nothing with."

Holmes did not give up any more of his ancestral religion than was necessary to adjust it to his sunny temper, to his kind-heartedness and to his sense of justice. It was characteristic of him to be free, but not radical. Professor Barrett Wendell says that Dr. Holmes remained through life a sound Unitarian. Probably the Doctor himself thought so. But that beautiful hymn of his, which is in all the orthodox hymn-books:

> "O Love divine, that stooped to share
> Our sharpest pang, our bitterest tear,"

never could have been written by one who was consistently Unitarian in his thinking. The truth is that Dr. Holmes never cared to work out a theological system, but was content to be clear upon the points that seemed to him vital. In general he kept the habits in which he had been brought up. "Would you believe," he wrote to Mrs. Stowe, "that to this day I do not read novels on

Sunday, at least until after sundown?" He went to church regularly without much care as to the theology of the preacher. It was only the general benefit, the cultivation of reverence that he was after. "It does me some kind of good, I think," he said. But he wrote to James Freeman Clarke:

"I think you and I are not ardent admirers of sermons in general. They are last year's bird's-nests for the most part,—dried apples in loaded orchards,—empty phials that sick men have drained and died notwithstanding,—the skins of the wise serpents out of which they have crept, carrying their brains with them. Nothing but a pile of old prescriptions is worse reading."

But he tells Clarke, "Your sermons reach down even below Christianity to that plutonic core of nature over which all revelations must stratify their doctrines."

The most interesting of the characters in which we know Dr. Holmes is that of the man growing old. His life had a long afternoon, or rather, we may say, Indian summer. He was within two years of fifty when James Russell Lowell made it a condition of assuming the editorship of the new magazine—"The Atlantic Monthly"—that Holmes should be the first contributor engaged. And it was the "Autocrat of the Breakfast-Table," the series of papers then written, or, as he himself expressed it, "dipped from the running stream of his thoughts," that first made him known to the wide circle of readers. Already the "Autocrat" (if a German idiom may be permitted) contains the professor's paper on "Old Age." "My friend the professor," said the Autocrat, "began talking with me one day in a dreary sort of way. I couldn't get at the difficulty for a good while, but at last it turned out that somebody had been calling him an old man." But as a result of thinking the matter over and reading Cicero's "*De Senectute*," the professor, who of course was Holmes himself, made up his mind to meet "Old Age" half-way. This paper ended with a quotation from the author's then unpublished poem, "The Old Player":

"Call him not old whose visionary brain
Holds o'er the past its undivided reign.
For him in vain the envious seasons roll
Who bears eternal sunshine in his soul.
If yet the minstrel's song, the poet's lay
Spring with her birds, or children with their play,

Or maiden's smile or heavenly dream of art
Stir the few life-drops creeping round his heart,—
Turn to the record where his years are told,—
Count his gray hairs,—they cannot make him old."

These lines never applied to any one more fitly than to the man who wrote them. Even earlier in the "Autocrat" occurs that delightful poem "The Old Man Dreams."

The surprising thing is that the author of these poems and reflections on old age had still six-and-thirty years of vigor and productivity and fame before him. He was not at all at the point at which Emerson wrote "Terminus." But stranger still it is to go back to "the jocund morning of life" and find that in one of his earliest poems the author said:

"And if I should live to be
The last leaf upon the tree
In the spring,
Let them smile, as I do now,
At the old forsaken bough
Where I cling."

That youthful poem showed the two sides of the poet's heart: the sense of humor and the tenderness of sympathy. There was no malice in the fun, but the pathetic aspect of things could not hide from him the comic. No one would take this stanza, if found alone, to be from the humorous poem of a very young man:

"The mossy marbles rest
On the lips that he has pressed
In their bloom,
And the names he loved to hear
Have been carved for many a year
On the tomb."

It is a joy to know that the old man lived long enough to taste to the full the happiness of being appreciated. The unreserved and companionable sympathy that he had offered to his fellow men he received at last in equal measure. He had said:

"I confess to a tender feeling for my little brood of thoughts. When they have been welcomed and praised it has pleased me; and if at any time they have been rudely handled and despitefully treated, it has cost me a little worry. I don't despise reputation, and I should like to be remembered as having said something worth lasting well enough to last."

Such frankness opened hearts; it disarmed criticism and cemented friendship. In America every day's mail brought more testi-

monials than he could read or answer. When he visited England the universities decorated him with degrees, and society, from the Prince of Wales down, overwhelmed him with attentions.

Was Oliver Wendell Holmes a great man? That is not the common impression. His wit was too nimble. One who can put a girdle round about the world of thought in forty seconds is considered lacking in the necessary ponderosity of greatness. We, his partisans, will always hold it a grievance that he, who to us means so much more than most of the great, should be debarred from the Pantheon. To us who were boys half a century ago in out-of-the-way places—southern Indiana, for instance—Holmes came as the Greek *literati* came to Italy, after the fall of Constantinople, and brought a Renaissance. To us he meant the revelation of a bright and joyous intellectual and social world of which we had not dreamed. With his love for big trees and his enthusiasm for fast horses, his irrepressible puns and jokes, his chuckling merriment and his songs, he brought a new zest to life. He dared to call his soul his own. In him we found scholarship without dulness, piety without austerity, courage without animosity, fun without indelicacy, loyal provincialism without narrowness. In him was presented a natural, spontaneous, broad, manifold, interesting, affectionate life, in an age of sectarianism and conventionality. This was worth more than greatness.

Can we close this appreciation with anything else than those lines which Dr. Holmes loved best of all that he ever composed, and which, when asked for his autograph, he oftenest wrote above it—the last stanza of "The Chambered Nautilus"?

> "Build thee more stately mansions, O my soul,
> As the swift seasons roll!
> Leave thy low-vaulted past!
> Let each new temple, nobler than the last,
> Shut thee from Heaven with a dome more vast,
> Till thou at length art free,
> Leaving thine outgrown shell by life's unresting sea!"

W. G. BALLANTINE.

THE APPROACH OF HALLEY'S COMET.

BY RALPH B. LARKIN.

DURING recent years astronomers have been looking forward with high expectancy to the year 1910, for in that year Halley's comet, the most famous in history, is to return. For thousands of years, and millions, for aught we know, this remarkable object has been returning at intervals to the neighborhood of the earth. History records many of its returns. But only within recent times have its visits been predicted and watched for. For until the days of Sir Isaac Newton, during the latter part of the seventeenth century, it was not known that comets moved on established orbits and that some of them returned at regular intervals. Before that time the comet we now call Halley's had been seen at many of its returns and noted in literature. But its appearances were not recognized as those of one object returning periodically.

Halley, Astronomer Royal of England, witnessed a great comet which flashed forth in the heavens in the year 1682. He noted its course through the heavens from night to night, and conceived the idea of comparing its course with those of previous great comets described in history. His materials for purposes of comparison were meagre, for the descriptions of the courses of previous comets were necessarily crude and imperfect. However, he discovered that the courses followed by great comets in the years 1531 and 1607 were similar to the one which he was then observing in 1682. This led him to suspect that they were not different comets, but one and the same. He further saw that there was an interval of about seventy-six years between them. This confirmed him in his belief and led him to predict with confidence that the comet would return about the year 1758. Of his prediction he said: "Wherefore, if it should return according to our

prediction about the year 1758, impartial posterity will not refuse to acknowledge that this was first discovered by an Englishman."

Of course Halley did not live to see his prediction fulfilled, but as the year approached there was great interest manifested in the outcome. Would the comet appear? We can imagine the intense anticipation of astronomers as the time drew near. And they were not disappointed. The comet was discovered on Christmas night, 1758. It was several months before it was in a position favorable for observation. In April and May it attained great brilliancy. Its tail reached a length equal to more than half the distance from the zenith to the horizon. It was a splendid spectacle.

Its return in 1835 or thereabouts was now regarded as a foregone conclusion, and again it came, awakening great interest. After appearing as a small telescopic object, it was observed in its approach for weeks, getting larger and larger as it drew nearer the sun, and gaining constantly in velocity until it swept round the sun and started back on its outward journey, not to appear again until the year 1910.

For nearly thirty-eight years it kept on its outward course, leaving the sun, as it had approached it, with terrific velocity. Its momentum was so great as to carry it many millions of miles beyond the orbit of Neptune, which is about 2,800,000,000 miles from the sun. The gravity pull of the sun constantly retarded the outward progress of the comet and reduced its rate of motion until it turned back upon its course, which is in the form of an ellipse, and started on its return journey. It has now been speeding this way for about thirty-six years at an ever-increasing rate. Astronomers will soon get glimpses of it through their telescopes and photographs of it will be made. It will constantly increase in size until we shall see it in its glory in the heavens as it rushes by us to sweep round the sun.

In past centuries this comet has produced much mental suffering. People in unenlightened ages saw in it a dire portent of evil and were in terror. Its appearance, for example, in 1456 was just at the time when Europe was in consternation at the victorious advance of the Turks, who had just conquered Constantinople. To the "Ave Maria" was added the prayer: "Lord, save us from the Devil, the Turk and the Comet."

Comets, as to their movements, are of two kinds. Those of one kind belong to the solar system and sweep periodically round the sun. Their orbits are closed at both ends—that is to say, they are ellipses. Halley's comet, of course, is of this kind. Comets of the other form of motion are stray wanderers, moving, so far as we know, independently through space. Their wanderings may continue for long periods of time, until they get near enough to our system to feel the gravity influence of our sun sufficiently to be deflected from their courses and drawn in. These approach the sun at great speed (a velocity of more than 350 miles per second has been known), sweep round it, and go away again, never to return. Their orbits seem to resemble either the geometric figure called a parabola or that known as a hyperbola. These figures are closed at only one end, their two arms reaching out into space and never meeting. Hence it follows that comets which hold to such orbits never return. However, if such a comet comes near enough to some of our larger planets to be deflected from its course through the attraction of gravity, the orbit will be changed into an ellipse, which is closed at both ends. The comet will then become a permanent member of the sun's family and will return at intervals. It is not at all improbable that all the periodic comets were captured in this way and forcibly adopted into our family. The "capture" theory is confirmed by the fact that Jupiter, by far the largest of the planets and consequently with the strongest gravity pull, has by far the largest group of periodic comets within the sphere of his influence—that is, with orbits reaching approximately to his orbit.

The velocity of a comet has much to do with the nature of its orbit. No comet on an ellipse can pass the orbit of the earth with a greater rate than twenty-six miles per second, for when a comet reaches this speed it has been demonstrated that it must be at least moving on a parabola. If it much exceed this velocity, it is travelling on a hyperbola.

The nineteenth century witnessed other great comets besides Halley's. The comet of 1811 was a startling apparition, with a tail that at one time measured 100,000,000 miles in length. It was observed for nearly seventeen months. The comet of 1843 was so brilliant as to be visible in full daylight. It was remarkable in that it passed nearer the sun than any other object has ever been known to pass. Donati's comet, in 1858, was 54,000,000

miles in length and was visible to the naked eye nearly four months. Its course was computed, and the comet is expected to return in about 2,000 years. Its journey out into space carries it five times as far from the sun as Halley's comet travels, or about 15,000,000,000 miles. The comet of 1861 was very large. It is worthy of especial note that the earth passed through its tail, but without any discoverable effects. The last great comets, those of 1880 and 1882, are still fresh in the minds of many people. The interval since these last spectacular comets has now grown so long that we welcome the approach of the famous one now near at hand.

Comets are very numerous in space. Kepler thought that space is as full of comets as the sea is full of fish. But we see only a minute portion of the great total. Of those that are seen from the earth almost all are faint telescopic objects. Several of these are found each year, the great majority of which are wanderers and never return to our system.

It will doubtless occur to many to ask whether there is any danger of a comet striking the earth. To this it is to be said that there is such a possibility, but the mathematical chance is so slight as practically to be zero. Babinet estimated that such an event will occur on an average once in about fifteen million years. We shall scarcely need to construct bomb-proofs against such bombardment.

But what would happen if a comet were to strike the earth? To this we cannot make a positive answer, for it suggests another question to which we cannot with entire certainty reply: Of what do comets consist?

Modern astronomy feels confident that it can answer this question with but a small margin of uncertainty. It is known that, while comets are often of great dimensions, they are yet not of great mass. Their tails are made up of highly rarefied matter immensely more attenuated than our atmosphere. This was demonstrated when the earth passed through the tail of the comet of 1861 without noticeable effect. The head of the comet, according to the best present knowledge, is not a solid body, but rather a great swarm of meteoric particles, not in close contact, moving along together, and with the power of emitting light. There is difference of opinion as to the size of these particles. Some hold them to be boulders of various sizes—*i. e.*, meteoroids

similar to those which fall upon the earth and in inconceivable numbers. Others believe the particles to be smaller, so that a comet may be styled a "gravel bank"; others have called it a "dust-cloud." But in any case the head is not a rigid body, and its mass or weight in proportion to its great dimensions is very small. If a comet were of great mass it would be sure materially to influence the movements of planets near which it might pass. But this does not occur. On the contrary, planets very materially influence the movements of comets—for example, Jupiter, which has corralled so many for our system. If a comet were of great mass and were to come near enough to the earth to influence its motion, we might witness the very interesting phenomenon of the earth being hastened or retarded in its progress, and so changing our calendar, making the year have less days or more, as the case might be, than the almanac shows. But comets have not mass enough to produce this result.

If now we ask the effect of a comet's striking the earth, we will readily see that if the head of the comet is composed of boulders a collision would have disastrous consequences. A rain of millions of great meteoric stones would, of course, bring catastrophe. If, however, it were merely a rain of small particles or dust, we might never become conscious of it, for the particles would never reach us. They would be fused into gas through friction with our atmosphere many miles before reaching the surface. If the gases liberated by friction were in excessive volume, we might suffer discomfort or even disaster. It is estimated that hundreds of millions of meteoric particles strike our atmosphere every day. This would be a serious matter if we were not protected by our great sheltering envelope of air. Occasionally a meteoric boulder is large enough to resist the heat generated by this friction and reaches the surface. This we call a meteorite. The now established connection between comets and meteors is a matter of great interest.

A very interesting comet phenomenon is the fact that the tail is not produced by the motion of the head. If a ball of fire were to move rapidly through our atmosphere, we would not be surprised to see a trail of sparks behind brushed off by friction. One might think that the tail of a comet is produced in a similar way, or that the tail would naturally trail behind because of its being lighter in weight. But this is not the case. In absolute space

there is no resistance to produce friction. So far as resistance is concerned, a comet could just as well move tail forward as head forward. And precisely this does actually happen. After a comet has swung round the sun and starts on its outward journey, it moves tail first. Whatever may be the direction of the comet's motion, the tail always points away from the sun. This is caused by bombardment from the sun's rays. The repelling power of light is a demonstrated fact. When this bombardment falls upon the comet the tail, being very highly rarefied, responds most readily and recedes to the opposite side of the head.

Photography is now much used in the study of astronomy. Of many recent comets we have good photographs. But since this art has grown up since Halley's comet disappeared, we have nothing but descriptions and drawings to show how it appeared. We may be sure, however, that on the visit it is about to pay us, it will be compelled to sit for its picture many times. It cannot be predicted with certainty that in appearance it will be just as it has been in its past visits, for comets are erratic creatures and not to be entirely trusted. Sometimes periodic comets show irregularities in the time of their return; sometimes they return with form and appearance changed; and sometimes they fail to appear at all, having been lost in some way or destroyed. We shall live in hope, however, that Halley's comet will not now disappoint us, either in the time of its appearance or its brilliancy.

RALPH B. LARKIN.

DOMESTIC SCIENCE IN THE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES.

BY HELEN SAYR GRAY.

A PREVALENT idea of the study of domestic science is that it is the "fad" of learning to do what domestics do. That is so far as the definition goes, and in part it accounts for the prejudice or indifference manifested toward the subject. There is a large class of careless, apathetic, ambitionless women who are satisfied with the treadmill way in which they manage their homes. They usually consider themselves successful housekeepers, and would be incensed at any intimation that they are not. There is another class of women—those who have studied the subject of housekeeping and realize that the health, energy, morals, habits, manners, appearance, success and happiness of the members of the family depend on the home and deplore that so few women receive any training to fit themselves for the position of home-makers.

The ill effects of ignorance of household art and science are found everywhere, in homes, boarding-houses, restaurants and hotels. In thousands of homes the walls are covered with nondescript paper that is ugly in color and design and soon fades. The carpets and rugs are likewise ugly. The rooms are not living-rooms, but museums cluttered with rubbish—tinsel ornaments, fancy-work and pictures that ought to be in the wood-pile. In the parlor the upholstery is brocaded plush. At the windows are cheap lace curtains. The same amount of money expended on these things would furnish a house well if the owners had any taste or judgment; but with such walls and floor coverings, even if the furniture were beautiful, the place could not be made to look otherwise than cheap, shabby and cheerless. If,

however, the walls and floors harmonize a room does not need very much furniture and does not look bare even if there are only a few articles in it.

The women who live in such homes use no intelligence in their methods of doing housework. Like the Chinese, they prefer to do things as they have been accustomed to do them. They do not take it as a reflection on their cooking that their husbands seek to supply the deficiency at a saloon and that their children eat between meals at all hours. They use a cook-book that is years behind the times. It never occurs to them to be dissatisfied with it and get the best in the market. Much of the fruit they preserve soon ferments, but they learn no lesson from their failure. As frying is an easy and quick way of cooking, they fry meat and vegetables whenever it is possible. As no attention is paid to ventilation, the house frequently is saturated with the odor of the cooking. Verily, as George Ade says, "There is no place like home, and some men are glad of it."

By such methods they waste money and materials. They would not think of burning up dollar bills, but they do what amounts to the same thing when they spoil food in the cooking. "The natural flavors of foods are spoiled by ignorant cooking, and people who eat such dishes acquire a depraved taste that craves strong condiments," an eminent doctor once said, "the cheaper the restaurant the more bottles of catsup, Worcestershire sauce, mixed pickles and mustard there are to disguise the poor quality of the food."

Owing to the discomfort and irritation produced by their diet, children in neglected homes are ill-tempered. The daughters, accustomed to a slipshod way of doing housework, take no pleasure in it, but find it "weary, stale, flat and unprofitable." They "hate to cook" because they know nothing about cooking. People take no pleasure in doing what they know not how to do. Drudgery is doing over and over what has not been mastered. Any work when mastered gives joy to the doer. Since their homes are so unattractive and uninteresting, it is no wonder that girls want to get away from them. They leave school at an early age to enter a store or factory. When they leave the store or factory to marry, what likelihood is there of their having happy homes, since they are not qualified to do their share to make them so?

The appearance of the members of the family is a good indication of the kind of housekeeping they are accustomed to. They may be proof against mismanagement for a time and look rosy, but eventually they succumb. Bilious eyes, constellations of pimples, complexions like dough or dried apples, and the external symptoms of a hundred and one other ills are conspicuous evidences of the wife's incompetency and cry out, "Behold her handiwork."

Confusion and embarrassment at the unexpected arrival of company to dinner or supper are another indication of neglected housekeeping. Instead of being ashamed only of being caught unprepared, the housewife should be ashamed to sit down to a meal, no matter how frugal, that any one arriving unexpectedly could not be asked to share.

Most illnesses, moreover, come from improper food. A great deal of sickness in a family usually means inefficient housekeeping. Yet the wife never blames herself for the sickness or death of members of the family, but ascribes the untimely ending of their lives to an inscrutable visitation of Providence. Strenuous exertions are made and no expense spared for nursing, medicine and doctors to save the life of a member of the family who is ill; but the prevention of sickness through the study of housekeeping is disregarded. We are obsessed by a belief in the efficacy of medicine. If the schools had not been derelict in their duty we should not have had the worship of Æsculapius continued to modern times.

People whose food-supply day after day contains only perhaps eight or ten of the sixteen chemical elements of which the body is composed and seldom any of the others pay the penalty for not supplying in right proportion and chemical combination all the elements requisite for the growth and maintenance of their bodies; they are only fractional men and women. Farmers know what to feed cows to increase the quantity of milk or to increase or decrease certain constituents in it. Orchardists ascertain that pear-trees need iron, that quince-trees need salt; but no thought is given to feeding the family for efficiency.

The ill effects of bad housekeeping are as conspicuous in the country as in the city. Tradition has more weight in country homes than anywhere else. The law of evolution is very slow in its operation in the home, especially in the country, because wom-

en who live on farms are so out of reach. They do not try new recipes for anything except some dish they may get when away from home. Unusual dishes would lay them open to the charge of "fancy cooking" and, like demonstrative affection, are looked upon as unseemly. Pancakes, pie, cake, doughnuts, canned fruit, fried foods, bread, tea and coffee, with potatoes three times a day, are the chief articles of diet the year round. Then, sodden with food, the members of the family resort to patent medicines to cure themselves of their self-inflicted ills in an attempt to circumvent the law of cause and effect.

The boarding-houses, even the high-priced ones, in which one can get satisfactory board, are very few. In every establishment most of the boarders would like more hygienic living; but they know that if complaint is made they gain nothing but the ill-will of the proprietor. It certainly would not cost any more—in fact, not nearly so much, to manage a boarding-house with some regard to the welfare of the inmates. The reason it is not done is that the proprietors don't know how and are too conceited to learn. The meals served at the average restaurant and in "pure-food cafés"—or poor-food cafés, as they ought to be called—are as strong an argument as any that could be advanced in favor of the study of domestic science. Even a high price paid for meals in hotels and restaurants is not a guarantee of good food.

Women's clubs and the leading women's magazines are doing a work of inestimable value in arousing public sentiment in favor of the study of domestic science, engaging specialists to write on the subject or teach it and in getting it introduced into the schools. Those publications that employ the best specialists exert a very wide influence. There are publications, however, that have household departments in which some one who has an insufficient knowledge of the subject writes columns of pseudoscientific matter. Such articles on the care of a home are of about as much value as those that appear in the home department of an agricultural weekly, telling housewives how to make "jumbo pickles" and how to make footstools out of tomato-cans.

In large city high schools there is a half-hour intermission at noon, during which the students flock to near-by bakeries and buy for their lunch cake, pie or something of that sort. In a certain large art school where one or two women are allowed

by the authorities to furnish lunch to the pupils the menu sometimes has hardly anything upon it but cranberries, pickles, tarts and cream puffs. Knowing what sort of luncheon schoolgirls eat, the Englewood Woman's Club some years ago installed a lunch-room at the Englewood High School in Chicago to provide wholesome food at cost. A woman's club did likewise for the Lake View High School. Would it not be practicable, at least in the elementary schools in poor districts and in large city high schools in which few, if any, of the pupils go home at noon, to have served at school a luncheon prepared by the children themselves under the supervision of the cooking-teachers?

Magazines and newspapers contribute greatly to the education of the public in matters pertaining to the home, but they are an inadequate means. Household science and household arts should everywhere be introduced into the public schools. They are quite as important for young people to know as the binomial theorem or the doings of the Allobroges. Education in household arts and science can be spread more rapidly and efficiently by the public schools than by the home. Why should the teaching of household science be confined to the home? The home is not relied upon to teach other sciences. Where else, if not in the schools, are young people to come in contact with a higher standard of cooking?

Boys should be required to take some of the domestic-science courses. In the Elementary School of the University of Chicago instruction in household science is the same for both sexes until the children enter the high school. Thereafter the courses are optional, at least for boys. If all girls were trained thoroughly in the subject there would not be so much need for boys to study it; but even so it is well to teach it to boys. It helps to raise the standard of housekeeping and of health.

At one of the meetings of the Chicago Woman's Club Mrs. Lyndon Evans quoted some very significant statistics in a plea for the study of domestic arts and science. "Of the 24,000,000 women in the United States above the age of fifteen," said she, "17,000,000 are engaged in housekeeping, 3,500,000 in professional and mercantile pursuits." Is there any other business except housekeeping on the face of the earth in which so many people engage with little or no training to fit them for it? Women are trained for everything else they engage in, but managing a

home is thought to be so simple and easy that any one can do it well without previous training. Every woman thinks she could keep house, just as every man thinks he could be a successful farmer. Competency is assumed, not acquired.

The study of domestic science in the public schools by no means meets with favor everywhere among the parents. Some are indifferent and others sneer and sniff at it contemptuously. One affected, opinionated woman, when she heard, for the first time, that cooking was being taught in the schools of Boston, New York, Chicago and elsewhere, could not conceal her amusement. To her and others like her domestic science meant nothing but dabbling with cooking-lessons—learning culinary capers. Teaching it in the schools was to her a ridiculous absurdity. "I shouldn't want Margaret to waste her time on cooking at school," she remarked. "I can teach her that at home."

"There is room for instruction in both places," one of the women present replied. "There is more to the subject than learning how to prepare a few fancy dishes that taste good. When the mothers set out to teach the daughters to cook they begin with the making of cake, and usually the instruction ends there."

Another woman, who went out by the day to scrub and wash, used to send notes to the teacher almost every week asking to have her daughter excused from school on the afternoons devoted to the cooking-lessons, on the ground that the child already knew how to cook. Both mother and daughter seemed to think that there was nothing more to be learned.

A teacher who taught only half a day employed her spare time on some courses in domestic science. Then she and her husband decided to set up housekeeping. "I feel sorry for him. His wife has been studying domestic science," remarked a woman of their acquaintance. "At the University where she has been attending, the students make little dabs of this and that. I can see she doesn't know anything about cooking." The opponent of domestic science in this case was a woman with degrees from several colleges who was subject to frequent and very severe sick headaches brought on, as she herself admitted, by dietetic sins.

"Women don't need to read books on housekeeping or study the subject if they have common sense," said another mother, a doctor's wife. "I was married when I was eighteen just after I left school; and my mother had never trained me to do any-

thing, as she did not have to do her housework herself. No one could have known less about cooking than I did; but I soon learned, for I had a good mind to help me out." What she ate for her meals showed very plainly the kind of housekeeper she was and how adequate was the "common sense" on which she prided herself. Common sense is not relied upon to furnish a knowledge of chemistry or astronomy. Why should it be in the case of domestic science?

Another mother, a wealthy woman, had her fourteen-year-old daughter excused from cooking-lessons altogether. "Emma will never have any cooking to do," she explained. "She will always have servants. I'd rather she would spend her time on music and art." To superintend servants well a woman must understand the work herself. Otherwise she is only a figurehead. The mother's argument is like that of the country school trustee's, when the question of hiring a college graduate for the village school was under consideration. "I don't believe in studyin' so many things. I don't want my boy to study joga'fy. What's the use? He ain't goin' to travel none. And as for payin' this man sixty dollars a month, I with a team of horses couldn't earn that amount in that length of time."

It is taken as a matter of course, no matter what is to be the pursuit later in life, that arithmetic must be studied. In days to come household arts and science will be regarded in like manner. Lessons in those subjects will begin when the child first enters school and will not be regarded as interfering with the study of music, art or anything else any more than arithmetic and geography do.

The teaching of domestic science is sometimes opposed by the women who serve on boards of education. Mrs. Keough, who was the only woman member of the Chicago Board of Education at the time "fads" were dropped from the schools in New York City, was reported as approving of the action of the New York Board. She was quoted in one of the Chicago papers as saying: "It is absurd to waste time and money in teaching cooking and sewing in the Chicago schools. Any girl can pick up these things at home; it would be better for the school to devote its whole attention to essential studies. It would be better for the school children of Chicago if they were given piano-lessons in the schools instead of instruction in domestic science and

household arts. The place for the child to learn cooking and sewing is in the home. I never knew how to cook or sew until I became a wife. It is better to get the culture first and the cooking and sewing afterwards." When asked what she would leave in the curriculum, she mentioned, among other things, physical culture. "I should leave that in, as it builds up the health of the child." How inconsistent to advocate leaving in physical culture, on the grounds of its improving the health, and yet oppose domestic science, a knowledge of which has far more effect on the health. Both are essential. Dr. Gulick, physical director in the New York schools, has shown, by means of tests, that physical culture as commonly taught fatigues school children more than any other of their lessons, and bores them into the bargain.

The effects of teaching household art and science in the public schools and of inspiring high ideals of home-making are incalculable. The improvement of the home is one of the greatest moral reforms and the greatest social reform to be brought about. It is the greatest social reform because it will affect every home. In books of American history this century will be characterized as the era of improved housekeeping, and the teachers of it as twentieth-century missionaries spreading the gospel of hygiene. Simultaneous with the great temperance movement that is sweeping the country is the spread of domestic-science teachings.

The instruction will begin in the primary grades and will be supplemented with sufficient practice to produce skill. By the time girls are graduated from high school they will have some knowledge of food values and combinations, of sanitation, of the warming, lighting and ventilation of houses; they will know what methods are best to use in doing housework; they will be able to sew and make garments, to prepare menus for the daily meals, and to cook simple every-day dishes without rendering them innutritious. Girls thus trained will make their parents' homes more attractive and their own when they marry.

When unwholesome foods are no longer served the chief cause of drunkenness will be removed. Considering the unattractive homes of most men addicted to drink, it is no wonder that the saloons have so many patrons. Last winter I met a woman who was going about lecturing on "Gospel Temperance." "Intemperance is one of the greatest hindrances to the spread of the

gospel," said she. "I speak in the churches and call attention to this fact and urge them for that reason to include temperance work in their efforts and not leave it to organizations outside of the church." She had a horror of fermented beverages, but the evils from fermented foods were a subject to which she gave no attention, though for years she had suffered from them and often was confined to her bed for weeks at a time. Whether one is poisoned by undigested food or by alcohol, the results are alike disastrous. Those who are sick from autointoxication are no less a burden to the community than those who drink liquor in excess.

When housekeeping is taught in the schools there will be fewer deserted wives. There are said to be eight thousand deserted wives in Chicago. The only thing astonishing about these figures is that they are not bigger, considering the number of ill-kept homes. How can the ties of family affection be strong in ill-kept homes?

It is said that the American race is deteriorating physically. This assertion seems to be borne out by one's own observation. How few people one sees who are perfectly well, and how many of those even have some ailment or other. And it is not to be wondered at that this latter class is so large when one sees the family dietary. Statisticians say that one-third of all the children in America die before they are a year old, and that the average age at which men die is thirty-five years. A quotation from Shakespeare, which is very appropriately printed on the title-page of a recent cook-book, tells us the reason: "Men die because they know not how to live." With improved housekeeping sickness will be decreased in direct proportion to the increase of intelligence and vigor and longevity added to life. People are beginning to realize that sickness is unnecessary and might be avoided by hygienic living, and they are coming to see that hygienic living is not, as is commonly supposed, something unpleasant; that it does not mean subsisting largely on breakfast foods.

The large colleges for women would naturally be expected to take the lead in introducing the study of domestic science, instead of being forced into line by public opinion and slipping at the end of the procession after the initiative has been taken by the public schools, the universities and numerous private institutions. But so far Radcliffe, Bryn Mawr, Vassar, Wellesley,

Smith and Mount Holyoke have stood conspicuously aloof from the battle waged in behalf of household science. Meanwhile the study has been introduced into the public schools in many cities, into many of the large co-educational State universities and into the agricultural colleges throughout the West.

Since the colleges have been reluctant to make room for courses in household science, one is led to ask if they have supplied anything better in its place. Until quite recently the curriculum was overloaded with languages, and the majority of the students got little else. It cannot be argued that such education is of very much benefit to the victims of it. Unless they are self-complacent, the thought of what they have missed that they might have had must be a painful one. Courses are offered in epistemology and in the Scandinavian languages. Hours are spent on the topography of the Roman forum, determining just where the rostra stood, and months, even years, are devoted to theses on the Erectheum, the Particle "hoti," the Position of the Greek Verb in Subordinate Clauses, the Use of Certain Prepositions in Petronius, the Ontological Implicates of Practical Reason, an Epistemological Study of Presophistic Philosophy, Political Conditions in Venezuela and the Tariff on Putty! There is time for all this, but it has not been thought worth while to spend any time on the study of household science. Any schoolgirl knows what verbs govern the dative, but how many know anything about the foods that affect the body?

Whenever a student's health fails the only reason people assign for it is that "she has overworked." Work seldom hurts any one. It is the adverse conditions under which it is done that are harmful. A girl rarely breaks down from overwork, but because she was not properly fed or because inadequate provision was made for physical work, exercise and recreation. Many people are opposed to the higher education of women, because, they contend, it usually causes physical deterioration. That is a very short-sighted view of the case. Impaired health is not an inevitable consequence of a college education. Their campaign should be directed, not against the higher education of women, but against the adverse conditions under which it is obtained.

The board-furnished college students is something to "make the judicious grieve." How much longer will the outrage be perpetrated of providing foods poor in quality, spoiled in the

cooking and grouped together into execrable menus? The appearance of those who are most easily susceptible to such a diet is a strong indictment of the management. Pallid, anæmic students, "sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought," with round shoulders and sunken chests, dragging around with an armful of books are a repulsive sight. If a student arrived in college in that condition the college ought to be a place where she would get over it and learn how to keep well. "A man must be a good animal before he can be anything else," says Herbert Spencer. But a glance at the undergraduates in colleges and universities, and especially at the candidates for advanced degrees, always shows some who are "fit only for the scrap-heap." Often the less the physical foundation the greater the zeal for learning. They have scholastic ideals, but not physical ones. There ought to be a vigilance committee to attend to such a case; but instead the university or college encourages her in her misdoings by rewarding her with a graduate scholarship or a fellowship or with a *summa cum laude*. Next she is caught in the lure of a Ph.D. She is "elected to be damned," but she does not realize it. The next you hear she has broken down.

Most of the leading colleges for women are enlarging the scope of their gymnasium work and have added corrective gymnastics. In so doing and introducing into the curriculum games and pastimes—golf, dancing, fencing, tennis, rowing, swimming, ball, bowling, etc.—they have made a marked advance. The introduction of games is a most salutary change, not only because of the physical benefits, but because of the social value of play: students become better acquainted in an hour of play than they otherwise would in a year. But games and gymnastics alone are not enough to safeguard their health.

In every school instructors are discharged for incompetency, but the managers of dormitories are not. If things were as they should be the college authorities would provide board for all resident students and put domestic-science experts in charge of the dormitories and student commons. There would then be a few places where dietetic crimes would not be committed. The aim would be to make the dormitory table a model. Limited funds might often necessitate the selection of inexpensive foods; but they would be excellent in quality and properly cooked, however low the allowance; intelligence would be used in making out

the menus. It would be a good plan to have several commons with board at different prices, thus enabling those students who pinch along on an allowance of two and a half or three dollars a week for table board to take their meals at the commons and yet not forcing all to live so frugally. Scientific management of the cuisine has been undertaken in the dormitories of several of the large women's colleges and co-educational universities.

It is strange, since multi-millionaries give so lavishly to colleges and universities, that they have not given money for the scientific management of student board, nor for the establishment of departments of household science. Once introduced, the courses in domestic science, at least some of them, should be compulsory. Otherwise the students who are planning professional or other careers would omit the courses on the ground that in their business they will not need to know anything about foods and cooking. Such a knowledge would be one of the best investments in vigor and success that they could possibly make. But they scorn and disregard everything except what they think pertains to their chosen work. Then when the goal of their ambition is in sight, Nature mocks them with an attack of gall-stones or nervous prostration or an early death.

If parents cannot afford to educate both sons and daughters it would be better to educate the daughters, because as mothers they have so much more influence over the lives of their children than the fathers do. But such a choice is not advisable, unless girls are given the kind of education that will justify such a radical departure from custom. Let women take up as much else as they like and as they can; but, whatever pursuit they engage in, they should have an adequate knowledge of housekeeping. To quote Mrs. Celia Parker Woolley, "The first duty of a woman, as a citizen, is to be a good housekeeper."

HELEN SAYR GRAY.

JOHN CALVIN, LAWYER.

BY THE REV. HENRY COLLIN MINTON, D.D., LL.D.

THE fact that a large part of Christendom is this year celebrating the four-hundredth anniversary of John Calvin's birth is *prima facie* proof that the immortal Genevan's career had in it some of the true elements of enduring greatness. No name to-day, ancient or modern, can start more arguments or kindle fiercer controversies than his. None elicits more extravagant eulogies on the one hand or more cruel calumnies on the other. Calvinism is Calvin writ large, and Calvinism is to one camp of thought the red flag that irritates and angers, while to another it is little less than the crystallized essence of imperishable truth. It is easy to believe that an intelligent acquaintance with the man and his teachings is no more required for the task of execrating than of idealizing, and it is safe to say concerning those that caricature and curse as well as those that exalt and praise that a genuine first-hand knowledge of the personality of the great reformer, of the actual nature of his many-sided work, of the real principles which he taught or of his posthumous influence upon history is by no means in every case an indispensable requisite for their work.

In most men's minds Calvin figures as the great thinker of the sixteenth century, who did more than any other to organize the intellectual elements and to co-ordinate the social forces of the Reformation. He was nothing if not intellectual, and he brought his mighty powers to bear upon the mysterious and perennial problems of religion; and so it is that he stands, classed with such spirits as Augustine and Thomas Aquinas, as one of the few great theologians of the past. This is true, and yet how many forget, if they ever knew, that Calvin was never ordained as Roman Catholic priest or as Protestant preacher of the gospel.

Judged by history, he was at least as much a statesman as a churchman. Although Sir William Hamilton says: "Looking merely to his learning and ability, Calvin was superior to all modern, perhaps to all ancient divines," yet this great divine was only a layman and a lawyer, and whatever of honor or of dishonor attaches to his name must go to the learned and liberal profession of the law. His father, at Noyon in France, was himself an ecclesiastic, but he dissuaded his brilliant and precocious son from taking orders and prepared him for the more lucrative vocation of the law. He pursued his legal studies under two very famous jurists, Petrus Stella and Andrea Alciati, rival leaders of their time. He received the degree of Bachelor of Laws at Orleans February 14th, 1531, and on leaving the university was offered the degree of Doctor of Laws without the usual fees by the unanimous consent of the professors. It is recorded that he distinguished himself so highly in these studies that on one occasion, when the professor was absent for a few days, the youthful Calvin was requested by him to take his place, and he did so with great dignity and success.

Without question Calvin's training for the law greatly influenced his whole work. Dr. Philip Schaff says ("History of the Christian Church," Vol. VII, p. 306): "The study of jurisprudence sharpened his judgment, enlarged his knowledge of human nature and was of great practical benefit to him in the organization and administration of the Church in Geneva, but may have also increased his legalism and overestimate of logical demonstration."

Calvin's career was the legitimate product of his principles. He was a genius, and a genius possesses that marvellous versatility of faculty which transcends the limitations of local conditions and vocational training. Calvin the lawyer was a greater theologian than many a learned prelate or parson, because he had the rare gift of insight into the great problems of the Infinite. His study of law could have been no mere conning of statutes or reciting of precepts and precedents, but with his *penchant* for the underlying philosophy of all human phenomena he must always have been pondering the science of jurisprudence and measuring the forces that make and sustain the social fabric. He studied under the *régime* of the old Justinian Code, and to a mind like his, with the best education the universities of his time afforded,

with his fine humanistic culture, with his wide sweep of vision, and with his penetrating powers of observation and of inference, no code could cramp his thought and no book of statutes could limit the range of his reflection.

And yet those early days at Orleans had been fixing the moulds of his maturer thinking. His theology was to be cast in the categories of jurisprudence. The lawyer begins with the first datum of *authority*. He deals with a rule of action imposed by a superior, which an inferior is bound to obey. The sanctity of that authority is the first condition of the social order, and the maintenance of that order is absolutely necessary to the lawyer's world.

Calvin the theologian is Calvin the lawyer transferring his thought from the sphere of human jurisprudence to that of the divine. Unlike that other great jurist-theologian, Hugo Grotius of Holland, his conception of God is that of judge rather than that of governor. Calvin's theology, like every theology that strikes its plummet straight to the bottom, was also a theodicy, and it is just this theodician valuation of it which presents both the seed-thought and the crux of his whole system. His conception of the universe is essentially theistic. The world is theogenetic — God-originated; it is theocentric — God-centred; it is theocratic—God-governed; it is theologic—it has its *rationale* in God. God is Creator and Governor of all; but above everything else, He is Judge of all; and this is the juristic principium on which he builds his whole system.

In speaking of Calvin's system-building, it must be observed that what differentiates his theology from a philosophy is the fact that the source from which he drew his material was not the intuitions or excogitations of his own consciousness, but the teachings of what he devoutly accepted as the inspired Word of God. If he posited his authority by faith, that faith, he held, was not without or against reason; and in any case it gave him the authority he must have. Protestantism, to be sure, has all along been charged with repudiating an infallible pope and substituting for it a less to be preferred infallible book; but, it is replied, the charge is based upon a misapprehension. Infallibility is strictly predicable of a person rather than of a thing. God only is infallible, and the Book is the attested, veracious and trustworthy revelation of His will. A man may presume to usurp the

functions of the infallible, but a book never. It is not the book, but the God who speaks by and in the book that Protestantism holds in supreme veneration. John Calvin found his data in the book, and the prodigious powers of his synthetic genius arranged into a logical and systematic order the truths which Scripture furnished him. In the technique of this system the legal training of his mind is evident both in the positive structure and in the keen dialectic with which he anticipates and refutes opposing views.

Calvin's view of everything else took its cue from his view of God, and that view was based upon certain legalistic conceptions. The integrity of God's government waits for its consummation and its vindication upon His righteous judgment in the end. His law is not only an order for His creatures to obey; it is a principle which regulates even His own dealings with His creatures. He is not legislator only, He is not administrator only; He is the Supreme Judge and as such, so to speak, He is superior to Himself as the Supreme Ruler of the world.

Calvin's God is not the deification of some one attribute, as power or justice or love; nor is He the apotheosis of some mere prerogative as, for example, that of sovereignty, as is so often affirmed. His belief in God's sovereignty over the world is only a corollary from his conception of what God is. Predestination, taking the finalities of the future into its purview, is only a necessary sequence, a logical implicate, of the same theistic postulate; and certainly to us men it must be that the consummation of his purposes waits for the final assize of the Supreme Court of the Eternal Right. To this test Calvinism has always had to come. Is its scheme just? Is its God righteous? Is its view of the destiny of moral beings, of the course of free and responsible agents, of the divine attitude toward human personality, right?

Calvin was fully sensible of the gravity of this test. He rested on the faith that the Judge of all the earth will do right. He safeguarded the rights of real freedom, while denying the freedom which exists only in the name; he accorded to man the royal rights of personality in that he possesses the responsible power of choice, which, however, is not incompatible with the overarching, all-embracing control of another. He affirmed the holiness of the divine, while yet that divine ordered, but never itself

effectuated, the evil that blights the world; that evil is born of free creature-spirits endowed with powers of self-initiating efficiency; and underlying all this was the more or less definite legalistic conception of Authority without which there could be no world of order and no adjudication of the rights and wrongs of time or of eternity.

But Calvin's training in the law shows itself in the substance as well as in the form of his thought. The lawyer's postulate of authority is everywhere in evidence. By temperament he was a student and a recluse; by force of circumstances only he was the teacher of the people and the leader of a movement. Calvin himself was no democrat. His influence has always been for the development of democratic principles and progress, but he himself was in principle rather an aristocrat than a democrat. Both in State and Church, he traced authority to a source above and not below. Only under certain conditions is the *vox populi* the *vox dei;* and those conditions are rarely realized. The seat and source of all legitimate authority is in the Supreme God. His law is final, and the violation of it is bound to be avenged. Theology finds the law of God in His word; it calls its violation sin and the penalty eternal death. Ethics finds its law in the constitution of man, individual and social; it calls its violation vice and its penalty self-ruin. The state finds its law in its constitution and statutes; it calls its violation crime, and its penalty is of its own arbitrary determining. Thus viewed, sin, vice and crime are distinct factors, being infractions of as many different standards. But while the statesman deals with crime, the moralist with vice and the theologian with sin, the philosopher, piercing beneath the surface, perceives that the three standards are, after all, not three, but one.

Man is not only God's creature, but His image also; and though the image is broken, yet the reason that is in him is, to use Lotze's phrase, "the pale copy" of the divine Reason, and therefore man's moral sense is an expression or at least an echo of God's law; hence vice, which is essentially a violation of man's own nature and entails a destruction of the best that is in him, is, after all, a violation of the law of God.

Moreover, "the powers that be are ordained of God"; the theocratic idea of the state need not be pushed very far until we see that crime, which is the breaking of its law, is also a

violation of God's law as well. Thus we see that the three conceptions merge into one and to a Calvin, who sees God in all things, that one is primarily that of sin. God is the great legislator for human affairs. Any Congress or Parliament that enacts laws inconsistent with His is a usurper, and to violate its statutes makes the criminal but marks the saint. Legal right when morally wrong is to be honored by good men only in the breach, and legal wrong when morally right is to be consecrated by a persistent maintenance. Human lawmakers have no right whatever to legislate except as they republish and apply what is eternally right, whether men sanction it or hold it in contempt. God's law of right is the constitution of constitutions, and no statute of men which is inconsistent with it is valid for their conscience or their conduct.

Nor is this the fiction of a scholastic theologian. It has its illustration in every civilized modern state. The invasion of a personal right is an offence not only against the person, but against the state. An Englishman's theft of his neighbor's purse is not a wrong against his neighbor only; it is a crime against the Crown. An American's assault upon the person of his fellow is a crime against the whole body of the people; and in England "the Crown," in America "the people," will prosecute and punish the offender. A tort is not a private wrong only; it is a public crime. Sir Henry Maine tells us ("Ancient Law," third American Ed., p. 359) that in primitive jurisprudence "the criterion of a delict, wrong or tort, is that the person who suffers it and not the state is conceived to be wronged"; and so the very development of the law of tort into the law of crime marks the advance of civilization from the infancy of jurisprudence. The authority of the state interposes and avenges what it regards as an offence against its own Majesty. Only construe personally this theory of government and we have found no final tribunal this side the authority of the living God.

Calvin held this view absolutely. All wrong is sin. "Against thee, thee only, have I sinned and done this evil in thy sight." This was the spirit of his age, and, while the Genevan was the creator of later ages, he was, of course, largely the creature of his own. His exaltation of the divine was the impulse that gave birth to the emancipation of the human. It is no accident that for so long Switzerland has been the home of freedom. Calvin

was far less concerned for forms of government than for its spirit,

> "For forms of Government let fools contest
> What's best administered is best."

His methods may seem to us harsh and crude, but he was dealing with hard conditions to which this age is a stranger. He was standing upon the heritage of tradition. The *corpus juris* of Rome and of the Holy Roman Empire enforced the absolutism of authority. The pontifical jurisprudence had formally consecrated, but still perpetuated the idea. The Middle Ages had witnessed the growth of cruel conditions and arrogant despotisms, and it was the chief characteristic and splendid achievement of the Renaissance that, in the sphere of thought, in the wide outreach of its intellectual interests as well in the deep soundings of its spiritual life, this conception of authority was retained, but modified, refined, tempered and related to all the affairs of men's social and religious life.

Right or wrong, this was Calvin's view of authority. All right is God's right, and therefore all wrong is against God. In this we see Calvin the lawyer applying to the confused conditions of his age and place the principles of Calvin the theologian. Permanent advance is often effected through painful experience. Calvin's work as magistrate of Geneva was the application to concrete conditions of the principles of his faith. His influence was personal, not official. He never held a civil office. Indeed, he lived in the city for years before he became a citizen of Geneva.

In many minds the connection of John Calvin with the burning of Servetus in Geneva, in 1553, is the sun-spot big and black enough to hide the sun of his name and fame. It is now over three and a half centuries since that event, and certainly this should be long enough to cool the passions and clear the judgment of mankind. The twentieth century would give little heed to any partisan who begins his brief by insisting that Servetus, however virulent his heresy, however violent his blasphemy, however insolent his spirit, ought to have been put to death. If Calvin had it done or could have lawfully prevented its being done, then every honest man, Calvinist or anti-Calvinist, judging in the light of the present, must pronounce him grossly in the wrong. But Calvin knew the law, and the presumption is very strong,

from his course at all other times, that the prejudices of the theologian did not affect the duty or the honor of the lawyer.

Servetus was charged with the twofold crime of heresy and blasphemy; both of these were crimes long before the day of Calvin. Having been found guilty of these crimes, Servetus appealed to the "Churches Abroad" and Calvin was directed by the Council to make extracts from Servetus's writings to be submitted in the trial. When the churches of Zurich, Bern, Basel and Schafhausen joined in the trial their finding confirmed that of the civil court. Thereupon the "Little Council" sentenced Servetus to death by burning and ordered that a printed copy of his book be burned with him.

It is difficult for us Americans to understand how heresy could be a crime; but what has been said opens the way for the explanation that a denial of the truth of God is a violation of the law of God, and as the state is God's organ of government the sin is also a crime. Sir Henry Maine suggests that heresy was reckoned an ecclesiastical offence because it was "supposed to be included in the First and Second Commandments." The Justinian Code made heresy a crime cognizable by the civil courts and punishable with death. Servetus's heresy was abhorrent alike from the Roman Catholic and the Protestant point of view, and his fatal visit to Geneva was an escape from the stake to which the Roman Catholic authorities had condemned him.

But Servetus's crime included blasphemy also, a crime in almost every state since the days of ancient Israel. It is a crime to-day in the United States, and many of the States have records of its punishment. Judge Kent has said: "No Government among any of the polished nations of antiquity and none of the institutions of modern Europe (a single monitory case excepted) ever hazarded such a bold experiment upon the solidity of public morals as to permit with impunity and under the sanction of their tribunals the general religion of the community to be openly insulted and defamed. The very idea of jurisprudence with the ancient lawgivers and philosophers embraced the religion of the country."

But was not Servetus's punishment incommensurate with his crime? Certainly, we being judge. But the law fixed the penalty. The Jewish law imposed the death penalty and the tragedy of Calvary was consequently enacted. Pagan Rome burned its

"Atheists" or threw them to the wild beasts. The code of Justinian punished heretics and blasphemers as malefactors and in Scotland the same law existed, and as late as 1696 Thomas Aikenhead was executed in Edinburgh for heresy. The English Common Law made blasphemy a capital crime. Until 1824 the English laws punished with death one hundred and sixty crimes and, in our own America, witchcraft was punished by death as late as 1692, a little more than two hundred years ago. All this shows nothing except that the horrors of Servetus's death were not exceptional. The fact is that Servetus was tried by a civil court for a crime with which he had been charged and that, being found guilty, he was punished according to the law that then existed.

We are not concerned to acquit Calvin of the charge which has been so often made that he as "Dictator" drove the "Little Council" on to the sentence and its execution. We do not believe that a careful and unprejudiced examination of the chronological order of events in Geneva leaves any grounds whatever for the charge. While the Servetus trial was on, Calvin was *persona non grata* to the "Little Council." Berthelier championed Servetus, not because he loved Servetus, but because he hated Calvin, and during the process of the trial the council ordered Calvin to admit him to the communion and Calvin refused to do it. In February, 1553, the elections gave a sweeping victory to the Libertines and to believe that Calvin was able to influence his bitter political enemies against Servetus, or in any other way at just that time, is to credit him with a power greater than his most ardent disciples have ever claimed for him.

Calvin had a lawyer's clear conception of the relations that should exist between Church and State. The same principles that made him a republican in civil government made him a Presbyterian in the Church. He did not insist upon the absolute separation of Church and State, for God is the head of both, and yet he held to the two distinct spheres of Church and State. In matters purely spiritual the Church owes no allegiance to any power in the state; in the regulation of her own doctrine and worship she knows no authority superior to her own. The Church is not, however, a purely spiritual entity; she has organizations and equipments and properties, and in safeguarding her proper rights against all comers she may have occasion to seek re-

dress in civil courts. When this happens the Church must cheerfully accord the supremacy of the state. She seeks the vindication before civil tribunals of her civil integrity and her legal rights, and when she thus becomes a litigant she must consent to have her proceedings scrutinized and her acts judged to the end that her claims may be sustained; and if sometimes the courts decide that her actions have been without warrant in her own constitutional provisions or have been in violation of the laws of the state, and are therefore pronounced invalid, then as a lawful subject and loyal litigant she must submit to the final judgment. But such a judgment, favorable or unfavorable, is forthcoming only when some civil right is involved and never merely upon the spiritual actions and interests of the Church herself.

This great principle is based upon the Protestant conception that the Church is a spiritual institution with Jesus Christ as its only head. It is the view held by Protestants in countries where there is no establishment; it is the happy principle that is accepted by all Churches in this country.

It was Calvin the theologian's doctrine worked out constructively in Calvin the lawyer's city. The great lawyer of Geneva was easy master of the philosophy of the law. His was a constructive mind, and he lived at an age when such a mind was the supreme necessity. In America he would have been a James Wilson and a Jonathan Edwards in one. He was no writer of sketchy briefs; he was no corporation counsel and director; he was no "business lawyer," whatever that may be. John Calvin, theologian, educator, pastor and reformer, was a lawyer by training and profession, and although we can hardly say that reforms and reformations were his pastime or theological systems a chance by-product of his big and busy brain, yet this man whom Renan called "the most Christian man of his century" was only a pale, frail layman of Geneva without a tiara and without a crown. We believe that his "Institutes" could hardly have been written as they are if he had not been trained in the keen logic and dialectic of the law, and that the Reformation would have been without its greatest intellectual prophet if he had not had his wits trained and sharpened in the law schools of Alciati and Peter the Star.

HENRY COLLIN MINTON.

REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT VERSUS THE INITIATIVE AND PRIMARY NOMINATIONS.

BY HENRY M. CAMPBELL.

No system of popular government can long endure which does not truly reflect the will of the people. In this enlightened age, and particularly in this country, no one will be so bold as to deny this fundamental fact. For some years past, however, a sentiment has been growing that our present representative system has failed in this respect, and the clamor for a change has been becoming louder and more insistent, until to-day what is commonly known as the "Initiative" or "direct legislation" has found a place in the laws of several of our States, and proposals for its introduction are pending in others. Along the same lines, and of like character, is another popular demand for primary or direct nomination of party candidates for office.

These ideas first found voice in the political platforms of the greenback and democratic parties; but of late they have been to some extent—particularly the idea of primary nominations—incorporated in some of the State platforms of the Republican party and also in the laws of some of the States. This latter fact indicates that the subject has ceased to be one of only partisan interest, and in consequence the proposed innovations demand serious consideration and a careful examination.

In order to fully understand the scope and extent of the radical changes which these proposals involve, it is necessary to consider wherein they differ from the present accepted form of representative government. Two forms of government by the consent of the governed have always been, and are to-day, universally recognized—the representative or republican form and the democratic or direct form. Each, in its own way, aims at accomplish-

ing the same end, namely, to give effect to the wishes of a majority of the people. Under the representative system, the people select their delegates to act for them, who meet, exchange views and deliberate before action is taken. Under the democratic system, the people themselves vote directly upon all questions; consequently, no opportunity is afforded for mutual discussion, deliberation or modification of views, except in the most casual way.

The "Initiative" method, so called, is essentially democratic in its character. Its avowed purpose is to eliminate the representative principle from the scheme of government, and to give free rein to every person to initiate such laws as he may choose, and to compel the submission of them to a vote of the people. Any person may propose any law, however intricate, or any amendment to the Constitution, even though it abolish all existing forms of government, and if some specified number of persons endorse the petition, the proposition is submitted to a popular vote, exactly as proposed, without opportunity for any modification or amendment, and without discussion, except such as may be afforded by interested newspapers or current agitation. The idea is not a new one. The principle is the same as that which underlies all democracies, namely, that the people themselves vote directly upon all questions, instead of submitting them to the consideration of a representative body.

It is only in small and intimate communities, like the New England town meeting, that the idea has ever been workable at all, and then only because it was possible for the people to meet *en masse,* where some opportunity was afforded for mutual discussion and enlightenment. Whenever it has been exercised in a larger field, the invariable result has been the downfall of the government which adopted it. The world's history for more than two thousand years is filled with examples of the failure of governments based upon democratic principles.

In view of the wide-spread demand for some change in our governmental system, it is also important to consider wherein the representative system has failed, the reasons for such failure and whether a reversion to democratic methods will afford the desired remedy.

The history of the adoption of the representative form of government, both for the nation and the several States, is both interesting

and instructive. No wiser or more patriotic body of men ever assembled in the cause of liberty than the members of the Constitutional Convention of 1787, who met in Philadelphia to frame a Constitution for this nation. They were well versed in the history of government and inspired by the highest motives. The great question considered in that notable convention was the character of the new government—whether the representative or the democratic form should be adopted. The difference between the two forms was well understood, and the debates upon the question were as profound and exhaustive as the world has ever known, either before or since. Nowhere has this difference been better stated than by Madison in the Tenth Essay of the "Federalist," and what he then wrote is as true to-day as it was when the Constitution was adopted. He says:

"From this view of the subject, it may be concluded that a pure democracy, by which I mean a society consisting of a small number of citizens, who assemble and administer the government in person, can admit of no cure for the mischiefs of faction. A common passion or interest will, in almost every case, be felt by a majority of the whole; a communication and concert result from the form of government itself; and there is nothing to check the inducements to sacrifice the weaker party or an obnoxious individual. Hence it is that such democracies have ever been spectacles of turbulence and contention; have ever been found incompatible with personal security or the rights of property; and have in general been as short in their lives as they have been violent in their deaths. Theoretic politicians, who have patronized this species of government, have erroneously supposed that by reducing mankind to a perfect equality in their political rights, they would at the same time be perfectly equalized and assimilated in their possessions, their opinions and their passions.

"A republic, by which I mean a government in which the scheme of representation takes place, opens a different prospect and promises the cure for which we are seeking. Let us examine the points in which it varies from pure democracy, and we shall comprehend both the nature of the cure and the efficacy which it must derive from the Union.

"The two great points of difference between a democracy and a republic are: First, the delegation of the government, in the latter, to a small number of citizens elected by the rest; secondly, the greater number of citizens and greater sphere of country over which the latter may be extended.

"The effect of the first difference is, on the one hand, to refine and enlarge the public views, by passing them through the medium of a chosen body of citizens, whose wisdom may best discern the true interest of their country and whose patriotism and love of justice will

be least likely to sacrifice it to temporary or partial considerations. Under such a regulation, it may well happen that the public voice, pronounced by the representatives of the people, will be more consonant to the public good than if pronounced by the people themselves convened for the purpose."

Not only was the representative or republican form of government adopted for the nation, but the duty was imposed upon the Federal government to see that the governments of the several States were of like character.

The experience of one hundred and twenty years has demonstrated the wisdom of the action taken by our fathers. For the first time in the world's history, a government by the people has proved a success. Under the beneficent operation of the republican form of government, this nation has become great and foremost among the world's Powers for the uplifting of mankind.

The chief aim and purpose of a popular government is to give effect to the wishes of the people; but it is the sober and mature judgment of the people, and not their temporary impulses and passions, which should be the basis of legislation. The representative system, because of the opportunity which it affords for discussion and deliberation, is better calculated to ascertain the true views of a majority of the people than any other known method; and to this fact the permanence and prosperity of the nation are due. No large body of men can act *en masse* in the examination and determination of intricate and important questions. Special investigation by qualified persons is indispensable. Opportunity must be afforded to harmonize conflicting views and ascertain the real wishes of the majority. Time is also necessary to avoid the danger of being carried away by temporary impulses and passions. All these the representative system provides, and so generally is this fact recognized that its practice has become almost an instinct with the American people. It is universally resorted to in all political and social gatherings of men, whether large or small. Every club appoints its committees to frame its rules and order of procedure. Political conventions, municipal bodies and Legislatures, proceed in a similar manner. In no other way can the business of assemblies of men be effectively transacted.

The reason for the radical changes which are now being pro-

posed is a wide-spread popular belief that legislators have been corrupt and have not reflected the people's will, and particularly that they have fallen under the domination of great corporations, which have used them to promote their own selfish interests. It is undoubtedly true that there has been reason for many of these charges—though, like all popular charges, they have frequently been exaggerated. But it is also true that the danger from such sources has practically passed, and no necessity for drastic and revolutionary remedies now exists. During the past few years a great moral awakening has spread over the land; and that greatest corrective, an enlightened public opinion, is rapidly suppressing the evils of which complaint has so long been made. It may also truly be said that these evils at their worst were mere excrescences upon the body politic, whose removal was required, rather than the destruction of the government itself.

But it is not true that our legislators have generally been corrupt or that they have failed to respond to the public demands. The most compelling force in any civilized community, and particularly in a country where the people choose their own rulers, is public opinion. Forms of government go down before it; and no system can long endure which ignores the rights or spurns the wishes of the people. For more than 120 years the representative form has been our only form of government. Under its benign influence, the country has prospered and grown great. Nowhere else on earth have the liberties of the people and their rights of property been so completely assured. To-day the world turns to the United States as the great moral power among nations. This could not be if our legislators were generally either unintelligent or corrupt.

But granting that evils and difficulties attend the operation of the representative system—which is inevitable in all human institutions—the substitution of the "Initiative" method would not afford the remedy.

In the first place, the "Initiative" method is undoubtedly unconstitutional.

The Constitution of the United States not only provides a representative form of government for the nation, but it guarantees a like form of government to the several States.

Article IV, Section 4, reads as follows:

"The United States shall guarantee to every State in the Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and on the application of the Legislature or of the Executive, when the Legislature cannot be convened, against domestic violence."

The debates in the Constitutional Convention of 1787 clearly show that the term "republican" government was used to indicate a representative form of government, as distinguished from a democracy.*

Political and historical writers since that time have, without exception, attributed the same meaning to the term.

"History, then, establishes the fact that, in the American system of government, the people are regarded as the sole original source of all political authority; that all legitimate government must rest upon their will. But it also teaches that the will of the people is to be exercised through representative forms."†

"It is frequently forgotten that this government is not democratic in form or in substance; the difference being that in a democracy, the people as a mass have and may exercise political power. In a republic, while all power is derived from the great body of the people, they never in a single instance actually participate as a body in the administration of government. Representation is an essential feature of a republic; power must be delegated or lie dormant."‡

The opinion of the greatest jurists and the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States are to the same effect.

"But the authority extends no further than a guaranty of a republican form of government which supposes a pre-existing form of government of the form which is to be guaranteed. As long, therefore, as the existing republican forms are continued by the States, they are guaranteed by the Federal Constitution. Whenever States may choose to substitute other republican forms, they have a right to do so, and to claim the Federal guaranty for the latter. The only restriction imposed on them is that they shall not exchange republican for anti-republican Constitutions."¶

"The power of the people to amend or revise their Constitutions is limited by the Constitution of the United States in the following particulars:

"(1) It must not abolish the republican form of government, since such an act would be revolutionary in its character, and would call for

* See Madison's remarks, Elliott's Deb., 449. Hamilton's remarks, Elliott's Deb., 450. "The Federalist," 10th Essay by Madison.

† George Ticknor Curtis's "Constitutional History of the U. S.," Vol. I, Chap. 32.

‡ Andrew's "American Law," p. 191.*

¶ Story's "Commentaries," 5th Ed., Sec. 1,817.

* See also Webster's Works, Vol. VI, p. 217. Calhoun's Works, Vol. VI, p. 219.

and demand direct intervention on the part of the government of the United States."*

"The national Government, it should ever be remembered, is one of limited delegated powers and is not a pure democracy in which the will of a popular majority as expressed at the poll at a particular time becomes immediately the supreme law. It is a representative republic in which the will of the people is to be ascertained in a prescribed mode and carried into effect only by appointed agents designated by the people themselves in the manner indicated by law."†

In the second place, notwithstanding the pretensions of its advocates, the "Initiative" method is far from affording the people the promised opportunity of expressing and enforcing their views. On the contrary, it is a cunning and effective device for imposing upon the people the individual views of the proposer, and in such a specious and deceiving way as to delude the unthinking into the belief that they are acting for themselves. Whatever is proposed must be voted upon precisely as presented. If another individual has a different idea, however slight the difference may be, if his experience suggests some desirable modification, it must be embodied in a separate proposal and voted upon separately, and so on, *ad infinitum*. This is because the representative principle, which permits of discussion and modification of views, is wanting. The system to be workable presupposes such superhuman intelligence and honesty on the part of the proposer, and such diligence and discrimination on the part of the voter, as could only exist in the imagination of an idealist.

The opportunity which this method affords for fraud and the promoting of dishonest schemes is obvious, and it is not at all surprising to find included with the idealists and impractical reformers who are advocating this change a strong, though guarded, support from the practical machine politicians, who, feeling the effect of a wide-spread condemnation of their methods by an aroused people, realize they can no longer hope to maintain their influence or pursue their old practices in the halls of legislation, in the light of the publicity which is now being brought to bear upon them.

A further objection to the method is that it will greatly increase the number of elections, and it cannot reasonably be ex-

* Cooley's "Constitutional Limitations," 1st Ed., p. 33.
† Address by Justice Harlan in December, 1907.

pected that the average voter, who is so indifferent that he will not give attention to the selection of a proper representative to protect his rights, will assume the far greater burden of examining and intelligently acting upon the multitude of proposals which may be presented by the "Initiative" method.

The system of direct or primary nomination of candidates for office involves substantially the same principles as the "Initiative," and is open to the same objections. Its purpose, like that of the "Initiative," is to eliminate the feature of selection by a representative body, and to permit individuals to vote directly for candidates for office—the idea being that every one can have a voice in the selection, and thus the machinations of party politicians be defeated. This system has been adopted in many of the States; and in practice has led to some results quite different from what its advocates claim for it. It has become apparent that only seekers after office become candidates for nomination—the office no longer seeks the man. The system destroys all party organization. Political policies and principles are entirely lost sight of in the confusion of individual ideas. It affords no opportunity for consideration of the fitness of candidates. Each candidate, whether qualified or not, determines that question for himself.

Voters are limited in their choice to such persons as present themselves. If there are but two candidates, the one selected may be considered the choice of a majority of the people, as between the two; but it by no means follows that some one else would not have been more satisfactory than either if some better method of ascertaining the real wishes of the people were provided. If there are more than two candidates, as is usually the case, the almost inevitable result is that the candidate selected is the choice of but a minority of the party; and as candidates multiply, and the range of selection increases, a correspondingly reduced minority may foist upon the party a candidate who may be altogether objectionable to a large majority.

When the system is extended over a large territory and is used for the selection of candidates for the higher offices, it becomes practically impossible for the mass of voters to make any intelligent selection, while the opportunities for improper control of elections are far greater than under the convention system.

The cost of conducting a campaign for the higher offices, even if the expenses are confined to legitimate purposes, has proved to be so great that all but very wealthy men and those with powerful machines behind them are practically excluded.

The influence of the newspapers is also enormously increased, as they afford the only practical means of information respecting the qualifications of candidates for nomination. Possibly it is because of this fact that so few adverse criticisms of the system have appeared in the public press.

These defects and weaknesses are gradually becoming apparent as the system is put into actual operation, and after a time it will inevitably be condemned as heartily as it is now being commended.

No person should be nominated as a candidate of a party unless he is the choice of a majority of such party, and no method of nomination is sound which does not provide some means by which consideration of the merits of the different candidates can be had, so as to permit an intelligent selection to be made. Opportunity for comparison of the merits of candidates and for a choice by a majority is as vital in the selection of nominees to office as discussion, deliberation and determination by a majority are in the enacting of laws. This is possible only under the representative system.

The remedy for the evils attending the operation of the representative system is, not to destroy it, but to select better representatives. Under our present system, delegates to nominating conventions are selected at caucuses, more or less informally called. It frequently happens that vicious and corrupt elements secure control of them, and decent citizens are reluctant to take part in what sometimes prove to be unseemly contests. The great majority of the people, however, are decent, law-abiding citizens; and if they would bestir themselves and perform their civic duties there would be little cause for complaint. A small part of the vigilance and attention on their part which would be required to give any efficiency whatsoever to a system of "direct" legislation or nomination would insure the election of delegates who would truly represent them; but no system will protect the people against their own indifference.

HENRY M. CAMPBELL.

THE NEW CORPORATION TAX.

BY CHARLES A. CONANT.

In spite of the outcries in certain quarters, that the new tax proposed in Congress upon the net earnings of corporations is "socialistic" and "iniquitous," it is one of the most equitable and easily collected forms of taxation employed by modern states. The critic who calls it "socialistic" must either confess his ignorance of the legislation of the most conservative countries of Europe or must be prepared to contend that they have already been captured by the enemies of society. It is inevitable that there should be an outcry against any measure which touches the pocket nerve; but those who cry out against a rate of one or even two per cent. upon corporation earnings, after the deduction of operating cost, depreciation charges and interest on bonds, may well be set to studying the corporation and income taxes of Europe.

In Great Britain the income tax is classified according to sources of income, but the rate is varied according to the demands of the Treasury. As recently as 1902 the rate was 5.75 per cent., and in 1903, 6.15 per cent., and the amount taken from the pockets of the taxpayers was in excess of $175,000,000. In Prussia even incomes below $900 pay a small charge and those above that amount are subject to a progressive rate which rises to 4 per cent. In Austria the income tax includes a rate of 5 per cent. upon income derived from securities or from industrial and commercial operations.

In France business is subjected, apart from many other taxes, to a so-called patent tax, based upon the size of shops and number of employees, and there is an additional tax upon income from securities. The patent tax fell in 1903 upon 1,506,520 small establishments, which paid about $11,000,000 of the total revenue of $18,000,000, the remainder being derived from bankers, large

merchants and large manufacturing establishments. The tax upon the income of stocks and bonds, after having stood at 3 per cent. until 1890, was then advanced to 4 per cent., but this charge is augmented in the case of securities to bearer by a transfer tax of 4 cents for every $20 of the quoted value. The total deduction by taxation from the income of securities in France is estimated by Professor Leroy-Beaulieu at from 9 to 10 per cent., resulting in the case of railway bonds in the retention of about 32 cents by the Government upon every $3 in interest allotted. The revenue derived from this tax in 1904 rose considerably above $16,000,000. In Russia a still heavier burden was imposed by the law of 1898 upon the profits of stock companies by fixing a progressive rate, beginning at 3 per cent. where profits were not above 4 per cent. of capital, and rising to 6 per cent. upon profits reaching 10 per cent. of capital, with a still heavier charge where profits exceed 10 per cent.

It is not in the financial history of the conservative capitalistic countries of Europe, therefore, that the opponent of a moderate tax upon net earnings will find parallels hostile to such a tax in America. The amount of the share capital of joint-stock companies in the United States is now not less than $25,000,000,000, upon which earnings are probably close to $1,500,000,000. A levy of 1 per cent. upon this amount will bring into the public Treasury $15,000,000. This tax upon the great corporations of the country is almost infinitesimal in comparison with the burdens bravely borne during the Civil War. It is not to be contemplated that those taxes should be renewed, but the figures of the amounts collected afford an impressive indication of the ability of the country to raise revenue and the great diversity of sources from which it might be derived. In a letter of March 26th last to the Secretary of the Treasury, of which a copy was sent to President Taft, the writer made the following summary of conditions during the Civil War and at the present time:

"The population of the United States in 1866 was, according to the official estimates, 35,344,000, and the aggregate wealth of the country was about one-fourth of the amount at the present time. In spite of these conditions, the following were among the internal revenue taxes collected during the fiscal year 1866, when collections were at their maximum, because they were then first extended over the whole Union and the reduction of taxation had not begun:

Manufactures and products	$178,356,661
Licenses	18,038,098
Banks, etc.	12,109,420
Gross receipts	11,262,430

"These are only a part of special sources of revenue in 1866, amounting in the aggregate to $310,906,984. If collections of $15,815,000 from cigars and tobacco and $34,315,000 from distilled and fermented liquors are deducted from the total of $178,356,661 collected on manufactures, there will still remain from other classes of manufactures collections of more than $128,000,000, or at the ratio of about $350,000,000 for the present population, without allowing for increase in the ratio of wealth. If the manufacturing interests of the United States could survive in 1866 under taxes of $128,000,000, they would apparently suffer no detriment by the payment of $8,000,000 to $10,000,000 annually under present conditions, in view of the increase in protection which they now receive from tariff legislation."

There has been a striking absence of denunciation of the new tax from the ranks of those who are qualified to express an opinion on its merits as an economic principle. The reason is simple —that the principle of the tax is recognized everywhere as economically sound and that it lacks the conspicuous defects of the personal income tax in regard to facility of collection. A tax on net earnings is a tax upon capital which has been accumulated. It is not a tax upon capital in the making. In this respect it differs from all those taxes—like stamp taxes, stock-transfer taxes, duties on raw materials, and even licenses—which are taxes upon the transaction of business. It involves no enhancement of the prices of finished products by reason of the capital invested in taxes paid; no restriction of output because of charges upon sales or transfers; no hesitation as to whether to take advantage of a rise in security values by reason of taxes upon their purchase and sale. In these respects it meets the test of economic soundness at a point where such a measure as the tax upon transfers of stock, imposed a few years ago by the State of New York, conspicuously fails. The latter imposes a burden upon the free movement of titles to property, and works an economic evil greater than the amount of the burden, because it blunts the sensitiveness of the market as a register of values. Against these criticisms the tax on net incomes is immune.

That the tax is levied upon net incomes is much more equitable than if it were levied upon gross earnings or upon dividends only. Not only may there be large gross earnings without profit,

but in different classes of business the ratio differs greatly between gross earnings and net profits. The tax upon gross earnings would be likely to impose the heaviest burdens upon the corporation producing standard articles, upon which only a small profit was derived from a large turn-over, and relatively the smallest burden upon those corporations exploited by men of original ability who, by the production of novelties, were able to derive a large profit from a small turn-over. Gross earnings bear no definite or equitable relation to profits; net earnings are the exact measure of profit and of success. If no profits are earned, then the enterprise escapes taxation; if the profits are small, the tax is correspondingly small; if the profits are large, the tax falls lightly upon the amount which is available for distribution to shareholders.

The contention, that a tax upon corporations works injustice to their shareholders in competition with private partnerships, is not likely to be heard often from the lips of competent members of the bar who realize the privileges and benefits which the corporate form has conferred upon the individual in doing business. Much is due to the corporation in the creation of the modern mechanism of manufacture and transportation, but to pretend that the debt is due to the corporations themselves as benevolent entities is juggling with words to confuse muddled brains. The debt is due rather to those who devised this form and to the state, which under this form permits individuals to invest whatever sums they choose in corporate ventures without being liable for more than their investment. So great are the advantages of the uninterrupted life, the limited liability, and the divisible and transferable character of property which are the essential features of the modern corporation, that a tax of many times 2 per cent. upon net earnings would not compensate for them.

It is said that most of the corporations of the United States derive their life and privileges from the laws of the States and not from the law of the nation. Space can hardly be found in an article like this for discussing the purely legal aspects of this question. On the side of equity, however, it may fairly be contended that the Union is the representative of the States and that when the States severally formed the Union they secured for the citizens and corporations of each the privilege of trading in other States, now grown to forty-five in number and repre-

senting a field of commercial exploitation, free from tariff charges or other barriers, such as is open to the citizens and corporations of no other country. So complete has this freedom of intercourse become that the fact that it is a privilege has been forgotten. That the Government of the United States has the right to regulate commerce between the States is set forth in the Constitution. That this right might be exercised in some other way than the complete freedom of intercourse which now prevails was probably clearly in the minds of the founders of the Union. As late as 1866, the running of railway trains without interruption or stop at State boundaries was sanctioned by a special law. There is no doubt, therefore, that corporations as well as individuals derive privileges almost immeasurable from the protection and freedom accorded them by Federal law, by Federal courts, and by the very existence of the compact of union between the States. To insist that they should be free from contributions to carry on the Federal Government would be to erect them into a class possessing special privileges of a value which would make the privileges of the proconsuls of Rome or the *noblesse* of the *ancien régime* in France shrink in comparison to tawdry toys.

Most of the objections which have been conjured up against the new tax are little more than men of straw. The serviceable old bogey, "the widow-and-orphan" stockholder, behind which corporations have so often sought shelter, has been projected into the foreground, much as savages sometimes protect their lines from attack by putting forward their women prisoners. This objection falls to the ground with many others before the lightness of the burden which the tax involves. A corporation earning $1,000,000 above all the charges which the law allows to be deducted, would have just sufficient profits to pay a dividend of 10 per cent. on a capital of $10,000,000. But it must be borne in mind, in dealing with the ratio of the tax to volume of business, that net earnings of $1,000,000 would be likely to represent earnings above operating expenses of say $2,000,000 and gross income of perhaps $10,000,000. From such sums the tax of $10,000 at the rate of 1 per cent. would come, and if deducted from net earnings would reduce the balance to $990,000. In theory, the helpless widow would find her dividend cut from 10 per cent. to 9.9 per cent. But no sane corporation is run upon such a basis. It does not allot the last dollar of earnings in

dividends, and a charge of $10,000 upon an annual surplus of $1,000,000 is like many other charges—only an incident of corporation activities, like $10,000 spent for travelling expenses for the investigation of new openings for business, or for gratuities to employees. The widow who has her property invested in a corporation which distributes its earnings "up to the hilt," so that it cannot pay the tax without reducing its dividend, would better get out of her investment in the first "bull" market.

Equally puerile, in view of the facts, appear the suggestions that the tax will be evaded by turning stock into bonds, by diverting earnings into increased salaries, and by false returns. Undoubtedly these devices will occasionally be adopted, but it is insulting the intelligence of the average corporation board to believe that they will be adopted by any considerable number of them in order to escape a tax of one per cent. The corporation which turned stock into bonds, for such a purpose, without justification upon other grounds, would be inviting bankruptcy. The bond is a continuing obligation, whose charges must be met in lean years and fat years; the stock is only a divisional share of the property, upon which dividends may be suspended when they are not warranted by earnings. The corporation which with a light heart increased its bonded obligations to escape a tax would find itself in the hands of a receiver when its earnings shrunk in a period of business depression.

This device and such others as the keeping of fraudulent books and the making of false returns would involve risks and difficulties which would not be compensated by the saving viewed purely from its practical side. Heavy criminal penalties attached to false returns would not be risked in many cases in order to save —not the full tax, but the difference between the full tax and the false figures. In this case, as in many others, the disposition to break the law would be measured to some extent by the ratio of the tax. It is upon this well-known principle that the import duty upon diamonds is fixed at only ten per cent., because the inducement to smuggle at the risk of criminal penalties is much less potent with the average man than with a higher duty. The higher duty was tried in the tariff act of 1894, and the result was a shrinkage of avowed importations of cut diamonds and other stones from $4,511,395 in that year to $985,611 in 1897.

A corporation cannot be formed without a record under State authority. It usually has a domicile, a list of responsible officials, and in the majority of cases a visible plant. One of the first acts of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue under such a law would probably be to request each State to transmit to him a list of its going corporations. There may be an effort to test the legality of the tax, but, barring this, the amount of the tax will probably be paid promptly by nine-tenths of the corporations involved, with or without protest, as soon as notice is received from the Federal Government. The tax-collecting powers of the Federal Government are so much more energetic and far-reaching than those of the States that the cases are likely to be few where payment is unwarrantably delayed after a *modus vivendi* in regard to disputed legal questions has been reached.

These considerations raise another, which was hinted at by Senator Root in his able defence of the corporation tax in the Senate. This is the advantage which will be afforded in obtaining uniform statistics of corporate capital and volume of business. In practically every European country definite statistical information regarding corporations is accessible. In this country no such statistics upon a complete scale have been compiled, because the data could only be obtained by searching the records of forty-six States. The balance-sheets of the railways and other corporations which are much in the public eye have been compiled, but local corporations, like water companies, interior steamship lines, mining companies and many other classes, have not been obtainable in complete form except through special inquiries by the Bureau of the Census or by trade publications. With information in hand in regard to all these corporations, and its proper classification for statistical purposes, the prediction of Mr. Root will be verified that, "The Government of the United States will take a great and a necessary step forward to the more efficient and creditable performance of the duties which it has undertaken and that are imposed upon it under our constitutional system."

A great advantage of the tax on net earnings which has not pertained to any previous Federal tax is its adaptability to changing conditions. In this respect it runs on all-fours with the English income tax, of which the rate can be changed from year to year, according to the requirements of the budget. The adapt-

ability of either of these taxes to this purpose is due to the fact that they are based upon the sound economic principle of imposing no charges upon business in the course of its transaction. For this reason the rate can be changed without disturbance to business and without such losses to the revenue as occur when importations are increased in order to escape pending increases of duties or when tobacco and whiskey are allowed to accumulate in warehouse in anticipation of a reduction in taxation. The power might be conferred upon the Secretary of the Treasury to change the rate of taxation upon the net earnings of corporations to meet the requirements of the revenue, within some maximum limit (say, four per cent.); but if there is objection to vesting such power in an executive officer, the same object could be attained by the fixing of the rate each year by Congress in the deficiency bill which passes just before adjournment. The latest data would at that time be available for determining the deficit in other sources of taxation to be met from the tax on net earnings, and if any error were made in one year it could be corrected in the next.

The adoption of a tax capable of being varied from year to year in order to meet the condition of the budget would be in itself a fiscal reform of the first importance to the Federal Government. Up to the closing years of the last administration the Treasury was run and appropriations were made by Congress with only the most indifferent reference to the relation between income and outgo. A policy of more direct responsibility, on the part of the President and the Secretary of the Treasury, and of greater correlation in the work of different committees of Congress, was suggested in the last annual report of Secretary Cortelyou, and the policies which he recommended have been largely put in operation by Congress and by Secretary Mac Veagh. The recent adoption of a balance-sheet which shows the real condition of the Treasury, after careful analysis of the subject by Assistant-Secretary Norton, is a long step towards a sane and orderly budget system, in which a method of taxation which can be adjusted to changing conditions will be an important factor. If the rate of the tax on corporate earnings is thus made the measure of the lavishness or the economy of the Government, the most powerful interests in the country will be enlisted in a direct manner on the side of honest, orderly and economical public finance.

Perhaps the most serious objection made by the corporations to the new tax is that which commends it to the people. This is the power which is given to the Federal Government to make such investigations as are necessary to determine if the tax has been paid upon actual net earnings. This is the "inquisitorial" feature which involves a continuation of the policy inaugurated by the last administration of applying to business in the United States some of the restrictions which are applied to it in older civilized countries. It was said by Edward Atkinson, I believe, many years ago that the people of the United States were the most lightly taxed of any who could be called civilized. Whether this is still the fact or not, it comes near being the fact that the corporations and the business of individuals in the United States are the most lightly burdened by official supervision among the older civilized countries. Americans who resent "inquisitorial" methods in dealing with corporations should study a few pages of the corporation laws of Europe. Not to speak of the Continental countries, where the Government acts in some cases as the kindly guardian of the masses, the body of English law on the subject fills a small book.

A corporation in England cannot issue a prospectus which is not signed by every person who is named therein as a director or by his agent. What prospectuses of new companies shall contain is carefully defined, including the number of shares required as qualification of a director, the names and addresses of the venders of any property purchased or acquired by the company, the amount paid or payable as commission for subscribing or agreeing to subscribe for shares in the company, the dates and parties to every material contract and a reasonable time and place at which such a contract or a copy may be inspected, and full particulars of the nature and extent of the interest of every director in the promotion of the company. Whenever a company makes an allotment of shares it must file within one month with the public registrar a return of the allotments, with full particulars, and in the case of shares allotted for other considerations than cash a contract in writing constituting the title of the allottee to such allotment and particulars as to the consideration for which they have been allotted. If default is made in complying with these requirements every director, manager, secretary or other officer of the company who is knowingly a party to the

default shall be liable to a fine not exceeding £50 for every day during which the default continues.

If Great Britain, the most conservative country in the world and the one in which trade, apart from other Anglo-Saxon countries, is probably the most unfettered in the world, sees fit to impose restrictions like these upon invitations to the public to subscribe for securities, then at least the mouths should be stopped of those who, in ignorance of the facts, may be disposed to characterize rigid company regulation in the United States as socialistic and without precedent. On the contrary, the United States, if she determines to establish uniform regulation in behalf of the investor and shareholder, in place of the present haphazard and disjointed system of company management, will follow a path of precedent beaten wide and smooth.

The new plan for taxing net earnings bears as lightly as possible upon the corporations by permitting the acceptance of their own sworn statements where there is no reason to suspect fraud. Investigation by Government agents is authorized only where reasonable cause of suspicion arises. It would seem to be for the enlightened self-interest of the corporations, if they desire to postpone the evil day of minute official supervision, such as prevails in Europe, to comply so promptly, cordially and honestly with the new requirements as to obviate the necessity for further measures. President Taft, with the usual optimism of a man of high ideals, has given them the opportunity by the terms of the new project to prove their loyalty and good faith. But if his confidence should be disappointed he holds in the power of taxation and the supervision which is a reasonable incident to it a "big stick" which will ultimately, in his hands or those of his successors, reduce the organization and management of companies in the United States to the narrow confines to which they have been restricted in other settled capitalistic countries.

CHARLES A. CONANT.

THE GERMAN HEGEMONY OF EUROPE.

BY ARCHIBALD R. COLQUHOUN.

WHEN Charlemagne, in his dream of a revived Roman Empire under a Teutonic dynasty, had himself crowned at Rome as Emperor of the Romans (on Christmas Day, A.D. 800) the German hegemony of Europe was placed beyond question for a time. Later on the fact that the nominally German head of the Holy Roman Empire held a court in which the Italian and Spanish elements predominated, and that the House of Habsburg (which assumed the Imperial headship of the Empire in the thirteenth century) became identified with Austrian rather than German influences, gradually altered the relative position of the Teutonic states and the importance of their peoples. Disorganized, divided into petty states, torn by internal jealousies, the German kingdoms and principalities fell easily before the armies of Napoleon, and when that wave of conquest receded, leaving Europe full of wrecks, the military state of Prussia was the natural centre round which the German states began to rally. Prussia was the creation of Frederick the Great, in whose footsteps followed closely the great master-spirit of the nineteenth century, Bismarck, who saw to what a pitch of power a strong, self-reliant and unscrupulous military state could rise at the psychological moment afforded by the moral and political upheavals of the first half of the nineteenth century. How German unity was secured need not be recapitulated here, but the successes of 1866 against Austria and of 1870 against the hereditary enemy were followed by a fiscal policy which started the whole of the German states on a path of rapid industrial and commercial development, and the intoxicating effect of both military organization and mercantile achievement during the past thirty years has culminated recently in signal diplomatic triumphs. No wonder that Germans see

their star, so long obscured, in the ascendant over Europe, and that, not content with military power such as Europe has never before seen, they stretch out their hands also for the trident of Neptune.

There has always been one great Power in Europe dreaded by the others—regarded as a danger and a menace. Spain for a long time held this position. Her armies kept Italians, Germans and Netherlands in subjection. France, powerful both on land and sea, was the arbiter of fate in Europe in the time of the great Louis as well as in the short but meteoric Napoleonic period. The sea power of France was the nightmare of Great Britain, and a life-and-death struggle decided the issue. It is but a few years since the French fleet ceased to be the chief preoccupation of British sea policy. Great Britain during these periods has played a decreasing military part, and in the last century has become a purely naval power—a development which has placed definite limits on the possibility of her interference in continental politics. Nevertheless, her unquestioned naval supremacy since the time of the battle of Trafalgar has secured for her an extraordinary position and influence, and on that prestige the balance of power in Europe has largely depended for the last century.

The present century ushered in a new period, in which that naval supremacy which Britons had come to regard as their prerogative is to be called in question, and the startling nature of this change can only be fully realized in the light of the most recent developments, in which it has become clear that the chief Continental Powers are obliged to accept the hegemony of Germany. The circumstances which have contributed to this, beyond the rise of military efficiency and economic prosperity of Germany herself, are the defeat of Russia on land and sea and the military and naval decay of France. The world is only just beginning to appreciate what the Peace of Portsmouth signified. One of Bismarck's canons of diplomacy was a good understanding between Germany and Russia, for he realized that the Prussian-Polish frontier was the weak spot in the German Empire, but the necessity for keeping the peace with a strong rival has now been modified, and it is Russia, and not Germany, which now seeks to "keep the way open" between Petersburg and Berlin. Germany has simply to insist on the Bismarckian principles of "reliance on traditional dynastic friendships, on com-

munity of conservative monarchical instincts and on the absence of indigenous political divisions." The Russian Tsardom and bureaucracy are profoundly convinced of the necessity of seeking Prussian support for "conservative monarchical instincts." Friendship with Germany means for the Russian dynasty immunity from foreign attack and from inconvenient reminders of the need for "constitutional development" within. On the altar of this official friendship Russian liberalism—that puny infant—has been sacrificed. The Russian Poles must be made to feel that they are no better off than the Prussian Poles. The Russian autocracy has been made to understand that, as regards the Slav struggle for constitutional liberty, the Romanoffs and the Hohenzollerns—not to speak of the Habsburgs—are in the same boat and must sink or swim together. The triumph of the monarchical element is for the moment supreme. As an outlet for Russian ambition, which the *debâcle* in the Far East had turned once more in the direction of the Balkans, Central Asia and Persia are pointed out as fields where no conflicting German interests exist. Constantinople, the Mecca of Holy Russia, still dangles out of reach, but the Dardanelles question may be used as a makeweight to secure Russian adhesion to German designs. Bismarck said:

> "We readily supported the policy of Russia in 1870 in order to release her from the limitations which the Treaty of Paris had imposed upon her in the Black Sea. These were unnatural, and the prohibition of free movement on her own coast could not be long endured by a Power like Russia, because it was a humiliation. Besides which it was not, and is not, to our interest to stand in the way of Russia turning her surplus forces towards the East. . . ."

In the recent Balkan crisis Russia blustered and her people were full of pan-Slav sentiment, but the Russian Government swallowed a German ultimatum and the people their Slav sympathies —and, however we may criticise, we cannot but feel that, in an era in which Might is Right, they took the only possible course.

France, the partner in that Dual alliance which was to hold Germany as in a vise, was equally incapable of action. Her guiding policy is the determination not to be drawn into a war at any hazard. The neglect of her navy, fully revealed in recent disclosures, has completed the disorganization of her forces. Her army is undermined with socialism and pacificism. Her politics

are confused and corrupt. Her statesmen are unable to define a clear and steadfast policy for the simple reason that they have no force behind them—neither the driving power of a strong public opinion nor the necessary instruments of a well-organized state. It is at this hour of her weakness that France has made a friendship with her ancient enemy, but that friendship is (apart from her impotence) due more to the fact that causes of friction have been eliminated for the moment than to any service which either Power might render the other in case of war. Great Britain has no land force with which to aid France, and France has no navy with which to aid England. The *entente cordiale* is merely an expression of sympathy with each other in the teeth of a growing menace to both!

Italy is another Power who says, with the apothecary in "Romeo and Juliet": "My poverty and not my will consents," when the matter in question is the German hegemony of Europe. Italy is not blind to the dangers involved in the growth and consolidation of German interests—she watches with deepening apprehension the mountain passes held by Austria, the reinforcement of her garrisons on the open frontier and the consolidation of her footing on the Adriatic—but where else can she turn for allies? How can she afford to leave the Triple Alliance? She only achieved a united nationality within the last fifty years, and has still to struggle with religious and social questions. She is a poor nation and her geographical position is a weakness in itself, and all her hopes of future development depend on the good-will of her Austro-German allies and their policy in the Balkan peninsula. She was pacified, in the recent crisis, by the promise of "concessions," especially in the shape of a footing on the eastern coast of the Adriatic which she had long coveted. But Italy could not help herself—it was a case of Hobson's choice.

When one turns to Austria-Hungary one finds a more active element at work to secure German supremacy than the monarchical self-interest of the Russian bureaucracy, the decay of France or the weakness of Italy. Here there is a definite Slav *versus* Teuton question, a racial as well as a dynastic problem, and the entrance of the Heir-Apparent, through Baron Aehrenthal, into the arena of European politics has marked a distinct phase in both of these. The reign of the Emperor Francis Joseph has bridged a gulf in European affairs. He has watched the rise of

a new Germany under Prussian leadership and the gradual extinction of Austria as an active influence in Europe. Having secured some measure of peace within his domains and witnessed their entire exclusion from the purely German sphere, he devoted himself to internal organization and to the balancing of racial interests. His Empire, with its strange admixture of Slav, Magyar and Teuton, became the moderating force between Germany and Russia—Teuton and Slav. Bismarck desired friendship with Austria but placed little reliance on it, holding that the balance of advantage lay in a union with Russia, though "complete reliance could be placed upon the durability of neither union," and he differentiated between a defensive and an offensive alliance with Austria, one of the preconditions for the latter being a settlement of the future of Poland. He said:

"The Emperor Francis Joseph has an honorable nature, but the Austro-Hungarian ship of state is of so peculiar a construction that its oscillations to which the monarch must adapt his attitude on board can hardly be reckoned on in advance. The centrifugal influences of individual nationalities, the interlacing of the vital interests which Austria has simultaneously to represent towards Germany, Italy, the East and Poland, the ungovernableness of the Hungarian national spirit, and, above all, the incalculable way in which confessional influences cross political decisions, lay on every ally of Austria the duty of being prudent, and of not making the interests of its own subjects entirely dependent on Austrian policy. . . . If, however, the reaction of changing events and situations on the decisions of the Vienna cabinet is not permanently calculable, it is certainly open to every ally of Austria not to refrain absolutely from cultivating relations out of which other combinations may, in case of necessity, be developed."*

The new phase in Austro-German relations does not involve any departure, on the part of Germany, from the Bismarckian tradition of prudence where Austria is concerned, but it commits Austria far more than heretofore to the German alliance, and the internal policy of the Habsburg who will succeed Francis Joseph is apparently to be founded on the absolutist traditions, while the revival of "confessional influences" is intended to counterbalance "political decisions" unfavorable to the new school. Whereas Francis Joseph gave political and religious liberty to the Slavs, Franz Ferdinand supports clerical absolutism in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Bismarck had no opinion of "con-

* "Reflections and Reminiscences," pp., 380, 381.

fessors," but then he stood for militarism as opposed to clericalism. Franz Ferdinand hopes to unite the two. The Austro-Hungarian army, be it noted, has been reorganized and is in a state of training and efficiency almost equal, it is said, to that of Germany itself, and the martial spirit has been revived by the rapid and effective mobilization recently effected. Undoubtedly the final throwing of the Austrian weight into the German scale was due very largely to the ungovernable Magyar. The national aspirations of the Magyars, stopping nowhere short of complete and absolute independence of Austria, were for a time held in abeyance, when Francis Joseph had conceded all that he felt to be essential to Hungarian national pride without cutting his dominions sharply in two and thus endangering both. Unfortunately the Hungarian "lawyers and hussars," who, as Bismarck said, make up the audible portion of that nation, could not be contented with a victory short of unconditional surrender, and to achieve their end they invented a "Magyar state ideal," a shibboleth which demanded the adherence of all Hungarians to the Magyar tongue and the Magyar creed. To secure this they have consistently alienated the Slav and German elements in their population (over one-third of the whole), but as the political power is centred in their hands, and they are incomparably the most skilful Parliamentarians in the whole of the Habsburg domains, they have successfully defied both their King and their non-Magyar subjects. Their position, nevertheless, is a weak one. Surrounded by a sea of Slavs, without a seacoast, an agricultural country dependent on Austrian markets, they have not the elements of independent national existence, but are being driven by their anti-Slav policy to rely more and more upon Germany. The extraordinary resemblance between the Magyars and the Prussians, in their relations to subject Slav peoples, is too marked to be passed over. As the Prussians are trying to dragoon the Poles of their eastern provinces, so the Magyars are dragooning the Slovaks and Roumans. In character no two peoples could be more diverse than Prussians and Magyars, but circumstances have given them a bond of sympathy, and economic necessity may drive the weaker into closer relations. Were Austria to enter that Teutonic Customs Union which is one of the possibilities of the future, Hungary would be driven to make what terms she could.

The European situation at present, therefore, stands thus. There is a great centre block of Teutons, controlling together mobilized field forces amounting to over two millions, trained and armed on uniform lines, and possessing within their own borders all the materials for war. Austria and Germany are not only able to supply themselves with arms and armament, but are in a favorable position as regards food-supplies. Round this block are grouped certain satellite states. Roumania, though without official declaration, is understood to be pledged absolutely to Germany. Servia is an unwilling satellite. She can help no one—least of all herself. Bulgaria is doubtful, but she plays only for her own hand, and if the Austro-German alliance continues to dominate the Balkans Bulgaria will be found on the side of the big battalions. Russia has nothing to gain and everything to lose by a rupture with Germany which might be fatal to her Government. Even they, with an illimitable supply of human material to draw upon, could hardly survive any more defeats in the field, and Petersburg, undefended by a Baltic fleet, is absolutely at the mercy of Germany. France wants peace at any price, Italy is tied hand and foot, Spain is a negligible quantity.

The basis of this domination of Europe is the enormous military power of the Central European states, due to universal service and to the perfection of the military system. To this Germany is adding a fleet which, as the preamble to the German Navy League lays down, is to be "strong enough to make war with it seem to the strongest sea power to be a hazardous venture." On January 1st, 1900, the Kaiser said:

> "As my grandfather reorganized the army, so I shall reorganize my navy, without flinching and in the same way, so that it will stand on the same level as my army, and that with its help the German Empire shall reach the place which it has not yet attained."

That resolve has been, and is being, persistently carried out. It cannot be claimed that this fleet was needed by Germany to defend a coast line of which more than half lies in the Baltic and the rest is peculiarly inaccessible by reason of sand-banks. Moreover, what Power in its senses would invade so strong a military Power as Germany? Nor can the German fleet be intended to protect her colonies or her overseas commerce, since the German war-ships are notoriously incapable of carrying a supply of coal which would take them out of home waters. They

are obviously intended for service in the North Sea alone, and their only possible objective is to cripple or destroy that fleet which is Great Britain's sole title to power. The efforts made by Germany within the past few years to build and equip a navy have been so phenomenal as to altogether preclude the idea of normal development, and it is certain that she has taken advantage of a period of national inertia, on the part of Britain, to push forward preparations which would be entirely purposeless if not directed against England. In whatever form the challenge may come it will come, sooner or later, if Britons do not bestir themselves, and the risks are incomparably greater for England than for Germany. A blow—even a partial one—to Britain's navy would shake her Empire to its foundations, but defeat of the German navy would be only a matter of men and money to Germany—rich in both. That her naval programme is part of her general scheme for securing the hegemony of Europe is shown by the development, under her fostering care, of a naval spirit in Austria where German propagandists have been busy starting a Navy League. Austria and Italy are both laying down "Dreadnoughts," and the former, at all events, would form part of the German naval force in any war.

This, then, is the end of the Hague discussions, the Peace proposals and all the talk about international brotherhood, which have occupied so large a place in the conferences of Europe for the last twenty years. Such aspirations of a humanity groaning under militarism are usually the prelude to some outbreak of war more deadly than ever, and at the present moment the tension is great. In the graphic words of Lord Rosebery: "There is a hush in Europe, a hush in which you may almost hear a leaf fall to the ground. . . . There never was in the history of the world so threatening and so overpowering a preparation for war."

The ethics of international diplomacy have been violated in the true spirit of Frederick the Great and of Bismarck, and in the regrouping of the Powers those considerations of racial or sentimental sympathy which in other periods have affected the history of Europe are replaced by reliance on *Machtpolitik,* the doctrine of force. We can none of us afford the luxury of indulgence in sympathy for subject races or oppressed nationalities. The interest of this struggle for America is not wholly academic. The emergence of Germany as a naval power creates a new competitor,

especially in the South-American continent, both for trade and for political influence. The possibility of the collapse, or even the weakening, of Great Britain as a sea power would reopen a vast number of questions in which the United States is bound to take an interest, and which the relations between the two English-speaking peoples have removed from the sphere of controversy. But the interest of America in a possible naval struggle between Great Britain and Germany pales by the side of the enormous consequences to Europe with which such a conflict might be fraught. The peace which for one hundred years the supremacy of the British fleet has insured to European waters would be no longer secured, and the heel of Prussia would in truth be on the neck of Europe.

The greatest barrier in the way of the realization of the German dream of hegemony lies in the character of Prussia herself. The autocratic, monarchic principle for which Prussia stands is one which raises enemies in proportion to its own efficiency, and is therefore founded upon sand. The absence of moral sanction, the attempt to crush national instincts, the *régime* of mutual distrust among the Powers, all bring their own retribution. It may be that a saner, happier Germany may yet be founded among the people who for so many centuries were in the vanguard of culture and who gave Europe the masterpieces of music and philosophy. People say that this old Germany is dead, but perhaps it is only asleep. Certainly it is a new Germany which has turned Europe into an armed camp in its stretching after a power greater than the Cæsars knew—the hegemony of Europe and the supremacy of the sea as well.

ARCHIBALD R. COLQUHOUN.

THE GERMAN NAVY AND ENGLAND.

BY A GERMAN NAVAL EXPERT.

It is little known in Germany, and probably not at all in other countries, that three decades before the first German Naval Act became valid a plan was already in existence for the formation of a Prussian navy. In 1873, soon after the German Empire was founded, this programme for the new Imperial navy was approved. It provided for the building of twenty-three battleships, twenty cruisers, six despatch boats, eighteen gunboats, twenty-eight torpedo-boats, etc. Its object was stated to be the protection of the German commerce and the defence of the German coasts. Germany's efforts, therefore, to possess an effective navy for the protection of her marine interests are by no means of a recent date; they are, moreover, absolutely free from aggressive motives. Adverse party conditions in the Imperial Diet brought it about that, during the next twenty-five years, no permanent practical results issued from these efforts. There was also a lack of men who knew how to transform the naval ideas of the German people into facts.

This changed under the reign of Emperor William II. The first Naval Act of 1898 was passed by the Diet, and now the execution in modern vessels of the naval programme of 1873 was assured at last. Like the original plan, the Act of 1898 was not based upon a comparison with the navies of other countries, but only tactical reasons, as well as reasons of organization, were decisive in fixing the number and types of the vessels. It provided for the building of a double squadron of ships of the line, in all nineteen battleships, twelve large and thirty small cruisers. The rapidly growing naval interests of the German Empire, however, had scarcely been taken into account, and it soon became evident that a navy must be built which would not only be able to make a blockade of the German coasts impossible, but prevent it

altogether. The Spanish-American war, Fashoda, the South-African war, the unreasonable holding up of German mail-steamers and, finally, the extension of her colonial possessions in the years from 1898 to 1900 further awakened Germany to the fact that, under existing conditions, there was only one means of protecting her navigation and her colonies—viz., the possession of a battle fleet strong enough to render war with Germany so dangerous even for the most powerful adversary at sea that the latter's supremacy would be at stake. An attempt has been made in England to misrepresent this purely defensive object of the German Naval Act of 1900, and to attribute to it an aggressive tendency; the suggestion was that Germany intended to build a navy which would enable her to attack successfully the most powerful nations. Whoever has read Mahan intelligently knows that for such an undertaking against Great Britain's immense fleet a navy different from that provided for by the German Naval Act of 1900 would be necessary. The execution of this law, again conceived according to principles of tactics as well as of organization, will increase the number of vessels to thirty-eight battleships, fourteen large and thirty-eight small cruisers. For tactical reasons it was thought desirable to form two squadrons of eight vessels each, with two in reserve.

This naval programme is to be completely carried out by 1920. In fact, it has been and still is the first planned in Germany after the temporary modernization of the old naval plan (Act of 1898). The bills of 1906 and 1908, though on account of technical progress more costly, did not contain anything essentially new.

In 1906 only the six large cruisers for service abroad, which had already been included in the bill of 1900, but which the Diet then had refused to grant, were asked for. At that time the Government had demanded also seven small cruisers, which met with the same fate in the Diet, and the Government did not insist upon these later on. The original and now legally fixed number of vessels, however, has not been changed during the last nine years. Taking into consideration the irresistible progress in modern ship construction and in the efficiency of arms, it is only natural that the German navy should have steadily increased in quality. On the other hand, the course taken by England has largely contributed to this end. Germany, since the new period

of shipbuilding, had for financial reasons, and in accordance with the dimensions of her shipyards, restricted herself as much as possible regarding the size of her battleships and cruisers, and in this respect had remained within the limit of what was absolutely necessary when compared with the navies of other countries. The building of the "Dreadnought," however, and the great display made in England regarding this vessel, rendered Germany's former attitude impossible. Other nations, too, were now compelled to build larger battleships.

It was, therefore, historically as well as materially incorrect when assertions were made in the English Parliament that Germany's shipbuilding policy had forced Great Britain to increase her navy. Germany, on the contrary, had waited longest of all the great sea powers in introducing the "Dreadnought" and "Invincible" type.

The object of the naval bill of 1908 was the elimination of a mistake in the Naval Act concerning the life of the battleships. The Government, when introducing the bill, had intended to legally establish a duration of twenty-five years, with the understanding that the substituting vessels would be ready for use at the end of those twenty-five years. The Diet, however, had thought this period to be meant for the *granting of the construction* of the substituting vessels, extending thus the real duration to about thirty years, since the exceeding five years would be necessary for the preparation of the plans and the building proper. In case the supposition of the Diet were to be accepted, the duration of the vessels had to be reduced from twenty-five to twenty years, and this reduction actually formed the contents of the supplementary law of 1908.

It so happened that quite a number of ships were built twenty years ago, the substitutes of which were or are due in 1908, 1909 and 1910. While formerly two battleships a year had been built, this number was consequently to be raised to three in the years mentioned.

The scaremongers in England saw in this a general acceleration of German shipbuilding and tried to prove thereby Germany's intention of wresting naval supremacy from Great Britain.

The following list, taken from the Naval Act, shows that the pace in naval construction will slow down again in Germany beginning with 1912:

Year.	Battleships to be built.	Large cruisers to be built.
1908	3	1
1909	3	1
1910	3	1
1911	3	1
1912	1	1
1913	1	1
1914	1	1
1915	1	1
1916	1	1
1917	1	1

That the German Government does not intend to put forth a new naval programme in 1912, as has been rumored in England, is evident from the definite statements made by the Imperial Chancellor and the Secretary of the German Navy in the Imperial Diet.

It cannot, then, be denied that a uniform and consistent spirit pervades the German Naval Act and its subsequent logical amendments, that its aim is to prevent wars rather than to win them. It well becomes a people which, in spite of military supremacy and many inducements and provocations to the contrary, has been for thirty-eight years the safeguard of peace to Europe.

Many foreign countries have long ago observed that Germany's extraordinary success in promptly supplying her navy with ships and crews is the logical outcome of her naval programme. It is, therefore, surprising, but none the less a fact, that such a recognition, on the part of England, is of but recent date and can be traced only from the time when Germany decided to build vessels of the "Dreadnought" type. Across the Channel the German Naval Act had until then been frequently called the "paper programme" of the German Admiralty. More recently, however, a complete change has taken place, and the strength of the German navy has been of late much overestimated and its development greatly exaggerated. During the naval debates in the House of Commons this spring assertions were made and views advanced which showed not only an astonishing lack of authentic information in England, but also a remarkable disregard of official German statements. It became evident then that much confusion exists in Great Britain regarding both the spirit of the German Naval Act and the fiscal and parliamentary conditions of the Empire, and furthermore that for party reasons facts were readily ignored.

Of this there can be no other interpretation. In London,

during the sessions from March 17th to 20th, even from the Treasury Bench figures were cited regarding the future strength of the German navy, the attainment of which is absolutely excluded by the Naval Act.

This law, it must be remembered, is entirely public, and the execution of its annual provisions depends wholly upon the appropriations of the Imperial Diet passed in open session. The First Lord of the Admiralty based this year's naval bill providing for at least four battleships of the "Dreadnought" type, six protected cruisers and twenty torpedo-boat destroyers and, if possible, four additional large battleships upon the statement that a mistake had been made as to the capacity of the German shipyards and the possible or probable pace in shipbuilding. Germany, he asserted, could have ready for service in the spring of 1912 not thirteen "Dreadnoughts," as had been supposed, but more likely seventeen. Premier Asquith expressed himself similarly on this subject.

It is not at all of importance what the German shipyards are able to do, but what they are actually building and what will be performed by them in the near future. Former Imperial Chancellor Prince von Buelow and Secretary-of-the-Navy von Tirpitz both emphasized in the session of the Reichstag of March 29th that not seventeen large vessels, but only thirteen, will be built. This number, consisting of ten ships of the line and three armored cruisers, will, furthermore, not be ready for service in the spring, but only in the fall of 1912. Not a single vessel of the "Dreadnought" type has been completed in Germany at present. Until now only the battleships "Nassau," "Westfalen," "Rheinland" and "Posen" have been launched. "Nassau" and "Westfalen," the first German "Dreadnoughts," will not commence actual service until the fall of this year, the remaining two in the spring and fall, respectively, of 1910. The first German vessel of the "Invincible" type—viz., the large cruiser "von der Tann," was launched only on March 20th last. On slip are, furthermore, the three battleships, "Ersatz Oldenburg," "Ersatz Siegfried" and "Ersatz Beowulf," the large cruiser "G," and quite recently the battleship "Ersatz Frithjof"; the last named vessel in the Schichau yards at Danzig. The following list gives the programme for the building of the new battleships and the large cruisers, indicating also the number of "Dreadnoughts" and "Invincibles" possessed by Great Britain:

Time.	Germany. Ready for trial trips. Battleships.	Armored cruisers.	Total.	England. Ready. Battleships.	Armored cruisers.	Total.
1909						
Spring	..	..	..	4	3	7
Summer	..	..	..	4	3	7
Fall	2	..	2	4	3	7
Winter	2	..	2	6[1]	3	9
1910						
Spring	4	..	4	7	3	10
Summer	4	1	5	7	3	10
Fall	4	1	5	7	3	10
Winter	4	1	5	8[2]	4[3]	12
1911						
Spring	4	1	5	8	4	12
Summer	7[1]	2[1]	9	10[4]	4	14
Fall	7	2	9	12[5]	4	16
Winter	7	2	9	12	4	16
1912						
Spring	8[2]	3[2]	11	16[6]	4	20
Summer	8	3	11	16	4	20
Fall	8	3	11	16	4	20
Winter	10[3]	3	13	16	4	20

Germany.—[1] Including ships of appropriation, 1908. [2] *Id.*, 1909. [3] Including two ships of appropriation, 1909.

England.—[1] Including "St. Vincent," December, 1909, "Collingwood," February, 1910. [2] Including "Neptune," January, 1911. [3] "Indefatigable," February, 1911. [4] Including two ships of appropriation, 1909, to be ordered in July, 1909. [5] Including two ships of appropriation, 1909, to be ordered in November, 1909. [6] Including four ships to be begun, probably, on April 1, 1910.

The battleship "Ersatz Frithjof" and the large cruiser "H," which is not even on slip yet, formed a prominent part in the English debates. Rumor had it that their building was ordered before being legally authorized, and this was said to prove the alleged secret acceleration of the shipbuilding in Germany, contrary to the terms of the naval programme. Secretary-of-the-Navy von Tirpitz expressed himself in the Reichstag with complete candor and at length on this subject. He explained, without reserve, that the contract for the building of these two vessels had been promised to two private shipyards purely for commercial reasons in order to obtain lower prices. The actual conclusion of the contract, of course, could not take place until after the naval appropriations for this year had been passed by the Imperial Diet. The time for delivery is, consequently, to be counted only from April 1st of this year, and the vessels will, therefore, not be completed any sooner than if no preliminary agreement had been made at all.

The German authorities also expressed themselves freely on the question of disarmament. Prince von Buelow, on March 29th, declared again emphatically that Germany did not intend to compete with Great Britain's naval force, nor to accelerate the execution of the German naval programme beyond its legal terms. He then stated that up to the present time there was no basis, practicable and just to all nations, for the negotiations on the limitation of armaments. Also in this question, he said, Germany's attitude was solely determined by motives of peace and for humane reasons. If Germany, the Chancellor concluded, continued now her reserve concerning this question, this could not be considered either remarkable or unfriendly to other powers.

The German authorities have made, regarding shipbuilding and disarmament, statements as candid, explicit and, at the same time, as reassuring as it was possible to make and as any one could desire. Nevertheless, nervous discussions of both topics continue in England, and Germany is still frequently referred to as the sole cause for alarm. There remains nothing to do, then, for Germany but to hope that soon a reaction may set in concerning these absolutely unfounded views. Every Englishman should recognize that his country has nothing to fear at all from Germany, so long as no attacks are made upon her national dignity and her independence. The immense strength of the English naval forces will then recur to him, exceeding that of Germany three and a half times. In the spring of 1912, moreover, England will have suffered no material loss of this enormous superiority.

England, of course, will gradually have to become accustomed to the fact that in the future other nations, too, will guard their interests at sea more than they were wont to guard them during the last century. Not only Germany, but still more the United States, France (planning the creation of a navy far surpassing that of Germany), Japan, Italy, Austria and Russia, are quite justified in expanding their navies. They will render it in the future impossible for England to maintain her present supremacy over all other navies, and especially over the combined two next strongest ones.

"The Shipping World," a reliable periodical published in London, recently estimated the percentage of strength of the larger navies as follows:

	1909.	1908.	1907.
Great Britain	41.9%	42.5%	42.4%
United States	14.9%	13.7%	13.8%
France	12.6%	12.6%	13.1%
Germany	12.1%[1]	12.7%	11.6%
Japan	8.0%	8.3%	9.1%
Italy	5.4%	5.2%	4.2%
Russia	5.1%	5.0%	5.8%

[1] The decline in Germany's share in 1909 is explained by the author's omitting the small armored coast cruisers of the "Siegfried" class, as for the most part they had approached the legal age limit.

On account of the enlargement of ship types which England herself has initiated, the costs for the building and preservation of vessels have risen more and more. This fact contributes greatly to the difficulty Great Britain is encountering in the maintenance of her present disproportionate, and therefore unnecessary, supremacy.

There can be no doubt, then, that all other nations put together are less to be blamed for the course matters have taken than England herself; and it must be considered neither correct nor fair to make Germany, and Germany alone, responsible for it. Taking into consideration the relative strength of the two countries, together with the present public excitement in England and the lessons English politics have taught during the last three centuries, it is Germany rather than Great Britain that is menaced. England is at present assembling 350 vessels on the River Thames. How, then, can Germany be called aggressive? England is the only country that is now able to attack Germany without risk to herself. Germany does not desire more,—nor has she ever intended to do more,—than to create such a risk. The navy, therefore, which she is building to serve this purpose can never justly be called an offensive, but only a defensive navy.

A German Naval Expert.

NEW BOOKS REVIEWED.

ART AND ARCHITECTURE.

Mr. J. M. Simpson, the author of "A History of Architectural Development," being an Englishman, holds a brief for English Gothic, but he has not lost his head, and it is not wholly unpleasant to meet a reasonable defence of those low, cool, quiet cathedrals, as pale and unimpassioned as the Anglican liturgy. Certainly it is not worse to urge, like Professor Simpson, that it was merely common sense in the English masons to use many ribs in vaulting, and to cut and lay the intermediate stone with less painful care in consequence than to insist, like Professor Moore of Harvard, that only this work of a single moment, in a single spot, may be counted as Gothic at all. That is too like saying no one shall be called a woman except the Venus of Melos. No; as Stevenson said once: The world was made before the English language and seemingly on a different plan; we have all somehow to fit our words to the world. It is a pity that our author—let it be said in passing—is so reckless with his own words,* dropping accents at will, and to make up writing usually "Nôtre Dame"; fantastically transcribing contractions from his note-book on the finished page, such as "N. D. of Paris," and "Isle de France," and "simple four-tile" or "six-tile" vaults (p. 91). These oddities with some of spelling are worth noting solely because the book is so admirable; sound, compact, amazingly complete, within the moderate compass of three hundred and seventy-five pages, and not a little delightful. The only omission we note which we would not quite willingly have spared, is the point of Cistercian influence on Italian Gothic. It may be that since Professor Frothingham's articles are still

* "A History of Architectural Development." By J. M. Simpson. Vol. II. Mediæval. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1909.

buried in an American review of sixteen years ago the author had not seen them, but it is just as likely that, being rather pressed toward the close of his book, he preferred to neglect what is, after all, a minor point in the history of Italian Gothic, having no great fancy for Cistercians. He lets himself have opinions about all sorts of things: landscapes, the temperament of races, the way churches should be built nowadays. Much of the reader's pleasure in the book springs from this life and play of opinion, and much more from the immensely decorative drawings, the author's own, which are not only pictorial and suggestive everywhere, but far clearer than the average, so that the eye singles out the point at once. Why should not more books imitate this point?

Professor Marquand's book* is a disappointment. It is unpedantic, detailed, long and very dull. It takes up practically the same matters twice or thrice and says nothing that the reader can remember afterwards. It is all fatally indisputable: why say it all, the reader wonders, and why say it so, when a pocket A B C volume would hold the whole? The impression it produces is that the author is what, in some walks of life, is called stale. Clergymen and athletes are liable to the same state. He is, in effect, overtrained and flat; he knows his matter well and wearily. The wise clergyman will close up his Bible and go fishing for a month with Marcus Aurelius in his pocket. The wise prize-fighter will break training; and the wise student will look far afield to another land and age for a while, after putting all his old lecture-notes into the fire. Professor Gardner's delightful book on Greek sculpture in this same series has shown how it is possible to be thorough, scholarly and yet full of the most vivid interest; and Professor Marquand has approved himself at other times no less delightful. He should have done more for his publishers, his audience and himself.

This volume of twenty-eight essays,† none of them very long, on a handful of Dutchmen of the seventeenth century, is rather un-

* "Greek Architecture." By Allan Marquand, Ph.D., L.H.D. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1909.

† "Great Masters of Dutch and Flemish Painting." By Wilhelm Bode. Translated by Margaret L. Clarke. London: Duckworth & Co. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909.

equal in its interest, but leaves an impression of more substance than the look of it promised. Dr. Bode knows his material well. Since he was a Teuton before he was a critic, he has never spoken more *con amore,* with more unction than here, where he may speak of Rembrandt. His interpretation of that essentially northern genius may not, indeed, be to every one's mind; it is itself Teutonic. "He does not lose himself in the infinite or seek his ideal outside man, but he discovers the divine in man himself and finds peace and calm in his own heart. A mysticism entirely peculiar to himself speaks to us." Is that the translator's fault alone, or is it possible that in Germany a good word can be so abused? Certainly mysticism as recognized anywhere else is precisely all that Dr. Bode denies, whether rightly or not, of Rembrandt, that darkened and troubled spirit, the converse in so many ways of Leonardo. The word stands for many things, but always in some sense for ultimate soul-satisfaction, for that quiet at the heart of things which the late G. F. Watts loved to paint, and satisfaction, though Rembrandt often painted it, we know, with all deference to Dr. Bode, that he never knew. Yet the critic, while he has not cared to dwell on Rembrandt's melancholy end, or the inequalities of his excellence, has given due weight to the intimacy of his genius, and his triumph in the struggle with things too high for him. He has taken pains to trace Rembrandt's influence in dealing with the other painters of his period; and this in part accounts for the reader's coming away with a great sense of something said. For the rest those essays are particularly interesting that touch on men little known or half-forgotten, like Hercules Segers, Adriæn Brouwer and Jan Vermeer of Delft. That rare and beautiful master, now much cried up by the elect, is of especial interest here because we possess in New York a masterpiec of his. That, to be sure, we have only discovered since, under the admirable direction of Mr. Roger Fry, the picture was cleaned; whereby the divine and incomparable color emerged from a muddy blur of gray into a blue that has the clarity of a jewel and the quality of a lacquer.

The rendering is, on the whole, so fluent and easy as to read like original work; twice only has the idiom betrayed the translator. On page 318 the designs for "carpets" would seem by the context to be for tapestry hangings; and "laws of line (-) and air perspective," on page 146, is not English, and is barely

recognizable as the familiar principles of linear and aerial perspective.

Again the translation (by Jessie Haynes) is intimate and individual. The writer himself speaks through it very happily. In these essays, which get a kind of unity from his passion for Donatello, Dr. Bode* moves on debatable ground with uncommon geniality and urbanity. The tone of controversy is here almost uniformly gracious, and it is therefore the sadder that he should have abandoned his own manner to throw a savage word at Milanesi. Where should we all be in Italian art without Gaetano Milanesi—his untiring researches, his profound historical insight, his *flair* for a five-hundred-years-forgotten fact? Dr. Bode has his enmities, too, in the *quattro-cento* and is less generous there. In distinguishing, for instance, the work of Donatello from that of Michelozzo, he seems to imply that this or that pulpit or tomb could not be by the latter because he could never have had the originality or the imagination to do anything so good, and then presently asserts that "it is impossible to credit him either with originality or imagination" because he never did anything which showed these qualities. This is hardly fair and hardly logical. In the same way the critic appropriates for Leonardo all of Verrocchio's most romantic work: not only the "Scipio" of the Louvre and some rather frantic compositions, which are all probably school pieces, but the very "Primavera" of the Bargello herself, d'Annunzio's "Lady of the Beautiful Hands." Maud Cruttwell, however, without naming our present author in her discussion of Verrocchio, has already raised the cry against that celestial thief Leonardo.

The illustrations are absolutely the next things to having a set of fine photographs, and the book is full of interest and personal charm and delightful sentiment. If the author puts Desiderio da Settignano very high and dismisses Mino da Fiesole with a slighting word, if he claims a relief or a *statue* for the young Michael Angelo, and gathers up half the medals of Florence for Spinelli, these, after all, are matters of opinion and as opinion valuable. It is inconceivable that Dr. Bode should ever be really rash or ill advised. Whatever he says is pleasant to read, and

* "Florentine Sculpture of the Renaissance." By Wilhelm Bode. London: Methuen & Co. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

"*Stilkritik*" is always fascinating; if this book is a little rambling, yet the stopping-places are all delightful.

A few months ago these pages held up Mr. Edward Hutton as furnishing an example of the way a fine old book should not be edited. In reprinting Crowe and Cavalcaselle—a work of necessity—Mr. Douglas has shown how the thing should be done. An immense deal of research among archives, a long period of travelling from gallery to gallery, must have gone to supply the notes in fine print, and the appendix, all too brief, on Andrea di Bartolo. Mr. Douglas is a tireless student and connoisseur, and that he has had good luck with his *finds* is more to the credit of his taste even than of his acumen. He was the first, it will be remembered, to fix the personality of Sassetta and to identify a number of his paintings, though Mr. Berenson has since made, in a sense, that enchanting painter peculiarly his own, what with his illuminating articles and his beautiful panel of S. Francis. Here, with this new figure of Andrea di Bartolo, Mr. Douglas reproduces two paintings, one very lovely. And as the other volumes of this series go on and we come to the Renaissance masters of Siena, doubtless he will fetch other treasures out of his storehouse, things new and old. The first half of the book* treats of the earlier and greater Sienese; the second half, dealing with the beginnings of painting in Umbria and the north of Italy, is of less interest except to the special student, but to him invaluable; and of equal value, to connoisseur and lay reader, is the tone of constant and patient study on the editor's part, and with this a becoming deference where he has to correct or contradict his text; and an even more becoming decency of speech where he has to rebuke other critics "infected," as the phrase goes, "with Florentinism," or supply the omissions and injustices of his authors in respect of Siena, the city of Mr. Douglas's especial devotion, the city to carry a phrase of his own rather out of its context—of a "hieratic sumptuousness."

Lectures delivered in the spring of 1903 are printed, after five years, too soon or too late. They have not yet a derived or

* "A History of Painting in Italy." By J. A. Crowe and G. B. Cavalcaselle. Edited by Langton Douglas. Volume III. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908.

historical value, and they have lost the sense of the moment. What a man has to say—indeed, what all mankind has to say—never changes really. But the way he says it varies every year. The names which would serve for illustration in the early years of this decade are now not forgotten nor yet glorified, but simply antiquated *démodés,* like the tunes at a class reunion of middle-aged men. This is the more noticed here* for the familiar, easy, colloquial tone, unbraced, not to say slipshod. It is the talk of the old Bohemian. He must have his fling at the Philistines and the Academy; he falls into the studio mood and the studio *argot.* The reader, if by chance also an old Bohemian, remembering that *la jeunesse n'a qu'un temps,* and that the generation in Bohemia have not a longer life than the leaves of the forest, may wonder if it is really the same word, may be sure it is not the same *argot,* as belongs to the youths addressed. Yet so much the worse for them if they cannot feel the fellowship and catch the notion and learn somehow the wisdom. For Mr. LaFarge is wiser, certainly, than any painter now living of Anglo-Saxon speech, just because he has not restricted himself to Anglo-Saxon ideals, which include, of course, Paris. He, perhaps alone among the men now painting, has steadfastly kept to his love and comprehension of the great Italians to whom some of the younger men are coming back at last. He has not forsaken even the primitives, and he has done more: he has learned of the East and of the Pacific; and though he does not prate, only drops a word here and there, he understands about beauty better than a psychologist, and presents it now and then at an exhibition in a drawing almost as well as an Oriental. These talks are full of suggestion: some of the best things are merely dropped and left, like the word at the opening of the Fifth Lecture on the relation of the form of man to all lineal composition, and the effect that special study of the human body has on particular painters.

MUSIC.

Mr. Gilman has all the requirements of an excellent biographer. He is, first of all, a writer of real distinction; he has what is very rare in these days—a style, and he uses English as only a student

* "The Higher Life in Art." By John LaFarge. New York: The McClure Company, 1908.

and a craftsman can. He has a wide knowledge of music and of several of the related arts, acute insight and ready sympathies, and must himself have the artistic temperament or he could not so thoroughly comprehend all that it means both of joy and deprivation to others. In addition, he adds what are rare complements to this endowment, tact, gentleness and wisdom. We could have chosen no one in America better fitted to write the authoritative biography of our greatest American composer.

In the present volume* Mr. Gilman has expanded and filled out his original short monograph which appeared in the "Living Masters of Music." The biographical portion is almost entirely new, and the musical and analytical chapters have been revised and enlarged. MacDowell stands before us in this biography in his habit as he lived. The incidents and anecdotes told are illustrative as well as amusing, and we see him blunt almost to *gaucherie* at times, awkward, shy, profound, impatient of non-essentials, undiplomatic, but without equivocation, and holding his convictions with a passion of sincerity; a lover of nature without parallel, perhaps, in the annals of musical history; a romanticist in the higher and not the cheaper meaning of the word. Especially valuable are the chapters of thoughtful and careful analysis of MacDowell's music. No one who studies and plays MacDowell can afford to overlook these. Especially interesting is it to find Mr. Gilman pointing out that the antecedents of MacDowell's music are not German nor French nor Italian, but that his inspiration comes from the stranger and more exotic springs of Celtic lands and of the far North. He worked always from an abundance of pregnant, beautiful and novel ideas fashioned into musical designs with unflagging skill and artistry.

If one make exceptions of pure speculative thought and high beauty, philosophy and poetry, the two things most worth reading about are scenery and genius. And of these two excellent matters Mr. Henry T. Finck's book about Grieg† are full to overflowing. The fjords and mountains, the beetling cliffs and waterfalls, the lofty peaks crowned by eternal snows, and the simple, hard-bred

* "Edward MacDowell." By Lawrence Gilman. New York: John Lane Company, 1909.

† "Grieg and his Music." By Henry T. Finck. New York: John Lane Company, 1909.

mountain folk all took their own part in Grieg's Norwegian music, and there are traces of that northern isolation with its melancholy and mystical outlook upon life through all his compositions. The difference between the genius and the average man is that the common-or-garden man is shut up in his shell with his personal interests and affairs, while the genius has the roads of all the senses open for escape into the outer world. His connections with the universe at large are quicker and readier, and so he returns to his fellows with a gift of beauty and expansion. One feels this very strongly in reading Mr. Henry T. Finck's new Life of Grieg. This book, like the one referred to above, is a revised and much enlarged edition of the monograph that appeared in the "Living Masters of Music" series some years since. It is easy to see that Mr. Finck holds a brief for his subject. "The great must be great," he quotes from Grieg's own letters, "and a comparison with other great ones must always be unsatisfactory." Nothing so arouses Mr. Finck's indignation as the belittling of Grieg by some of the more advanced critics of the day. "His songs," says Mr. Finck, "are a mine of melody surpassed in wealth only by Schubert's, and that only because there are more of Schubert's. In originality of harmony and modulation he has only six equals: Bach, Schubert, Chopin, Schumann, Wagner and Liszt. In rhythmic invention and combination he is inexhaustible, and as orchestrator he ranks among the most fascinating." Perhaps one reason why Grieg is occasionally ranked low by the critics is because in a complex age he had a temperament of extreme clarity and transparence and retained to the end of his life a childlike simplicity. It is worth while here, however, to express resentment of Dr. Hanslick's description of the Peer Gynt music quoted apparently with approval by Mr. Finck. Anything more unlike the flood of broad, peaceful sunshine in the "Morgen" than Dr. Hanslick's description it would be difficult to find.

We have in Mr. Finck's book an excellent and authoritative biography. Grieg's music is of a kind to live and receive ever new analyses and interpretations. Doubtless much of it will be done, too, in America and by Americans, for we have, despite the efforts of Arthur Farwell and Henry F. Gilbert to translate popular melodies and Indian groans into music, no national product. Music is the latest of the arts to develop, and it would seem that

thus far all this young country can do is to analyze and criticise. In some less commercial age we may perhaps create.

This book* on orchestration is a useful book to keep on hand for reference. It contains much undiluted and unsifted information. It can hardly be said to be up to date when one notes the slim and offhand treatment it gives such modern composers as Charpentier, d'Indy and Debussy. The scores at the back, illustrative of the ever-increasing complexity and richness of orchestration, beginning, as they do, with Monteverde and Scarlatti and ending with Dvorak and Richard Strauss, are illuminating. A good many statements are made in a pragmatic and final form which any critic would be likely to call into question, and musical estimates are there in abundance which cannot be held in very high regard. Saint-Saëns, for example, that superbly unimaginative writer, is spoken of as the greatest orchestrator of France after Berlioz and the greatest living French composer. Very few people who know anything of music would echo this judgment, but to those who know little of the development of the modern orchestra much elementary information is conveyed.

A much more erudite and valuable book for the real student of music, despite its lack of pretensions, is Ebenezer Prout's "Instrumentation."† It is published in the music primer series. Although in the first instance it is intended for the student and composer, it is an excellent handbook for the ordinary concert-goer and will render the work of the orchestra and of the composer vastly more interesting and illuminating. It gives an exhaustive handling of the functions of the different instruments of the orchestra, together with good illustrations of the methods of the various composers and the trend of modern composition. There is a valuable chapter on balance of tone, contrast and color in orchestration, and several pages of score illustrative of the various orders used in writing for the full orchestra. The book is an excellent one to set on the music-shelf for reference beside Krebbiel's "How to Listen to Music."

* "The Evolution of Modern Orchestration." By L. A. Coerne. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1909.

† "Instrumentation." By Ebenezer Prout. New York: Oliver Ditson Company, 1909.

This is once more a book to put on the shelf for reference rather than a book for reading.* It sketches the development of music from the first primitive attempts to the most recent orchestral works of this day. Necessarily the sketches are cursory and slight. There is no attempt at new or enlightened criticism of modern work, but all the well-known estimates are piously recorded. A most valuable part of the book is the bibliographical supplement and list of books on musical subjects given at the end. The book is meant for students and is a safe and conventional enough outline of the course of music in the last three and a half centuries.

In matters of taste, dispute is worse than futile, as the ancient adage points out; and if, therefore, we disagree with every position Mr. Lorenz takes up† as regards church music it is by no means to assert that his book might not have a value for others who would agree. He records with jubilation that "England sings our gospel and Sunday-school songs more generally than its own fine cathedral tunes." He seems to rejoice heartily that the lower product should have the wider spread. It is a thousand pities that America should not instead have adopted the cathedral hymns. His book is didactic in tone and gives much direction to ministers as to their musical obligations and duties. It covers the whole ground of the obligations of the minister, choir-master, choir, and we can only say that we should carefully avoid the church which should adopt it as a handbook.

FICTION.

After five years of silence, Mr. James Lane Allen has issued a short story which is a cross between a mystical and a realistic treatment of the marriage relation. Some dozen years ago Mr. Allen published in a preface to the "A summer in Arcady," a rather ill-judged indictment of the French realists aimed chiefly against Maupassant. The objection to that story was that Mr. Allen seemed to point out that sensuality within the pale of

* "The Study of the History of Music." By Edward Dickinson. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908.

† "Practical Church Music." By Edmund S. Lorenz. New York: Fleming Revell Company, 1909.

legality justified itself. It is a later phase of this same thought which he presents in the "Bride of the Mistletoe."*

It is the old question whether a forthright, sincere presentment of evil and analysis of its causes and results is or is not more wholesome than veiled excuses for it. The "Bride of the Mistletoe" is delicately and at times eloquently written, and the descriptions of Kentucky, the land of the author's birth and heart, are full of lovely vision.

It is a matter for wonder that Elizabethan plots have not more often been adapted to modern days and used. This Mr. Mills Young has done in "Chip."† The figure of the brave girl who in disguise as a boy accepts a position as overseer on a South-African plantation is charmingly drawn. The English misanthrope who is master of the plantation and whom she by degrees reforms, transforms and marries is a less agreeable character. The story is well written and full of fine description and has enough human nature to make it go.

The distinguishing quality of Mrs. Dudeney's writing is emotion.‡. She still writes with vehemence and vitality of human passion. Rachel Lorrian marries by mistake the wrong man. By a lucky chance there comes a time when she is free and might have married the supposedly right man, but alas! circumstances are complicated and she misses the opportunity. Rachel is clever, vivacious, epigrammatical, full of temperament, proud and unhappy. She is the type that by nature would furnish material for good drama. She is too difficult a blend of good and evil to make for a secure and pleasant domesticity and is justified by making an interesting if somewhat sad novel.

* "The Bride of the Mistletoe." By James Lane Allen. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1908.

† "Chip." By F. E. Mills Young. New York: John Lane Company, 1909.

‡ "Rachel Lorrian." By Mrs. Henry Dudeney. New York: Duffield & Co., 1909.

WORLD-POLITICS

LONDON: ST. PETERSBURG.

LONDON, *July, 1909.*

THERE are three matters in which the British Labor Party is curiously out of touch with the public opinion of the country. I say "curiously," but I am not sure, after all, that the phenomenon is an exceptional one. It seems to be one of the fatalities of the democratic system of Government that the representatives of the people should always be more extreme than the people they profess to represent. One sees this discrepancy in France where a tranquil nation produces a particularly agitated kind of politics. One sees it in America where the most violent Protectionists are always to be found, not among the electorate, but in Congress. One sees it in Italy where the anti-clericalism of the deputies finds hardly any counterpart at all among the mass of voters. One sees it in Germany where the Social Democrats are far more the exaggeration than the condensation of the sentiments of the electors who return them to the Reichstag. And one is seeing it now in England where the people, as a whole, have certain strong and definite views about the Empire, about the navy and about foreign policy, and where the members of the Labor Party, which claims to be the only authentic voice of the masses, hold precisely opposite views.

The question, indeed, is likely before long to be sharply propounded whether, in such a country as England, a Party that separates itself at these three vital points from the determinating opinion of the country, has any stable and effective future before it. Rather more than three years ago, in the pages of this REVIEW, I ventured to hail the advent of the Labor Party as a wholesome sign. It showed that the working-classes were becoming conscious of their political power, were throwing off the domina-

tion of caste and social influence and were determined for the future to be represented in the national legislature by men of their own class who would vote with an exclusive regard for the interests of that class. The election of these extremely practical, business-like unrhetorical men, who had nothing in common with the agitating type of demagogue, nearly all of whom had earned their living by manual work for weekly wages and had risen in the confidence of their fellow workers, less through any gift of eloquence than by reason of their native shrewdness and capacity for organization and because their judgment, honesty and turn for affairs had been thoroughly tested by years of service on local councils and in the management of trades-unions and benevolent societies; and who entered upon their new sphere in a spirit of grim, hard-headed earnestness,—would prove, one hoped, a stimulating addition to Parliamentary knowledge and efficiency. The hope has not been disappointed. Both the House and the country have benefited by their acquaintance with the realities of the people's life. They have brought a new vigor and sincerity into the somewhat languid and overelegant atmosphere of English politics. "In most instances," said the "Spectator" of July 3rd, "the part they have played in the House of Commons has been creditable to their good sense, their political knowledge and their acquaintance with Constitutional methods. They have shown themselves to be good speakers and patient listeners. They have preferred argument to noise, and been more anxious to convince opponents than to obstruct business. They have in some cases given a useful lesson to the older organizations, and proved that a Labor Party can be a valuable addition to the forces which make up representative government." I heartily endorse that estimate. The Labor men, like other parties, have their own particular limitations and extravagances; they are often apt to be singularly ignorant of the national life outside their own narrow section; their policies are sometimes those of visionaries in a hurry; and they have encouraged schemes which to most Englishmen have seemed wrong-headed and demoralizing. Nevertheless, their presence in the House has made, on the whole, for national efficiency and for a juster valuation of the really important things in politics and society; and there are few Englishmen who would not feel it a loss to their country if their strength were to be broken at the polls. If Parliament

has done something to educate and broaden them, it is not less true that they have done a good deal to educate and broaden Parliament.

It is, therefore, all the more regrettable that on Imperial and foreign problems and the naval and military questions involved in them, the Labor Party should place itself squarely athwart the current of national will. It is regrettable, but, perhaps, not unnatural. When one remembers the origin, education and opportunities of most of the members of the party, one cannot be surprised that they should be destitute of anything in the nature of an historical consciousness and with little or no appreciation of what Great Britain stands for, and has always stood for, in the scheme of *Weltpolitik*. Confronted by the problems of Europe and the Empire, their habitual sanity seems to desert them. They discuss them with a curious schoolboyish mixture of pedantry and illusions. Having little experience of the complexity of affairs, they also are without an eye for the facts of international life. They sometimes talk as though the world never existed before they were born and as though it were transformed when they entered the House of Commons. They are inevitably ignorant of foreign lands and languages; and instead of endeavoring to acquire merit by knowledge, they prefer to bemuse themselves with dreams of "the solidarity of Labor," universal brotherhood, an age of peace and all the other will-o'-the-wisps that have lured nations to their ruin since history began. Of the forces and conditions that actually govern events they know nothing and will learn nothing. The British people have a strong sense of Empire; common sense has taught them what is possible and what is not possible in the conduct of foreign policy; and the preservation of an irresistible supremacy at sea is, perhaps, their deepest political instinct. But the Labor M.P.'s hardly ever mention the self-governing portions of the Empire, except to deride the policy of Imperial preference. In Egypt and India they abet every agitation and foment every source of trouble and unrest, bringing to the problems of these dependencies no local knowledge, no imagination, an unappeasable faith in the virtues of the democratic idea and a conviction that they ought to be governed as Yorkshire is governed. Their foreign policy is a reminiscence of the worst days of British censoriousness, insularity and breakneck sentiment; while their distorted perspective makes them suspicious of

all armaments and incredulous of the inexorable need of national security. I think it fairly safe to say that is an impossible equipment for continuous political leadership among such a people as the British. Sooner or later it will bring the Labor Party clattering to the ground.

There could not be a better proof of the unfitness of the Labor leaders to share in framing national policy or of their remoteness from public opinion than the manifesto they have thought well to issue denouncing the visit of the Tsar to these shores. The political folly of it, in the light of Anglo-Russian relations during the past sixty years, is indeed almost incredible. For the best part of the nineteenth century Great Britain and Russia confronted each other in postures of scowling ill-will. Their relations were poisoned by a seemingly ineradicable suspiciousness. The two Powers appeared unable to come together and soberly examine and compare their mutual interests. A drifting inconclusiveness marked all their dealings. There was talk from time to time about "backing the wrong horse," about regarding Anglo-Russian antagonism as "the superstition of an antiquated diplomacy," about there being "room enough" in Asia for both, and so forth. But until the last year or two nothing was done to formulate the relations of the two peoples and the two Governments on a sane, consistent and stable basis. Now, however, both Powers have reached the point of reconciliation. Both realize to-day that neither gained by an estrangement that had endured for two whole generations, and that their enmity and its resultant deadlock were mutually unprofitable and barren. Both realize that each needs the weight of the other if the balance of European power is to be preserved. After long years of irrational jealousy, dislike, misunderstanding, offensive preparations and veiled war, it has been borne in upon the two Powers that each can be useful to the other, and that self-interest of the most peremptory character counsels harmony and co-operation. These conclusions were embodied in a formal Agreement some twenty months ago. They were confirmed by the meeting between King Edward and the Tsar in June, 1908. They are strengthened and endorsed anew by the presence in England of a large number of members of the Duma, by the hearty welcome they have everywhere received and by the forthcoming visit of the Emperor himself. None but the happiest results have flowed from the new *entente*.

But for it the Persian question would be to-day not a local, but an international, issue of the gravest urgency and the most acrimonious possibilities. But for it Lord Morley could not have left the northwest frontier out of his calculations in dealing with the troubles in India. But for it Russia, in the long period of financial, political and material rehabilitation that lies ahead of her, would not be assured of the friendship of the Power whose Empire marches for thousands of miles with her own, whose wealth makes her the financial centre of the world and whose navy is still the mainstay of European peace.

Yet it is at this juncture and in these circumstances that the Labor Party, in language equally coarse and puerile, attacks the Russian Government as one that "is maintained by a system of murder" and by "hangmen, spies and blackguards of every kind," and declares it to be "an insult to our national good fame and to our self-respect" that the King should receive the head of the Russian state, "especially when his personal approval of the criminal agents has been placed beyond question." The manifesto containing these words is not a chance or unofficial ebullition. It is not to be compared with the outburst of one of the Labor members who, in the House of Commons, characterized the Tsar as "an inhuman brute" or with that of another Labor M.P. who declared that it would be a good thing for Russia if the Tsar never returned from his visit. It is not an effusion produced in a moment of excitement by this or that individual; on the contrary, it represents the matured and collective wisdom of the whole Labor Party and was composed by, and issued in the name of, its Executive Committee. Its origin, therefore, gives it a significance which its contents, I am afraid, would scarcely command. For anybody can see that the manifesto, so far as it is not the vulgarity of mere personal abuse, rests upon a theory of foreign policy that is altogether at variance with the practice of civilized Powers. The theory is that the British Government should abstain from all acts of courtesy towards another country whose domestic institutions or policies fail to reach the British standard of liberalism.

The Labor Party, apparently, regard it as an act of treachery to the cause of freedom that any monarch or Government should countenance the Tsardom. Theoretically they do not object to the improvement in Anglo-Russian relations, but they evidently

hold it to be quite compatible with a policy of insulting and boycotting the Tsar. They attempt to draw a distinction between the Russian Emperor and the Russian people, a distinction which the members of the Duma who are now in England have been quick to repudiate; and they are fantastically blind to the elementary realities of the situation not only in Russia, but throughout Europe. As though British influence, so far as it had any effect at all on Russia's internal development, would not make for freedom and liberalism. As though the inevitable result of cold-shouldering the Tsar would not be to throw him into the arms of the Reactionaries, both in Russia and outside it. As though the Tsar, by any process of sane reasoning, could be held personally responsible for the blunders and bloodshed that have attended the Russian as they have attended all revolutions. As though the members of the Labor Party were in any way fitted to set up as the universal schoolmaster, to apportion praise and blame and to determine the rights and wrongs of a convulsion as complex as any in history.

The British people, I need hardly say, reject such views as preposterous. They do not in the least agree that the progress of Russia towards a more responsible system of Government can be in any way hindered by the development of Anglo-Russian friendship. They see, on the contrary, many ways in which such a friendship is likely to forward it. They know well enough—what the Labor Party is apparently unable to grasp—that the alternative to an Anglo-Russian *entente* is the strengthening of the many bonds that unite the Romanoffs and the Hohenzollerns; and they do not for one moment believe that, from the standpoint of Russian liberties, the influence of King Edward would be reactionary and the influence of the Kaiser on the side of freedom and constitutionalism. They see, in short, that to adopt the policy of the Labor Party is to play into the hands of those who, both in and out of Russia, are longing and working for the return of absolutism. All that is rational in British and Russian opinion not only welcomes the political *rapproachement* between London and St. Petersburg, but is delighted to see it expressed in a personal meeting of the two Sovereigns. The ignorance and hectoring arrogance of the Labor Party's manifesto have awakened nothing but a strong distrust of that party's capacity for sober politics.

ST. PETERSBURG, *July, 1909.*

IT is a noteworthy fact, suggestive and prophetic of much, that the leaders of Russia to-day should be the monarchists or Conservatives, who three short years ago fled before the revolutionists like sheep scattered by hungry wolves. In the first Duma, their voices were not heard. Even the thin, shrill utterances from the ministerial bench were drowned by thunderous shouts of execration. In the second parliament also their influence was hardly felt. Nor did they begin to count as a force in the regenerated Empire until M. Stolypin had framed his new franchise law, manipulated the elections and gathered together a following which, devoid of roots in the country, is bound to himself by every tie that can link a political party with a statesman in power. For the Octobrists represent no great political principle, strive after no lofty ideals, advocate no far-reaching reforms. They merely satisfy the Premier's need of a parliamentary majority and form a bridge over which he passes at will from the Conservative to the Progressist camp.

Hence on the one hand as spokesmen of the nation they from time to time respectfully remind the Government that it would be well to realize as soon as convenient such of the promised reforms as it deems opportune; while on the other hand as "Stolypin's men" they loyally set expediency before theory and vote solid for the Premier. This rôle of parliamentary myrmidons who are denied the luxury of having decided opinions on burning topics, was sufficient to account for their existence, but inadequate to justify their self-respect. Hence they sought in nationalism and militarism the sources of popularity which were denied them in politics. The army and navy found in the Octobrists eloquent defenders, enlightened reformers and generous patrons. Money for the needs of the troops was voted ungrudgingly; reforms proposed by the Ministry were carried with enthusiasm, and so closely did the Octobrists take to heart everything that bore upon the welfare of the soldiers and the bluejackets that they had a special committee of national defence created, set themselves to study the organization of the land and sea forces and began gently to modify that. They forgot that in matters of this nature to meddle was to mar.

This was the ground on which the Conservatives met, assailed and defeated them. The Tsar having decided to create a new

naval institution to which he gave the name of the Naval General Staff, asked his Premier to go to the Duma for the requisite funds. M. Stolypin accordingly brought in a bill by which the legislature not only provided the money, but also scrutinized the organization of the staff and subsequently even modified certain dispositions made by the Tsar and his military advisers. And in this the Duma deputies perceived nothing unwonted. But the encroachment on the monarch's prerogatives was denounced in the upper Chamber, which then threw out the bill. The Premier, however, having quieted the Tsar's misgivings, obtained his authorization to bring it in a second time and vigorously to push it through. And the manœuvre succeeded. The bill was carried readily enough by the Octobrists in the Duma, but it encountered fierce opposition in the Council of the Empire.

Here M. Stolypin's zeal would appear to have outrun his discretion. Confronted with statutes alleged to be irreconcilable with his bill, he confessed what he had formerly denied, that the question was open to discussion and that he might perhaps be wrong, but none the less adjured members of the Council to vote for it now and stipulated that he would harmonize the statutes afterward. He went further and besought waverers to yield to the monarch's person the fidelity which they would have fain reserved for monarchist principles. And making a supreme effort he carried the measure by a slight majority formed by the members of his Cabinet. Then he breathed freely, for nothing now was lacking but the monarch's sanction.

But the Conservatives refused to avow themselves beaten even then. Passion ran higher than before. The combatants on both sides forgot the conditions of the strife and the usages of parliamentary warfare. And if we consider how unprecedented the struggle was, this forgetfulness will cease to surprise us. Monarchists were doing battle for monarchism, yet were pitted against the monarch and his Government. Some of them, who had been seduced from their allegiance to principles in the name of their allegiance to the Tsar, were already repentant. Others who had remained steadfast were minded to drop out of the ranks and give up the cause for lost if the bill received the imperial sanction. In the opposite camp the Premier and several of his colleagues were prepared to resign in a body if the Emperor declined to affix his signature to the bill that whittled away some of his

prerogatives. At this conjuncture a truce was called during the convalescence of the Premier, who took a holiday in the Crimea.

On M. Stolypin's return to St. Petersburg, the contest broke out anew. This time, however, the tug of war was short, sharp and decisive. Perceiving how slender his chances were of moving the Tsar by suasion, the Premier put his faith in powerful pressure. He let it be known that most of his colleagues would imitate French and British ministers, draw their shoulders from under the mountain of responsibility they were bearing and let the Tsar find other caryatides to support it. And unquestionably this seemed a very forcible argument, for what it came to when all its terms were expressed was that M. Stolypin and his friends were indispensable, and as no tolerable substitutes could be found for them just then the business of the Empire would get sadly out of gear. And it is fair to say that this view was shared by many close and competent observers.

But the Tsar thwarted the tactics which, seemingly effective, proved harmful only to those who adopted them. He himself indited a letter to M. Stolypin somewhat to this effect. "Since our last conversation on the subject of the Naval Staff bill, I have given the matter my earnest consideration and am resolved not to sanction it. At the same time I cannot admit that you should resign in consequence and still less that a number of Ministers should withdraw in a body. We are not living in a parliamentary country, nor in Finland. We are in Russia where Ministers may resign only with the consent of the Tsar. And I have not requested you to quit your post." And what the Emperor wrote was absolutely correct. Russian Ministers may be likened to soldiers on guard or officers on active service during a war—they may not quit their posts until relieved. And they are aware of this. M. Abazza once tendered his resignation to Alexander III, who had the knack of keeping all his Ministers at a respectful distance. Turning his large, searching eyes upon the bold official, the Emperor answered that in the Russian Empire no one may receive or lay down a ministerial portfolio without the command of his imperial master. Abazza, feeling crushed, left the presence. A few weeks later the Minister was suddenly relieved of his functions.

M. Stolypin was stung to the quick by the Tsar's letter, which implied that the Premier misunderstood the relations between

monarch and minister as completely as he had misjudged the functions of the Duma and the prerogatives of the crown. And it connoted with unmistakable clearness that the authority as well as the prestige of the Premier was seriously impaired. But what galled him more than this was an imperial behest which intensified the significance of the Tsar's refusal to sanction the bill. The Prime Minister was directed to study conjointly with the Ministers of War and the Marine the Fundamental Laws, for the purpose of drawing once for all a line between the naval and military matters in which the Duma has a say and those which the monarch alone is competent to settle. And it was self-evident that this authoritative interpretation, which will be submitted to the Cabinet, must exclude from the jurisdiction of the Duma all such matters as the Naval General Staff bill. Thus not only was the Premier disavowed, but he was obliged publicly and solemnly to disavow his colleagues and himself. And this was the spot where the shoe pinched most painfully.

But M. Stolypin found no way out of the difficulty. Accordingly he resigned himself to continue in harness under the new conditions which his friends consider irksome and humiliating. He summoned a Cabinet Council to discuss the situation and do what was possible to save their face or the remaining features of it. Each member received the Emperor's letter to read and copy and some of them freely use it as evidence of the *force majeure* which, depriving them of free choice, also relieves them of moral responsibility for a line of action which they still vehemently condemn.

In the course of their deliberations the Ministers agreed that if they remained in office, it could only be on such conditions as in their opinion would enable them to work with benefit for Tsar and fatherland. They must, for instance, have a public expression of confidence from the Tsar, for if in theory his personal approval be enough for them, in this particular case a manifestation of it would be necessary. They then elaborated a draft rescript in which the Emperor was to identify himself with the general policy of his Premier. This document having been laid before him by M. Stolypin, was duly signed and published. Altogether the monarch and his chief adviser appear to have had a most touching interview. The Emperor, say the Premier's friends, moved to tears, broke down utterly at the idea of parting with his

trusty Premier and his words were punctuated with sobs. He used terms of tender affection, which no human creature with a heart could withstand. And M. Stolypin became plastic as molten wax and was literally fascinated by the Emperor, who was superlatively generous. Thus the Minister who kept practical matters well in view, readily obtained permission to fine the extreme monarchical journal *"Russkoye Znamya"* fifteen hundred dollars for a virulent attack upon himself. He also asked and received oral permission to take the President of the Council of the Empire to task for nominating candidates to the upper Chamber without the Premier's consent or knowledge. Altogether the solace he experienced was proportionate to the chagrin he had suffered and he returned to his palace on Yelaghin Island soothed and satisfied.

But thenceforth he was a transfigured Premier. Theretofore a progressist whom reactionaries anathematized, monarchists condemned and democrats felt bound to defend, he now approached so near to the ranks of the Loyalists that his own party, obeying a headstrong impulse, broke away from his lead, threw out one of his bills and wholly metamorphosed another. For example, it had been well understood that M. Stolypin would support the Religious Toleration bill as the Duma modified it, allowing every Church to preach, persuade and make converts and permitting every citizen to change his creed according to his conscience even though he should quit the Orthodox Church for the synagogue, the mosque or the Buddhist temple. But these concessions the Premier rejected in a casuistic speech, which his former enemies applauded and his former friends deplored. He also accepted in principle a bill brought in by the Conservatives to change the electoral franchise in nine western provinces in such a manner that the Poles should have Polish representatives in the upper Chamber and the Russians Russian representatives. At this point some of his stalwart supporters, like Prince Obolensky, turned away from him on the ground that the bill contained lethal germs calculated to bring about the disruption of the Empire. The Premier, however, stuck to his guns until his own party cajoled him into accepting a compromise which was a negation of the principle underlying the bill. Thus since the April crisis M. Stolypin's constructive influence, which was never either powerful or creative, has been perceptibly on the wane. He has cut his

moorings on one shore and has not yet contrived to reach the opposite shore.

As there is a curious lack of preparation in the public mind of America and Europe for almost every change that is impending in Russia, it will not be amiss to predict the advent of a strong monarchical Government, clear signs of which may be looked for toward the close of this year. The Tsar will then be, is in fact already, the central figure in the Empire. It would be rash to assume that love of power for himself or his successors is the mainspring of the rigorously moderating influence which he is now putting forth. That he is capable of making a heroic sacrifice in this direction was shown by the historic act of October, 1905. He is moved rather by a lofty sense of what he believes to be his duty to his people. It is not a whim to keep the nation in leading-strings that actuates him, but a desire to preserve the old landmarks for its guidance and to repair the wall that stands at the edge of the precipice for its protection. A state, like an individual, he holds, should be healthy and well balanced, and this condition presupposes a certain harmony of functions which he is now eager to establish. Possessing an ideal sense of the past, he associates the state and its acts with a religious sanction; hence to a new type of political organism, for which the elements are lacking in Russia, he prefers a series of correctives for the old one which is the result of gradual growth. Experience has convinced him that the break-up of the autocracy would be the break-up of the monarchy, the disintegration of the Empire and the inrush of anarchy. It may well be that the divine origin of absolute monarchy is an untenable legend, but none the less belief in its virtue to hold together the component parts of the great political structure is still reasonable and salutary. Such, in brief, is the systematic conception that lies at the root of the Tsar's domestic policy, of which we are likely to hear a good deal more next winter.

THE EDITOR'S DIARY.

Snakes.

We do not pretend to be able to prove that ours was the first snake; older peoples have had their makers of mischief and now, in common with ourselves, are suffering the penalties incurred through the indiscreet conduct of their heedless ancestors. The accounts of creation and the fall of man passed down through successive generations of Etruscans, Babylonians, Phœnicians and Aryans are quite similar to our own as presented in Genesis. That of the Persians, indeed, is substantially identical. The first couple were living happily without neighbors or other causes of discontent when an evil demon, sent by Ahriman, prince of devils, took the form of a serpent, gave to them fruit of a wonderful tree, which imparted immortality and so made it necessary for them to go to work to provide for the needs of a growing family. Even before this happened, according to the Brahmins, Rahn, "more subtle than the beasts of the fields," had induced Adea Suktee, "the first woman," to partake of the forbidden Soma and to give some to Adima, her husband, with the usual results.

But these are legends. The only authenticated account with which we are familiar is the Chaldean, which is amply confirmed by the cuneiform inscriptions unearthed by George Smith in 1873, depicting the tree, the fruit, the first parents, and the snake standing behind the lady. This illustration, say the archæologists, was drawn some fifteen hundred years before the Hebrews recorded their recollection of the appearance of Adam and Eve. Some even go so far as to suggest that Ezra, who passed a disagreeable summer, about 444 B.C., in Babylon, where the cylinders were found, drew rather freely upon these sources in order to make a suitable beginning for the revised version of the Hebrew Bible which subsequently he completed in Jerusalem.

Be that as it may; as we have already hinted, neither the snakes nor the ancestors of others possess for us an interest comparable to that attending our own, whose memories we shall continue to revere and cherish. But, while thus becomingly indulgent, we frankly confess impatience with those who persist in asserting that our snake was not a snake, but was an ape or a spider or something even more obnoxious. True, as the learned Dr. Adam Clarke observes, he must have walked erect, for this is necessarily implied in his judgment, and he must have possessed the power of speech in whatever language was then in vogue, because there is no indication that Eve was surprised when he accosted her. But it does not follow that he was an orang-outang simply because that obnoxious creature meets those requirements. Hissing is as intelligible to this day as gibbering, and the Chaldeans produce documentary evidence to show that the tempter, in his traditional form, stood upright. In any case, we prefer to believe, with the equally learned Dr. Henry, that the devil chose to act his part in a serpent, because "it is a specious creature and has a spotted, dappled skin"—*i. e.*, is more attractive than the ape and thus more likely to find favor in the eyes of a representative of the more artistic and susceptible sex.

That the snake was a male we feel far less certain. Indeed, there are many evidences, both external and internal, though not contained in Genesis, to the contrary. Ezra was an able and conscientious editor, but made errors of judgment, as other editors have done since, especially in discriminating between the essentials and non-essentials of a complete narrative. For years and years theologians have been trying in vain to reconcile the Jehovistic and Elohistic accounts of creation presented in Genesis. We are convinced that the necessity of making specious and unconvincing explanations would never have arisen if Ezra had not edited so closely. But his omission, whether from heedlessness or design, of any reference whatever to the very important part played by Lilith in the beginning of things seems hardly pardonable. The materials were at hand, drawn from the same sources as those which he utilized. The Chaldean inscriptions and the Arabic legends, extant in Babylon while he was engaged upon his great work, afford a quite simple solution of the vexatious problem. Lilith was created at the same time and in the same way as Adam. "Male and female created he them" and endowed them

with equal rights and privileges. But, runs the chronicle, Adam, tactless and domineering, "began the first conversation by asserting that he was to be the master." The high-spirited lady indignantly repudiated this claim of superior authority. Whereupon, Adam insisting, Lilith uttered a certain spell called *schemhammphorasch,* of famous potency in Jewish folk lore, obtained wings thereby and "flew out of Eden and out of sight," or as stated subsequently in Revelations, not edited by Ezra, "To the woman were given two wings of a great eagle, that she might fly into the wilderness." How subsequently Lilith married Samaël, who illumined a character not otherwise above reproach by treating her as an equal and left many descendants, some of whom are even now bombarding the Houses of Parliament, though interesting and important, is not germane to a consideration of the relative merits of snakes. But even in that early day it was recognized to be ill for man to live alone, so a second wife was formed, and this time out of Adam's rib in order that there should be no question of her subjection.

We perceive, therefore, that Ezra had only to tell the whole story to harmonize the two seemingly conflicting Biblical accounts of creation. His reasons for eliminating so material a portion are, as we have said, conjectural. It may be that he feared to offend the pride of his people by letting them know that their original ancestress was a second wife, or he may have been an anti-suffragist and desirous of withholding from the equal rights' movement the advantage of Scriptural authority. Accepting the Arabic version, which incidentally was derived from Jewish sources by converts of Mahomet from Cabbalism and Rabinism, we must conclude that now, strictly speaking, anti-suffragists should be regarded as daughters of Eve and suffragists as daughters of Lilith. To both would accrue certain satisfaction from such differentiation. Eve seems to have been the better woman, but credulous and stupid; while Lilith, though a disturber of domestic tranquillity and somewhat peremptory in manner, was far more intelligent and handsome, had beautiful hair and dressed like a queen in comparison with Eve in her traditionally simple raiment.

The question is, Was Lilith the snake? Comestor, the great historical scholar of the twelfth century, insists that, while the serpent stood erect, it had a virgin's head. Even as far back as

the eighth century was made a missal, which is still in existence, showing Eve taking the apple from Lilith, whose features are clearly defined and whose serpentine body entwines the tree. Pietro d'Orvieto illustrates the same idea in his finest fresco in Pisa and Michel Angelo's famous picture in the Sistine chapel is familiar. We cannot accept this masterpiece, however, beautiful as it is, as historically accurate, because of Adam's presence and his obvious preference for his first wife. Whatever may have been Adam's defects in character, his marital fidelity has never been questioned, and, though he bewailed bitterly the loss of Lilith, we have no doubt that, having once espoused Eve, he remained true to her, just as his sons continue faithful to their second wives to this day.

Even though we assume that Lilith did play the part attributed to her by the great painters, it does not follow that her intent was evil. As we have noted, she began life as a suffragist and was devoted to the cause. What more natural than that her heart should be saddened by the appearance of a sister living in subjection to man in ignorance of her inherent rights? And what more fitting to do, to demonstrate her zeal, than to strive to make a convert by giving her the means of acquiring the requisite knowledge? True, the results of her, perhaps, misguided efforts have not been altogether happy. As a consequence, we are forced to live in a world full of sin and misery; and yet would crowded existence in a state of ignorance, deprived of the joys and sorrow which we now have the intelligence to enjoy, be more endurable? It is a matter of taste, of course; but for ourselves, frankly, we would as lief be an angel.

Whether or not the devil remained in our first snake and was transmitted to his or her descendants is a question as yet undetermined. As we all know, plans were changed rapidly during the creative period. For example, the parents were expected to die if they ate of the forbidden fruit, but they did not, at least for a great many years; the serpent, too, was condemned to crawl on his belly and eat dust, whereas he walks on ribs which serve as feet and eats insects and frogs and toads and the like, to the great advantage of agricultural development. There surely does seem to exist in man a spontaneous enmity towards snakes, but there is no indication that the snake is instinctively antagonistic to men. Its attitude is rather of fear and

apprehension, like that of other wild animals, which seek to avoid encounter, fight only in self-defence and considerately give notice of intention to strike. It is a question, too, whether man's unfriendliness is not attributable to the teachings of his youth that he is presumed to hate snakes and has Scriptural warrant for destroying them. The early passion for killing birds and rabbits is quite as strong as that for killing snakes, but is modified and controlled subsequently by custom and civilizing agencies opposed to brutality. The snake of to-day, therefore, clearly has good cause for grievance. He had no part in the tragedy of Eden and, being really stupid rather than exceptionally subtil, as he has been depicted, he cannot be expected to understand why he should have been singled out of all brute creation for the special animosity of superior man. But since, in point of fact, he has been the harassed victim of Scriptural authority all these years, surely it is not to be wondered at that he has become timid and miserable and incapable of development such, for example, as has transformed the fierce wolf into the tractable collie.

It is a matter of gratification, naturally, that our snake was considered to be as intelligent as his predecessors; but there was really no need of exceptional acumen to enable him to play his part successfully. If the Devil took possession of his body in order to accomplish a nefarious purpose, it was the Devil, not the snake, who framed the enticing argument for the unsuspecting Eve. If, again, it was Lilith who seized an opportunity to advance the cause of woman suffrage, clearly 'twas her keen appreciation of the power of curiosity that led to the fall. In either case the snake was a mere dupe used by one more cunning than himself to further a project in which he had no personal interest and whose method of accomplishment was foreign to his shy inclinations. If he had been as crafty as he has been reputed, can one suppose for a moment that he would have assumed a rôle which was certain to win the everlasting hatred of mankind? No; there have been and are good snakes and bad snakes just as there have been good Eves, like Godiva, or Goodeva, of Coventry, and as there are bad Eves, some of whom we know; but there is no real ground for the common belief that snakes are endowed with peculiar sapience. "Be ye wise as serpents" was a simple injunction to avoid trouble even as, "Be ye harmless as doves," although, of course, it is remotely possible

that the wide-spread recognition of the reputed sagacity of the serpent then holding forth at Abonotichus gave effectiveness to the comparison.

No snake that ever lived won greater fame for the time than Alexander's. Lucian tells the story. Apollonius, a master of the magic arts, had many disciples, among whom was a practising physician who lived in Abonotichus, a small town on the shore of the Black Sea. There Alexander was born of humble parentage and imbibed from the old doctor all that he had learned from Apollonius of medicine and magic. He was a lad of striking appearance, tall, handsome, with a fine head of hair, lustrous brown eyes and a voice sweet and limpid. "God grant," wrote Lucian, who knew him, "that I may never meet with such another. His cunning was wonderful, his dexterity matchless. His eagerness for knowledge, his capacity for learning and power of memory were equally extraordinary."

Such was the well-favored young peasant who sallied forth from his native town in search of fame and fortune. Soon he fell in with one Coconnas, a shrewd tipster for the races and somewhat of a juggler. The two rogues joined forces and meandered about telling fortunes. Arriving at Pella, they found a great number of huge, harmless snakes, which lived in the houses, played and slept with the children and destroyed poisonous rats. Alexander promptly purchased one of the largest, a veritable monster, so tame that it would coil about his body and remain in any desired position. Then he made a human face for it out of linen, painted it ingeniously and shaped it so that the mouth would open and shut by an arrangement of horse-hair, letting the forked tongue shoot in and out at the will of the master. Having no further use for Coconnas, he either administered poison to him or let him die from some infection and returned with his snake to his native town. There he declared himself a prophet and announced that the god Æsculapius was about to appear. The people were eager for a new divinity.

When the great day arrived Alexander pretended to discover in a puddle of water a goose-egg which he had placed there after removing the contents, substituting a small embryo snake just born and carefully sealing the shell with wax. When the multitude had gathered he broke the shell and produced the tiny creature, which in a few moments grew to be the monster from

Pella by the simple process of substitution. Thereafter the big snake, believed to be Æsculapius, led a busy life. He gave seances, told fortunes in writing and even spoke freely, with the aid of the prophet's ventriloquial powers. Alexander grew rich and powerful, kept a small army of retainers and spies, wielded no little influence over the government even at Rome and died at a ripe old age in the fulness of his renown. What became of the snake nobody knows. Probably at the last the prophet despatched the faithful creature to prevent the discovery of his deception after his death.

The fact that some snakes eject poison against their enemies is held to justify their indiscriminate extinction. We fail to see how. They did not have the choice of their means of defence; they necessarily took what the Lord gave them and they act as instinct directs. Clearly reason is not their guide, else they would not notify an intended victim, but would strike in silence. It is pleasing to think that in this they are actuated by a high sense of honor and fairness, but we do not venture so much as a supposition that they possess an attribute so fine. It is more likely, as Darwin maintains, that the rattlesnake uses its rattle, the cobra expands its frill and the puff-adder swells and hisses in order to alarm the many birds and beasts which are known to attack the most venomous species, acting on the same principle which impels a hen to ruffle its feathers when a dog approaches its chickens. In any case, none of the traditional shrewdness or cunning is manifest in its performance.

Exceptional love of music would redound to the credit of any other living creature as indicative of refined taste, but in the maligned snake even this artistic attribute is a mark of derogation. Our own Quakers, for example, take up and endorse the diatribe of Epiphanius against the flute-players. "Observe the figure that the player makes in blowing. Does he not bend himself up and down to the right hand and the left, like unto the serpent? These forms hath the Devil used to manifest his blasphemy against things heavenly, to destroy things upon earth, to encompass the world, capturing right and left such as lend an ear to his seductions." And so on. But not a word do we hear in condemnation of the unregenerate birds that carol heedlessly even while the minister is painting the horrors of an unmentionable place.

Ah, well! Let us hold fast to the old traditions. Adam may be properly censurable for leaving a nescient lady subject to her own susceptibilites at a critical time in the shaping of human history. Eve herself may not have been overbright. Still, such as our first parents were, they continue to be ours in fond recollection, and there we would keep them. Even Lilith, if Ezra had permitted, we would not lose.

> "The rose and poppy are her flowers; for where
> Is he not found, O Lilith, whom shed scent
> And soft-shed kisses and soft sleep shall snare?
> Lo! as that youth's eyes burned at thine, so went
> Thy spell through him, and left his straight neck bent,
> And round his heart one strangling golden hair."

Such as she there are and always will be. Who, if honest, would have it otherwise? So, too, with the snake in the garden. He may not have been the first and the devil may have been in him; but he is ours and we shall continue to think of the time when—

> "his words, replete with guile,
> Into her heart too easy entrance won:
> Fixed on the fruit she gazed."

For him we crave no indulgence; consideration for his progeny is all we ask, and that for the reasons noted, namely, that the snake of to-day is neither vicious nor cunning, but shrinking and docile, and is actuated, not by intelligence, but by the instinct with which it was endowed.

Truth to tell, an illuminating illustration of this fact may be found in the episode which gave rise to these reflections. The family were at dinner when there came a tap at a door seldom opened. Winning no attention, it was repeated and again a third time, though more softly, and then the door was swung back and, behold! there was a snake, knocking at the portals of hospitality. Down upon its head, in conformity with the decree of tradition and with Ezra's understanding of Scriptural direction, crunched a British boot. It was a mother snake, who, having bravely overcome her fear of man, was seeking sustenance, not for herself perhaps, though she was starving, but more likely for the little ones that were found in the grass by the brook. Thus for once, at any rate, did the craftiness of the devil succumb to the instinct of motherhood.

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BOND ISSUES FOR PERMANENT NATIONAL IMPROVEMENTS.

BY RICHARD BARTHOLDT.

In the earliest days of the history of our nation the fathers firmly established the policy of pay-as-you-go, and the wisdom of it no one will question when it is applied to conditions as they existed then, or to the current expenses of Government to-day, or in any future time. But during our brief existence we have seen many radical changes take place through the expansion of territory and the colossal growth of commercial interests—of supply and demand—inaugurating a new era, with new necessities which we must consider.

There was a time—and it was not so very long ago—when at least one of the great political parties seriously questioned the constitutionality of internal improvements if undertaken by the national Government. Luckily, that day is so completely passed that the thought is utterly forgotten. But for a long period following the people only indifferently accepted or quietly acquiesced in the new policy of their far-seeing statesmen who sought aid of the Government in the improvement of rivers and harbors as a means of accommodating the growing commerce of the country. Fully realizing the benefits of cheap water transportation—and while a few organizations here and there were petitioning for an established policy of improvement on a larger,

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broader scale—the masses of the people were quite content with such appropriations as their representatives could secure from Congress after all of the ordinary needs of the Government in other directions had been met. This period lasted well into the latter part of the last century.

Then there came a great change. The people suddenly awakened first to the importance of improving and maintaining the waterways as natural channels of trade, not alone in competition with the railroads and to regulate railroad rates, but to relieve the railroads of the burden of traffic which was becoming greater than they could bear and to facilitate transportation everywhere to the very great advantage of the whole country. Organizations were formed all over the country for the promotion of special projects, and demands upon Congress for larger appropriations became more and more urgent. The increasing occurrence of freight congestion, always at a time most disastrous to the producer, and the lack of convenient transportation in many localities have stimulated the appreciation of this need until to-day the demand has assumed the proportion of a great popular movement which has drawn into it by its own momentum a large majority of the people of the entire United States. Both political parties are pledged to it and neither can afford to ignore it.

It is the question of the hour; but another arises demanding grave consideration: How shall Congress meet the demand? The increasing cost of Government alone is more and more greedily devouring our entire revenues. There is nothing left for these great improvements. Shall progress be halted? Shall the wheels of Commerce be retarded and all of the benefits which are incalculable be withheld from the people because our revenues do not exceed our expenditures sufficiently to pay for improvements so obviously required to meet the conditions of growth and prosperity in the nation? If that be the reply, I say most earnestly that these improvements will *never* be made either during the life of the present or that of future generations. If we must depend solely upon the annual surplus in the treasury, then we must abandon our demands; for the simple reason that there will either be no surplus at all or it will be so small as not to amount to a drop in the bucket compared with what is absolutely necessary to carry out the great projects confronting us in the necessities now forcing themselves upon the attention of every one.

We have come gradually up to the point of appreciating these necessities. The need of permanent improvements along various lines has grown upon us slowly. But we do appreciate them to-day, and the people of the United States will not turn back willingly and abandon the demands. Some means must be devised to meet them. Early in 1907, when the movement was still comparatively in its infancy, I introduced in the House of Representatives—the first bill of its kind ever introduced in the House—a bill authorizing the issue of waterway bonds to the amount of $500,000,000 for the purpose of establishing a great national system of improvement. I well remember the scepticism, derision and hostility with which the idea was greeted in many quarters. Even friends of waterway improvements shrugged their shoulders, and the Waterway Congress, while flirting with the idea, did not dare to espouse it openly.

Since then there has been a great change. President Roosevelt and President Taft and the National Rivers and Harbors Congress are on record as heartily endorsing the plan, and another bill has been introduced in Congress with precisely the same end in view.

The public at large has learned to understand and appreciate the need, but possibly has not yet looked deeply into the ways and means, and to give briefly the reasons for my advocacy of specific bond issues for specific permanent improvements may lend some aid to the considerations. It has been and is the practice of Congress to provide first for the running expenses of Government and then, if anything is left, to set it aside for public buildings and other permanent improvements. If all of the revenues are needed for the regular expenses of the national household it is the doubtful privilege of friends of internal improvements to hold the bag. If the Government ever enters upon a policy of broad and systematic internal improvement an annual budget must be provided for the purpose the same as for the army and the navy and for all other departments. Possibly it might be done even now, under a readjustment of expenditures in a way to prevent the military and naval budgets from devouring more than two-thirds of our entire revenue; but for years to come, at least, such a readjustment would be practically impossible. We may live to see the day, but under the present system what must be the result? Suppose that matters shaped

themselves so fortunately that three million a year could be appropriated for the proposed fourteen-foot waterway from the Lakes to the Gulf. It would not be finished in fifty years. Must a whole generation go down to the grave before advantages so apparent to all can be secured, because the richest nation on the earth will not do what smaller and poorer ones have done long ago?

No one can possibly contend that it is anything but a question of money, and this being the case, we may well ask whether all of the grand projects of national improvement—whether, for example, the plan to secure navigable channels from the Lakes to the Gulf, in the upper Mississippi, the Missouri, the Ohio and other rivers—must wait until the ordinary revenues have yielded a sufficient surplus to pay for them. I say no—a thousand times no. Already the people have waited too long and too patiently, and from the temper of the conventions which have been held all over the country it is obvious that any good and equitable method of raising the money will meet with public approval and be satisfactory to the people.

The individual mortgages his property, making himself so much the poorer, in a sense, for the increased gain to his business. The Government pledges its integrity in the issue of bonds, increasing its burden only to the extent of the interest, increasing the real value of the country manifold for every dollar expended, developing and increasing the earning power of commercial interests, increasing the wealth of the whole country as well as increasing the revenues of the Government to an extent wholly out of proportion with the increased burden—which looked at in some lights is not a burden at all, but a blessing. For example: to authorize the issue of $500,000,000 of bonds during a period of ten years would suffice to complete all of the great waterway projects throughout the entire country which have already received the official recommendation of the United States Engineer Corps, and would forever solve the problem of the permanent improvement of our great waterways. It can be done in this way. It cannot be done in any other way.

I am well aware of the prejudice which exists against an issue of bonds in time of peace. It is a prejudice which originates in our most excellent pay-as-you-go system and is thoroughly justified if the Government proposes to mortgage the future for

present running expenses. But when we contemplate an extraordinary expenditure, assuring a fabulous return in the progress and prosperity of the country for every dollar, with its guaranties of permanent investment for the lasting benefit, not of the present alone, but of all future generations, the case is very different and the prejudice is unfounded. No living American has dreamed of objecting to the issue of bonds to cover the cost of the Panama Canal, though this is a gigantic work which we have undertaken for the whole world—really more for the outside world than for ourselves, because as a nation we are practically without a merchant marine to take advantage of the benefits of the canal. Why, then, should there be objection to the same method and to undertaking the gigantic work of a complete system of internal waterways at no greater cost, requiring no more time, the inestimable and untold benefits of which would be exclusively in the interests of the people of all the United States? Ought not charity to begin at home? Surely it will not be urged that the Panama Canal can be as important to Americans as a great system of waterways through the heart of our own continent. But even if the projects were of equal importance, why not meet the demands at home by the same means with which we are meeting them abroad?

An incorrect impression has obtained in some quarters, endorsed by a statement recently made by a justice of the Supreme Court on the lecture platform, that we are running in debt. He must have had State and municipal indebtedness in mind, for as to the nation the assertion is hardly justified. On account of the Spanish war we issued $198,000,000 three-per-cent. bonds, and $30,000,000 of two-per-cent. bonds have been sold toward the construction of the Panama Canal. These were extraordinary expenses. On the other hand, the Government has redeemed two-per-cent. bonds of the loan of 1891 amounting to twenty-five and a half million. For the sinking fund it has purchased $87,000,000 of the bonds belonging to the three, four and five per cent. loans, which is really a reduction of the national debt, since March, 1897, of $112,000,000. Incidentally, in the conversion of the three, four and five per cent. bonds to two per cent., $10,000,000 annually is saved in interest charges. In other words, but for the extraordinary expenditures our national debt has been reduced more than $112,000,000 during the last two

years, and the interest saved by the conversion of the bonds would pay the entire interest on the $500,000,000 loan for a great system of waterways.

Those who have simply imbibed the national prejudice against bonded indebtedness and have not looked carefully into the subject with a definite object in view may be interested in a comparison of the United States with other great nations in this particular. In round numbers:

The national debt of the United States is	$994,000,000
That of France is	6,000,000,000
That of Russia is	4,000,000,000
Great Britain	4,000,000,000
Italy	3,000,000,000
Spain	2,000,000,000
Austro-Hungary	1,000,000,000
The German Empire, plus the debts of the German States	4,000,000,000
The United States, plus the debts of all the States	1,178,000,000

The national debt of France, with not half of our population, is six times as large as ours; yet France, in her small territory, has expended more on river improvements since the Franco-German war than America has expended since the formation of the Government.

National economists have long since ceased to regard public debt as an unmixed evil. It not only affords in Government bonds the safest security for careful investors, but every one who has money invested in the Government finds his interest increased in its maintenance; and in the United States, where Government bonds are the recognized basis for national bank-note circulation, such bonds are a commercial necessity of the first importance. So there are ways in which a national debt is a national blessing; and while there is surely a limit beyond which national credit would be strained, beyond which, for other obvious reasons, it would not be wise to impose a bonded indebtedness, few, I think, will deny that the United States might very materially increase the Government debt without detriment and with some benefit, so that if the cause be worthy the prejudice against bond issues for permanent improvements ought to be abandoned at once.

Is the cause of a system of waterways worthy? Outside of those interested it may not be thoroughly comprehended; but it is a fact that the great rivers of the West are doomed to complete abandonment, and that in the near future, as means of

commercial intercourse, unless a national loan for their improvement makes their redemption possible. If the actual situation were generally known, nothing short of a bond issue would satisfy the people of the nation. The chances for all the great projects of permanent betterment of the country, now so alive in the hearts of the people, are hopeless and will remain so as long as we must content ourselves with the crumbs which fall from the Government table. In fact, it becomes better and better apparent that there will be no crumbs at all. Our expenditures are already exceeding our revenues by many millions of dollars, and the public economy which is promised by Congress for the future simply means the cutting off of what little has been received heretofore for the permanent benefit and progress sought along these lines.

These are the reasons which have impelled me to assume the responsibility of advocating a bond issue for permanent improvements, and I think they must convince any thoughtful man that the logic of the situation demands this course not only to prepare for the future, as is our absolute duty, instead of exhausting and depleting our present resources, not only to keep pace with and facilitate as we ought the progress and prosperity of the whole country for the benefit of coming generations, but to secure to-day for the consumers and producers of America the benefits of cheaper and more convenient transportation and the increased facilities made imperatively necessary in the immediate present if we would not deliberately check the growth of which we are so proud and retard the increasing commerce which represents the wealth of the country.

For the present and the future the demand for these great improvements is imperative, and a bond issue is the just and equitable means of meeting them, as well as the only means; for it lays a fair proportion of the burden for the works upon the future generations which will reap largely of the benefits; while it must also be borne in mind that every succeeding year under the benefits to be derived by the nation from these improvements will make the burden lighter, because it will increase the wealth and the earning power of the country and the revenues of the Government from which the incurred indebtedness must be met. As a business proposition it is wholly advisable. As a national duty it is imperatively necessary.

RICHARD BARTHOLDT.

DIVORCE IN AMERICA AND ENGLAND.

BY "BRITANNICUS."

In her latest novel, "Daphne, or Marriage à la Mode," Mrs. Humphry Ward, perhaps with a little less freshness and flexibility than usual, has grappled once more with a great social question. Her choice this time has fallen on the American divorce laws and their reflex action upon American womanhood, upon domestic life and upon the general position of marriage in the scheme of American society. From the standpoint of one who is a sociologist rather than a literary critic there is, of course, an essential unfairness in treating such a theme through the medium of the novelist's art. The unfairness consists in the impression which the reader necessarily receives that one or two selected instances are to be taken as representing the whole. Working on a small canvas, with vivid and telling colors, and concerned less with social phenomena in the mass than with their influence upon the clash of personality and environment or right and wrong or sex and sex in individual cases, the novelist can scarcely hope to escape the fate of those who would survey a continent through a telescope. Every social investigator should have something of the novelist in him, should keep an eye, that is, for the drama and verities of life behind generalized "conditions" and serried statistics; but there is no reciprocal obligation on the novelist to be also an expert in scientific research. Mrs. Humphry Ward, I gladly admit, is too deft and experienced an artist to overload her pages with "awful examples." She gives, indeed, only two illustrations of the disastrous consequences that follow or that may follow the lax divorce laws and their laxer administration in some of the Western States. Neither illustration appeals to me as quite typical of the America I know. Mrs. Verrier, a member of "the strictest sect of New York's social *élite*," had married a

Jew, had tried to get him into society and failed, had found herself in danger of being dropped by her old set and had ended by divorcing him. "Then, one night about a year ago, he took the train to Niagara—of course it was a very commonplace thing to do—and two days afterwards he was found, thrown up by the whirlpool; you know, where all the suicides are found." Mrs. Verrier made an effort to brazen the thing out, but with only partial success. Something resembling a conscience awoke in her; remorse and ostracism combined to wreck her health and beauty; and her last act before she died was to write a letter recanting her early view of marriage as "something we may bend or break as we will" and imploring a young friend who likewise had obtained a divorce for no sufficient reason to return to her husband and ask his forgiveness.

But Mrs. Verrier's case is merely episodical. It is in Daphne Floyd, the American heiress of Irish and Spanish-American parentage, that Mrs. Humphry Ward traces most fully and carefully the workings of the South Dakota divorce code. Daphne becomes the wife of a handsome young Englishman who, while caring for her and coming in time to love her, marries her mainly for her money. He is weak, but not irredeemably; stupid, but in the pleasant English fashion; immature, but, except on the æsthetic side, not beyond the possibility of development—just the ordinary commonplace man, in short, whom the right woman makes and the wrong woman mars. For the first three years all goes reasonably well. It is only when they settle down with their daughter on the ancestral estate in England that trouble begins. Daphne soon finds herself hopelessly at odds with the whole spirit of her surroundings. The formation and narrowness of English country life rouse in her all the latent elements of "racial" antagonism. She shocks the Archdeacon by the ultra-liberality of her views on divorce. She collides with her mother-in-law over the question of decorations. She undertakes to point out to her neighbors their manifold defects of artistic taste. There is a sort of struggle between Daphne and her environment to determine which shall civilize the other. Its issue is still undecided when the appearance of a former *fiancée* of her husband, who had thrown him over when he lost his money, gives a new turn to Daphne's troubles. Mrs. Fairmile is a very clever study in the feminine siren. She sets out in the most approved spirit

of deviltry to recapture the affections of her old lover, and, while she does not succeed, she plays him with sufficient dexterity to make Daphne furiously jealous. The man himself, while too good a fellow to succumb to her wiles, is too indecisive and too stupid wholly to disentangle himself. He lies about her to Daphne, weakly and unnecessarily, and Daphne, discovering it, feels that her marriage has lost the essential basis of trust and respect and that she owes it not merely to herself, but to "Womanhood" to free herself from a tie stained by falsehood and baseness. Some inherited instinct of lawlessness and revolt surges up anew through her passionate Southern blood. She begins at once to plan her escape. She contrives a scene in which it is made to appear that her husband has knocked her down. She leaves him, taking the child with her, goes straight to South Dakota, with an array of bribed witnesses to testify to "cruelties" and "indignities," turns the yellow press upon her husband when he attempts to follow her and finally secures her decree with the custody of the child. The husband, still in the eyes of English law a married man, goes to the bad; the child dies; and Daphne devotes herself feverishly to art-collecting, philanthropy and the "woman movement." Ultimately she is brought round to some sense of what she has done, and with a woman's unwillingness to admit the irremediable makes a futile effort at reconciliation.

Mrs. Humphry Ward, however, puts into the mouths of her characters some tolerably precise opinions on the general question uncomplicated by the special circumstances of the two cases she has picked out for dissection. She makes, for instance, an American declare that "the most significant thing in American life just now" is—not the divorce laws, it goes deeper than that—but "a complete transformation of the idea of marriage"; and in a letter written by an English clergyman to an American friend she most ably reproduces what is, I suppose, the common English and European view of the matter—that is to say, that the American divorce laws are a species of moral anarchy, that they are slowly disintegrating the very foundations of society, that there are "divine avenging forces" which will exact a heavy and inexorable penalty, and that America as a nation "must either retrace some of the steps taken or sink in the scale of life."

I confess, as an Englishman who has spent some years in the United States, to having long been interested in and puzzled by

the American divorce laws. Indeed, the whole American attitude towards divorce at once entices and defies the analytical foreigner. The foreigner who does not analyze finds no difficulty in settling the matter offhand. He counts up the number of American divorces, he reads of the chaotic medley of the American divorce laws, and at once thanks God that he belongs to a country where some respect for the sanctity of the marriage tie still lingers. I doubt whether all Americans realize how much their divorce courts have to do with framing the European estimate of American morals and civilization. Even the foreigner who knows nothing else about America knows that it is the land of easy divorce. The inference that it is also the land of lax morality easily follows, and as the oddities or defects of the American social structure are a by no means displeasing topic abroad, it is an inference that finds an immense acceptance, and anything that helps to bear it out may be assured of a genuine European welcome. The American publicist, for instance, who declared a few years ago that "marriage as an institution hardly exists among us any more than in the fifth century at Rome, when twenty wives in succession was not thought an extravagant allowance even for a Christian deacon," was immediately hailed abroad as the solitary voice for righteousness in a godless commonwealth. And I need hardly say that a prodigious reception was given to the recent report of the Census Bureau on the divorces from 1887 to 1906. In England, especially, that report was made the text of innumerable homilies, and I am far from denying that it contained a good deal of somewhat startling material. It showed, for instance, that one American marriage in every twelve ends in the divorce courts and that in the period under review divorces increased three times as fast proportionately as population. In two-thirds of the suits the wife was the plaintiff. Only 15 per cent. of the actions were contested, "and probably in many of these cases," added the report, "the contest was hardly more than a formality." Of the divorces granted to wives 33 per cent. were on account of desertion, 27 per cent. for cruelty, only 10 per cent. for adultery and 5 per cent. for drunkenness. Of the divorces granted to husbands some 50 per cent. were for desertion, 28 per cent. for infidelity, 10 per cent. for cruelty and slightly over 1 per cent. for drunkenness. To those who do not know America these, naturally, were appalling revelations, and

foreigners might well be excused if they found them difficult to reconcile with the eulogies on "the purity of domestic life" which they understand to be one of the stock features in every Fourth-of-July oration. But those who have had an opportunity of becoming even moderately conversant with American life and conditions will not, I imagine, regard the report of the Census Bureau as more than superficially dismaying.

That the divergences and contradictions of the American divorce laws have their root in the uncontrollable liberty of the States seems to me undoubtedly the fact. State pride and patriotism almost make it a point of honor that each local Legislature, on all conceivable subjects, should have a policy of its own and should not tamely reproduce the enactments of other communities. A sort of rivalry in legislative experiment is generated by the close juxtapositions of the Federal system, by its multiplication of competitive loyalties and the pitting of State against State in a vast lawmaking tourney. No State is going to do so humdrum and spiritless a thing as meekly to copy the example of another State. If one State forbids divorces on any grounds that is a good argument why its neighbor should grant them on all grounds. Then, again, there is the factor of State selfishness. It is still a profitable business for a State to have free and easy divorce laws, just as it is a profitable business for a State to have lax and accommodating corporation laws. It attracts custom. The lawyers and hotelkeepers thrive on it. Little communities of would-be *divorcees* spring up here and there within its boundaries, and the State stands a very fair chance of becoming a perpetual holiday resort, open all the year round, with no close season. But this, after all, is not so great a contributing influence as the American passion for empirics. I sometimes amuse myself by running through the statute-books of some of the Far Western States. I can always rely on finding in them a mass of legislative idealism, of cheerful contempt for all human experience, of still more cheerful confidence in the virtue of the political "short cut," such as history, outside the French Revolution, can hardly parallel anywhere. The lawmakers in these Arcadian communities are the champion patent-medicine curers of the world and all its ills. When anything is brought to their notice that they disapprove of they waste no time trying to regulate it. They simply and comfortably abolish it. Thus in a

typical Western State you have only to look at the statute-book to see that immorality and gambling and drunkenness and cigarette-smoking by boys, and all the other infirmities of our civilization, so far from flourishing, cannot even exist. They have been decreed out of the very chance of life, annihilated and made an end of. The legislators, in a word, have declared that these things shall not be. And so, of course, they are not.

This genius for social panaceas swoops with easy avidity upon the whole field of marriage and divorce. Given legislators who have unfaltering faith in their ability to turn out a new heaven and a new earth at least once a session, it is inevitable that they should be most piquant, most untrammelled, and in every way most astounding when they come to deal with the relations of husband and wife. The past weighs with them not at all; of traditions they have none; their guides are the local sentiment of people like unto themselves, their own elementary freshness of heart and emotion, which is one of Nature's gifts to Americans, and that infectious sense of all things being possible which propagates itself so easily in their buoyant atmosphere. To men of such propensities and worked upon by such influences, no field, as I have said, could be more inviting or more crowded with opportunities than that of marriage and divorce. A bold occupation and development of it has come all the easier to Americans through their ingrained and impregnable indifference to theological considerations—they are the only people who, while essentially religious, have kept the Churches in their proper place —through their intense individualism and through their easy-going, sometimes misguided, often over-indulgent, but none the less real and vital sense of chivalry. They are honorably ambitious to diffuse as much individual freedom and happiness, and to prevent as much unhappiness, as possible; and the ambition is one that operates with peculiar force whenever the comfort or peace of mind of women is in question. It is, perhaps, more than anything else, with a view to promoting the welfare of women and to asserting their right to a social and legal equality with men, that the American divorce laws have been framed in a spirit of such pronounced liberality. And in these days when lawmakers are more criticised than thanked, it is pleasant to see the highly practical and gratifying fashion in which American women have marked their sense of this legislative solicitude. The

fact that two-thirds of the divorce suits are brought by women is a compliment to American legislators that they have fully earned.

No one who fairly weighs these conditions and their consequences will expect them to result in anything but anarchy. Anarchical is, indeed, the only adjective that gives any idea of the affluent incredibilities of the American divorce laws. From South Carolina, which grants no absolute divorces, to Tennessee, which grants them on twelve different grounds, there is no possible experiment which has been left untried and no element of confusion which has been omitted. You find one sovereign State refusing to recognize a divorce granted in another sovereign State. You find a man who has been divorced by his wife in Ohio and has subsequently remarried, arrested and convicted for bigamy in New York. You find the Supreme Court solemnly releasing the State of New York from any obligation to give full faith and credit to a decree of divorce obtained in Connecticut. You find a full circle of diversity on almost every point of practice, procedure, the rules of evidence, alimony, the question of remarriage and the period necessary to establish a legal residence. Some States, for instance, admit confessions without restrictions; in others they are only admitted when corroborated; in others, again, they are not admitted at all. Here a divorce trial must be public; there the question is left open. Sometimes it must be trial by jury; sometimes by two juries; sometimes it is optional, at the request of either party. Fourteen States make no provision for separation. In others separation may, at the option of the plaintiff, be decreed for any cause that justifies absolute divorce; and in yet others the matter is left to the discretion of the court. Again, six months are held to constitute a legal residence in five States; a year in thirty-four States; two years in five States; and three years in four States. In twenty-six States remarriage is permitted without any qualification. In others it is granted, withheld or limited, as the courts please. Some States encourage, and others specifically forbid, the guilty party to marry a co-respondent. In Maine the innocent party may not marry within two years without the court's permission and the guilty party is forbidden to remarry at all unless the court consents. The question of jurisdiction, again, is as wide and diverse as the continent itself. So, too, is that of service, of alimony, of an

innocent wife's right to resume her maiden name, of the division of property after a divorce, of the time within which a suit must be brought after the discovery of the cause, of the whole treatment of uncontested cases, and of the date on which a decree takes effect—until finally in the grounds for divorce and in the interpretations put upon them by the various courts all these divergences reach their unique and supreme climax.

These are only a few, the mere fringe, of the anomalies of the American divorce laws, and I do not envy the man or the body that would attempt to bring them into harmony or to frame a single uniform code applicable all over the Union and acceptable to the varying needs, conditions and views of nearly fifty States. Of late years there has sprung up in America an undoubted reaction against the laxity of the present system or lack of system. This reaction has resulted in two reforms. It has diminished the grounds on which a divorce may be granted, and it has extended the period necessary to establish a legal residence. Public opinion, moreover, has forced State after State to go out of the divorce business; and no end of conferences have been held with a view to promoting a greater uniformity in the laws. Not very much has been achieved. The differences not merely in the actual provisions of the various codes, but still more conspicuously in the spirit behind them, are so fundamental as to make even approximate uniformity appear unattainable. Some States, I take it, will always incline towards Cardinal Gibbons's way of thinking, and others will always favor the sort of divorce law that Zwingli or Milton might have framed. To reconcile them to subscribing to a common code by methods of persuasion and argument seems to me pretty well hopeless, and to expect an amendment to the Constitution that will remove the whole question from the sphere of State control is, in my judgment, not less chimerical. Nor am I at all convinced that a uniform law is either desired or desirable. As with so many other things in America, the divorce laws and the records of the divorce courts appear far worse on paper than they are in fact. No one who really knows the country would argue for one moment that they connote a low standard of morals or an unusual degree of domestic unhappiness. Americans in these respects are probably better and not worse off than the peoples of Europe. The mere fact that of every hundred divorces less than twenty involve a question

of infidelity is warning enough against any assumption of immorality; while the further facts that two-thirds of the suits instituted are brought by wives and that in only fifteen per cent. of all the divorce proceedings is there any pretence of a contest, emphasize the dangers of wholesale and offhand judgments.

Personally, I find myself in a good deal of sympathy with Professor Münsterberg's views on this question. He ascribes the frequency of American divorces and the liberality of the divorce laws to "the democratic spirit of self-determination which wants to loosen bonds that individuals no longer freely recognize"; and he adds that "it might be said that this is a higher individual morality which ends marriage when it has lost its inner sanctity." There is a good deal of truth in this, just as there is in Professor Gidding's contention that the high ratio of American divorces is a proof of "the elevated standard of decency and intelligence and the high-spirited character" of American women. American women have been both prompted from within and encouraged from without to take in many ways a higher, or, at any rate, a freer, position in the social scheme than the women of European countries have ever thought of occupying. They have developed in their relations with men a greater sensitiveness or, it may be, a greater self-respect; they certainly exact more, and more is, as certainly, given them; and a great many of the divorce suits in which the wife is the plaintiff are undoubtedly brought because the American wife will not tolerate the treatment that her European sister is both legally and conventionally forced to submit to. The English clergyman in Mrs. Humphry Ward's novel is impressed by the fact that it is apparently only in a minority of cases that an American woman, when she has got rid of her husband, marries some one else. "It is not passion, therefore," he argues, "that dictates many of these actions; no serious cause or feeling, indeed, of any kind; but rather an ever-spreading restlessness and levity, a readiness to tamper with the very foundations of society, for a whim, a nothing!—in the interests, often, of what women call their 'individuality.'" That point of view has undoubtedly a certain justification, but on the whole, and paradoxical as it may seem, there are aspects in which the great and growing average of American divorces may be claimed as an index not of a lower, but of a higher civilization.

I have, moreover, a very definite impression that the bulk of

feminine opinion in America is opposed to a uniform law because they know that it would be a stricter law. One of the most distinguished American women of this generation declared that "States with liberal divorce laws are to women what Canada was to the slaves before emancipation," and warned her sex that a national or a uniform code would deprive them of most of their present privileges. That, I think, is unquestionably true, and it explains why the Churches are so anxious to hand the whole matter over to Congress. But American opinion has never been very amenable to sacerdotal guidance, and in this case there is less chance than in most that it will forsake the strictly secular standpoint. The average American, so far as I can gauge his views, looks upon divorce not as a disease, but as a remedy. He believes almost anything to be preferable to the manacled misery in which hundreds of thousands of the women of Europe eat out their lives; and he is determined that his own countrywomen shall not share their fate. He is rightly and deeply convinced of the soundness at the core of American life and morals. He admits the abuses and inconveniences which State regulation has produced, and he does not deny that it is an anomaly that a man should not know whether his marriage or divorce is equally valid in all parts of the Union; but he argues that time and the growing sense of responsibility among American legislators are gradually bringing about all the change that is needed; and he is instinctively opposed to anything that would inject into the divorce laws a strictness uncongenial to the American atmosphere. An occasional scandal and even a number of proved abuses cannot blind him to the enormous amount of unhappiness from which the liberality of the State divorce laws has rescued the men and women of America.

Within the last few years the English law of divorce and separation has been denounced by judge after judge. The President of the Divorce Court himself declared, in 1906, that it was "full of inconsistencies, anomalies and inequalities amounting almost to absurdities," and that it "encouraged immorality and produced deplorable results." A few months ago the same high authority asserted that "in divorce-court procedure there is now one law for the rich and another for the poor"; and two or three days later one of the justices in the Court of Appeal pronounced it to be "the serious reproach of our existing divorce

laws that the relief they grant is practically out of the reach of the working-classes in this country by reason of expense and the absence of local courts empowered to grant it." To obtain a divorce in England costs at the very least $500 and a year of time, and London is the only city in the country where the trial can be held and the decree granted. That in itself is an obvious and formidable defect of procedure. It means that the great majority of those who are entitled to the relief of a divorce are financially unable to obtain it. But that is a technical shortcoming slight in comparison with the one-sidedness and injustice of the law itself. In England a husband can divorce his wife if he is able to prove to the satisfaction of a judge and jury that she misconducted herself on a single occasion. No such privilege belongs to the wife. An English wife cannot divorce her husband even though he is living in open adultery. She is obliged, in order to free herself, to prove that he has been guilty not only of unfaithfulness, but also of cruelty, or else that he has wilfully deserted her for not less than two years. All the redress she is able to obtain for the infidelity of her husband unaccompanied by cruelty or desertion is a separation order from a magistrate. As a rule, a separation order allows her from one-fourth to one-third of her husband's income, though whether she will ever receive it is problematical. At the same time, it estops her from ever afterwards suing for divorce, and it prevents both husband and wife from remarrying. Thus the greater offence is visited by the lighter punishment. A husband guilty of unfaithfulness *plus* cruelty or desertion is divorced and permitted to remarry. But a husband guilty of unfaithfulness only is separated from his wife under conditions that allow neither of them to remarry.

Some nine or ten thousand of these separation orders are issued yearly. This means that every year nearly 20,000 people are turned loose on society under unnatural conditions. Not one of them can remarry so long as his or her former partner is alive. The law condemns them to a permanent celibacy, which is equivalent to saying that the law puts a premium on immorality. The Act permitting and regulating the issue of separation orders was passed in 1895. In the thirteen years of its active operation it has probably been responsible for throwing on the world from 150,000 to 200,000 persons, each one of whom, in the emphatic

words of a great English lawyer, is "a potential adulterer," without any legal family ties or any possibility of contracting them, and licensed by the law to indulge his or her passions with impunity. Lax divorce laws may be an evil, but the rigorous code of England is a far greater and more potent source of moral corruption. Again, there are in England some 60,000 married men and women who are certified as insane; but as the law recognizes only adultery as a ground for divorce, the husbands and wives of these 60,000 lunatics are unescapably tied to them. A man may be an habitual drunkard or a slave to drugs or sentenced to prison for life, or may desert his home and family, may refuse to contribute anything to their support or may even decline to cohabit with his wife, and yet, under the laws of England, always more careful of the rights of property than of persons, the wife cannot divorce him. The utmost she can do is to obtain a separation order, the chief effect of which will be to place beyond reach of the law whatever illicit connections he or she may care to form. A growing body of opinion is being organized in England against the maintenance of a system so prolific of injustice and so conducive to immorality; but no one who recalls, or has read of, the fanatical opposition that had to be overcome before the English law of divorce reached even its present meagreness of liberality—no one who realizes the power of the sacerdotal tradition in English affairs—can doubt that a long and bitter struggle will have to be fought before separation orders are abolished, before both sexes are placed on an equality in the matter of divorce, before decrees are granted in cases of lunacy or of long terms of imprisonment or of habitual drunkenness or desertion, and before the English divorce code is brought up to the level of a modern and enlightened State. The British have gone as far towards one extreme as the Americans towards the other; but from the standpoint of the social well-being of the community there cannot, I think, be much question that the American system is the less harmful of the two.

"BRITANNICUS."

"HUDSON'S RIVER."

BY MONTGOMERY SCHUYLER.

"So accordingly it was decided: and Saxon Becket spilt his life in Canterbury Cathedral, as Scottish Wallace did on Tower Hill, and as generally a noble man and martyr has to do—not for nothing: no, but for a divine something other than *he* had altogether calculated." How these eloquent words of Carlyle's, in "Past and Present," come back to us as we review the history of the discovery of America, beginning with Columbus in the fifteenth century and ending, after a space of more than three centuries, with Lewis and Clark in the nineteenth. A shorter passage to the Indies, that was the goal of American discoveries for a century and a quarter from Columbus to Hudson. The misconception survives to this day, in the geographic misnomer of the West "Indies," in the ethnographic misnomer of the North-American "Indians." Poor Columbus, the Moses of the new "traffics and discoveries," had not even the luck of the old Moses in being vouchsafed a sight from some Pisgah of his new and more than promised land. He died without the sight which was reserved for

> "stout 'Balboa' when with eagle eyes
> He stared at the Pacific, and his men
> Look'd at each other with a wild surmise—
> Silent, upon a peak in Darien."

So many heroes, from Columbus to Hudson, took their lives in their hands and fared forth into the unknown upon the faith of a scientific conception of the rotundity of the world; so many of them upon the faith of a scientific misconception. The misconception became an obsession, and for near a century survived the actual circumnavigation of Magellan in 1520. The story is

doubtless most brilliantly, and at the same time most cursorily, sketched in John Fiske's "Discovery of America." It is, however, in his "Dutch and Quaker Colonies" that the picturesque historian sets forth the obsession of the navigators of the early seventeenth century. Giovanni da Verrazano, in a voyage in 1523, three years after Magellan's great achievement, which Magellan likewise did not live to complete, hypothesized, and his brother Girolamo charted and published a huge amorphous body of water in the latitude of Virginia, divided from the Atlantic at one point by only six miles of terra firma and thence continuous with the great South Sea. It was an alluring conception for the traders of the period, perhaps not less but more alluring after Magellan had actually shown the feasibility of an uninterrupted water-borne traffic between the main of Europe and the main of Asia. The American continent, in the conception of those times, was a mere strip of interruption between Europe and the Far East, a strip which, if permeable anywhere, would reduce Magellan's tedious circuit to a "great circle course" of plain sailing. One and all, for a century and more, the explorers were "bound for th' isles of Javan or Gadier." Hence the keels of the European traders vexed the waters of every promising estuary and inlet from Panama to the Arctic Circle, seeking the through route which all were persuaded existed, and withdrawing when they encountered a definitive "no thoroughfare." To understand the obstinacy of this delusion one must, as Freeman says and as Fiske repeats, "free himself from bondage to the modern map," and attempt the point of view of men who were living and sailing and exploring before the modern map was possible. It is, in truth, the heroic efforts they made under their strong delusion that have made the modern map.

Thus far Mr. Fiske was on safe ground. His ground becomes a little more shaky when he says, with regard to the Hudson River, that there is "no sort of doubt that it was visited by many Europeans before Hudson," even though we may have to concur in his conclusion that "there can be no doubt whatever as to Verrazano's entering New York Harbor" (in 1524). One thinks the historian protests rather too much. And when he waxes exceeding bold, and declares that "there can be little doubt" that French skippers ascended as far as the site of Albany in order to get furs from the Mohawks," and states as

a fact the ingenious conjecture of Mr. Weise that "about 1540 they built a fort on a long, low island on the west side of the river near the present southern limits of the City of Albany," as well as another on the present site of Chatham Square, one demands much more evidence of these astonishing propositions than he obtains.

But however all this may be, and however the insubstantial pageant of the French fort of the sixteenth century may have faded and left not a rack behind, it has to be admitted that in this voyage, of which the discovery of the great river that bears his name was an incident, as in the subsequent voyage in which he found the great bay that bears his name, and "spilt his life" in the discovery, Hudson's object was quite ulterior. He was trying to break through the great North-American continent which he did not figure as great, nor hardly as a continent, to find the Great South Sea. The American mainland was to him, in either latitude, no goal or object, only an interrupting incident, an annoying obstacle. So soon as he found that he reached the head of navigation, even for the little "Half Moon," without so much greater draught of water than the subsequent "North River sloop" constructed especially to skim those shallows, he 'bouted ship and sought again the open sea to try elsewhere for a likelier aperture. Not more than to Columbus was any vision or hint vouchsafed to him of the great thing he had really done in finding the head of navigation of the Hudson.

Three hundred years later, with the city at the mouth of the Hudson, in the growth and greatness of which the Hudson has been the indispensable factor,—with New York already "in sight" and in rivalry of London as the greatest aggregation of human beings on the surface of the planet, and, according to the rate of past increase, to take first place in less than half a generation of men, we are in better case to appreciate Hudson's achievement. "Saul, the son of Kish, went forth to seek his father's asses and found a kingdom." That would still be the relation of Henry Hudson's quest to his conquest if he had attained his quest. To seek a passage to Ind and Far Cathay *viâ* Troy, New York, is an errand which might excite ridicule among those cognizant of the modern map if Hudson and the explorers of his generation were not lifted so far above the reach of ridicule by the indomitable courage with which they ventured upon the

unknown. Hudson scored off his venture as a failure when he had arrived at what was so clearly the innavigable head of navigation in the ascent of the great river, withdrew, like the others, his contemporaries and predecessors, to pursue in more promising quarters his endeavors to break through the barrier and to find the line of least resistance. If his geography had been as accurate as it could not help being inaccurate, if he had found the short cut to the farthest East, what a trivial thing would he have accomplished compared with what he actually did accomplish in finding the gateway of the North-American continent and opening a practicable, and the only practicable, passage to its boundless "hinterland"! Yet of this his real achievement, so transcending his highest hopes and desires, he never, to the day of his death, entertained the least suspicion. "Not for nothing: no, but for a divine something other than *he* had altogether calculated."

The immediate effects of Hudson's episodical and disappointing exploration of his namesake river were not impressive. Mrs. Van Rensselaer, in her "History of the City of New York," sums them up with judicial impartiality and judicial brevity: "Before the 'Half Moon' sailed away a number of red men had taken three steps toward civilization. They had seen the effect of firearms, they had got drunk, and they had learned to want European goods." But these unfamiliar experiences (unfamiliar *pace* Mr. Weise and Mr. Fiske and their supposititious French fort at Albany in 1540) were destined to have epochal consequences. For Hudson had happened to come upon precisely the one natural gateway of the continent, the one practicable gap in the whole Appalachian coast range. That accomplished and charming man, the late Horatio Seymour, Governor of the State of New York, used to be very eloquent and luminous on this theme, on the relation of the topography of the Hudson Valley to the history of New York and of the Union. I heard him on it at the first commencement of Cornell. How wonderfully lucky was Hudson's landfall—if you can describe as a landfall a grounding in the mud! For here was the *débouchement* upon the river, and hence by a short and simple navigation upon the ocean, of the already immemorially beaten trail from the westward of the Iroquois, the people of the "Long House." When the Dutch set up, so few years afterwards, their trading-station

at Fort Orange to buy the peltry which was the only thing the savages had to sell that Europe cared to buy, the door was already open to their market at Albany. And the Dutch attached the wild trappers by justice and fair dealing. True, they had an adventitious advantage, which was another of Hudson's unconscious strokes of luck. John Fiske well says of Champlain's fight at Ticonderoga, the tercentenary of which we have just been celebrating:

> "On the July day when the Frenchman's thunder and lightning so frightened those dusky warriors, a little Dutch vessel named the 'Half Moon' was at anchor in Penobscot Bay. A few weeks later the 'Half Moon' dropped anchor above the site of Troy, and within the very precincts over which the warriors of the Long House kept watch. How little did Henry Hudson imagine what a drama had already been inaugurated in those leafy solitudes! A few shots of an arquebus on that July morning had secured for Frenchmen the most dangerous enemy, and for Dutchmen and Englishmen the most helpful friend that the mysterious American wilderness could afford."

Truly, never was a victory more Pyrrhic than that of Champlain! France had begun by "backing the wrong horse," by allying herself with the unwarlike Algonquins and by "antagonizing" their hereditary enemies, the fierce people of the Five Nations. It was an error expiated throughout the century and a half that followed of struggle for the possession of the American "hinterland," until France was compelled to abandon Canada itself. And through it all the hatred of the Five Nations was a festering thorn in her side, the gateway of Hudson's river opening upon the Iroquois trail was the means by which the wild allies of the English were subsisted and equipped to harry her. The last round of the struggle happened, indeed, to coincide with a general European war. But the English and French duel for the control of America went on and would have gone on quite independently. It was "an irrepressible conflict between opposing and enduring forces." When Macaulay says about Frederick the Great, "That he might rob a neighbor whom he had promised to defend, black men fought on the coast of Coromandel, and red men scalped each other by the great lakes of North America," Macaulay is simply treating himself and his readers to a flourish of rhetoric. The massacre of Schenectady, which showed that the French and their Indians had learned the

road south from the St. Lawrence to the Hudson, as well as the Dutch and English had learned it northward from their Indians, was perpetrated more than half a century before Frederick came to quarrel with Maria Theresa. The seventeenth century had not expired when the four years' diplomatic duel for the control of "interior" New York was waged by Denonville and Dongan, and the Frenchman had to own that he was getting the worst of it. "They like the manners of the French," he wrote, "but they like the cheap goods of the English better."

To take their own names for the French Governor of Canada and the Dutch or English Governor of New York it was, at any rate, plain that the Five Nations for the ensuing two generations distrusted "Onontio" and trusted "Corlaer" or his successor, "Quidor," the first Mayor of Albany. It was by no means by way of a "junket" that Peter Schuyler, in 1710, took sachems of the Five Nations to London, where all five were lumped as "Mohocks," to do reverence to the Great Mother, if that was what they called Queen Anne. By no means as a junket, since it must have been a grievous and grewsome voyage for him, but as a matter of high policy of which the English got their benefit in the ensuing half-century, until the French flag disappeared from the North-American continent. The French scheme of a chain of forts to restrain the Iroquois was largely conceived. To use our modern nomenclature, a fort at the mouth of the Niagara, a fort at the mouth of the Genesee, a fort at Syracuse, a fort near Oswego, a fort at Ticonderoga—these proposals not only befitted the arrogance of Ludovican France, but did promise to overawe the hostile Indians and to hold in check the fur-traders of Albany. But they had the fatal strategic weakness of conceding to the rival and enemy the "interior lines." The line to Albany was the line of least resistance. The point at which Hudson had grounded and been baffled was the one point at which there was the readiest access from the interior, the readiest outlet to the sea. The dangerous and tortuous navigation of the St. Lawrence in days when it was a fortnight's voyage from Quebec to Montreal up-stream, how could that compete then, any more than it can compete now, with the great river upon the navigable head of which Hudson had so singularly stumbled? The circumstance that Hudson was an Englishman, though working for a Dutch employer, was curiously made, less

than a century afterwards, the pretext for a claim of English priority over the Dutch. "I take the liberty to acquaint you," wrote Lord Cornbury from New York to the Secretary of the Lords of Trade in London in 1705, "that this province was first discovered by an Englishman whose name was Hudson, and the river which runs by Albany to this city is to this day called 'Hudson's River' from that man." As a statement of historical fact this is, or until lately was, impeccable; but as the basis for a claim of English sovereignty it leaves us in doubt whether it was more largely an exhibition of the ignorance or of the impudence of the noble lord.

For nearly a century before Cornbury's time the Indians of the Five Nations had been carrying or convoying the peltry from the back districts along the road that Nature had plainly marked out for generations, perhaps for centuries, before there was any market at the head of navigation on the river, certainly for generations, even for centuries, before the indications of Nature were recognized as marking it out for a highway, a waterway or a railway. The parting of the ways was again at Albany—straight away northward for Montreal and the Polar Star; straight away westward, through the haunts of the warlike Iroquois, to the Long House of Onondaga, to the home of the beaver, the only "money crop," whose skin was as exclusive a unit of value in the trade of New York as the hundredweight of tobacco in colonial Virginia. To improve and facilitate these natural highways for traffic inward, for defence outward, that may be said to have been the main problem of colonial New York. Nay, it may be said to have been the main problem of the State of New York. It is by what has been done towards the solution of it by colony, province and State that the State has attained its primacy as the Empire State, the city as the Imperial City. And yet the problem was implicitly propounded and the solution implicitly secured from the September day, three hundred years ago, when the "Half Moon" grounded above Albany and Henry Hudson turned sadly back from what he imagined to be a baffled quest.

The ways, the westward and the northward ways alike, from this point at which merchandise might begin to be sea borne, were woodland paths and waterways. In great preponderance waterways. Northward, to be sure, stretches of trackless forest in-

tervened between the sources of the Hudson and the valley of the St. Lawrence, in spite of Lake George and Lake Champlain and the rivers. But westward the communication with the Hudson, like the future of Germany, "lay upon the water." Such an irriguous region as the "Lake Country" of Central New York, such a network of navigable lakes and rivers, is very rare in the world. One, and only one, serious interruption there was to the progress of canoes from Albany by way of the Mohawk and the lakes and streams to the watershed where the rivers, born in sight of one another, diverged to the Hudson and to Lake Ontario, whence the voyager could make his way equally

> "Where wild Oswego spread her swamps around
> Or Niagara stunned with thunder sound."

This was "the great Oneida carrying-place" close to the present town of Rome, and in its site almost identical with the "Rome Summit level" of the Erie Canal. Here, or just beyond here, was a ramification of the Grand Trunk of the trail, northwestward to Oswego and Lake Ontario, due westward by the chain of smaller lakes to the great Lake Erie. Necessarily this point of confluence and departure was esteemed a vital point as soon as the immigrants from Europe had become aware of the lie of the land. It was not far from here that Sir William Johnson, living in a savage state for a generation, controlled his dusky wards and safeguarded the English pass. Long before his time, when it was a Dutch pass, it had been the object of a similar solicitude. It was the one considerable portage for canoes, the one serious break in the else continuous waterway. To the canal-building Dutchmen it was perhaps more obvious than to others that a canal from the head waters of the Mohawk to the nearest affluent of Oneida Lake was the indispensable link needed to complete the chain of communication. But it seems that it might have been obvious to all the world, as obvious as to "stout Balboa" himself the necessity to the commerce of the world of the Panama Canal. The Rev. John Taylor, penetrating these parts as a missionary in 1902, remarks, as "a very great singularity," that "the waters of the Mohawk and those of Wood Creek, which come within a mile of each other" ["eighty-one chains," Philip Schuyler had reported in 1792] "should admit of a communication by water through canals." But in 1902 there actually was a canal.

The genius came in in seeing the canal "before it was made." And this was seen, or foreseen, and urged for more than one generation in advance. The halt and stumbling-block of Wood Creek had been already too long permitted to obstruct "interstate commerce" before there were any States. Lieutenant-Governor De Lancey, reporting, with justifiable exultation, in 1755, that Captain Bradstreet, in command of the expedition directed to the destruction of the French post at Oswego, had "in three hours' time passed the great carrying-place between the Mohawk River and the Wood Creek with his company, provisions, Battoes and baggage, which is less time than what the traders generally take with a single Battoe when they hasten to the Mart at Oswego," proceeds to rise to something of prophetic strain:

> "The same Battoes which carry the train, provisions, etc., for the army to Oswego may carry them to Niagara, and, being transported above the falls, the same may carry them to Presque Isle, the fort on the south side of Lake Erie, so that it will be practicable to bring the expense of such an expedition into a moderate compass, far less than the expense of wagons, horses, etc., which are necessary in an expedition by land from Virginia to the Ohio."

And that has been as true ever since, in peace and in war, as it was in 1755. Hudson had stumbled upon the line of least resistance from the seaboard to the receding inland frontier. That the "great Oneida carrying-place" should not only be facilitated, but should be fortified as a vital point, was plain enough to all discerning and informed men. But it was not until 1758 that Abercrombie, from his camp on Lake George, sent orders to Stanwix to build Fort Stanwix, on the present site of Rome, as a bulwark against the advance of the French. For that purpose it was late and superfluous to the objects of a war which terminated in a British victory and a French abandonment of North America two years later. But by a stroke of the irony of fate it came into use nineteen years afterwards as a bulwark against the advance of the British, its garrison holding out until Benedict Arnold arrived to relieve them, and sent St. Leger's column back through the wilderness toward Lake Ontario to retrace its long and devious route to Montreal. It was the failure of one of the three columns which, according to the London closet strategists, were to converge and crush the rebels at the head waters of the Hudson. Sir George Trevelyan justly observes

that the plan of campaign can hardly be accounted for except upon the supposition that the strategists had maps before them from which they assumed that the province of New York was of the area of Gloucestershire and equally well provided with roads practicable for artillery. Of the three columns to which the British War Office had given rendezvous at the head of navigation on the Hudson poor John Burgoyne's was the only one which kept tryst; and it paid for its punctuality by losing one of the decisive battles of the world. For, most curiously, it was Saratoga that determined the re-entry of France into the New World to avenge upon Great Britain her expulsion from it.

No sooner was peace declared and America left at liberty to work out her own salvation than the improvement began of the line of least resistance which Hudson had opened. The Erie Canal was manifest destiny for more than a generation before it was actually built. To improve and complete the waterways to the westward and the northward of the navigable Hudson was not only manifest destiny, but plain duty. Philip Schuyler, of the third generation of his family which had been directly interested in closer communication with the inhabitants, white or red, of the "back country," and who had made a study of canals in Europe before the Revolution, became an equally zealous promoter of communication by canal northward and westward from Albany, and headed the list of directors of both the "Company of the Western Inland Lock Navigation" and the "Company of the Northern Inland Lock Navigation," and procured the passage of the Lock Navigation Law of 1792. It was the day of small things in inland navigation. The *bateau* had superseded the canoe; but still the general's modest proposal was but for "two feet and a half" of water. The story is well worth reading in the most interesting "Waterways and Canal Construction in New York State" with which Dr. Henry Wayland Hill has supplemented Mr. Noble E. Whitford's official "History of New York Canals" with its tabulated statistics and its appalling two hundred pages of bibliography.

The opening of the Hudson to steam navigation two hundred years after the sailing of the "Half Moon" up its waters, of course gave a fillip to laggard destiny. It was quite in the normal course of things that Robert Fulton and his backer, Chancellor Livingston, should have become members of the Canal

Commission of 1811, and should have done their full share towards producing that state of public opinion which forced the enactment of the law of 1817 that determined the construction of the Erie Canal, and the completion of a "Northwest Passage" so far beyond the wildest dreams of Henry Hudson. Before the construction of the canal a hundred dollars a ton was the freight to Buffalo from Albany as against sixty from Montreal. A legislator calculated that 66,000 tons of freight would be available for the canal and would commercially justify its construction. De Witt Clinton's estimate in 1819 was that freight could be carried from the Hudson to Lake Erie for ten dollars a ton. How ludicrously "conservative" seem these estimates now, since in 1880, its busiest year, the Erie Canal carried 4,500,000 tons, and since Major Symons computes that freight can be moved from Buffalo to tide-water over the new barge canal which is to supersede the Erie for fifty-six cents a ton.

It is true that the canal itself has been largely superseded and has sunk to the comparatively modest function of a regulator of freights by newer and swifter modes of conveyance. But that fact does not modify, except to emphasize, the truth that Hudson found the line of least resistance. Take the history of the Erie road, the hypothenuse of a right-angled triangle, and compare it with the history of the New York Central and Hudson River roads, the other two sides, and be convinced that the mathematical axiom that a straight line is the shortest distance between two points may be a grievous commercial fallacy. If all the watercourses in New York should go dry, including the majestic river itself, their beds would still supply the easiest and cheapest road from the seaboard to the "hinterland," still constitute the line of least resistance. Look at the remarkable map of the waterways of the United States which accompanies Mr. Whitford's "History," and see how all the streams arising in the Atlantic coast range, excepting only "Hudson's River," run "violently down a steep place into the sea," and how the Hudson, flowing parallel with the coast line, at its head of navigation gives access to a broad and level westward way. Of how small account was Henry Hudson's quest compared with his find, which was nothing less than the discovery of the one great open door of the North American continent.

MONTGOMERY SCHUYLER.

IS MARK TWAIN DEAD?

BY EUGENE H. ANGERT.

MARK TWAIN is dead. Not dead in any literary sense, but literally dead; dead as Aristophanes, as Bunyan, as George Washington, just plain dead. I know this statement will be met with incredulity, perhaps with derision. But, after the proof which I have to offer, no unbiased mind can doubt its truth. The conviction that Mark Twain is no longer alive first flashed upon me, as I read his latest alleged work, "Is Shakespeare Dead?" I at once began an exhaustive investigation. Conjecture gradually grew into certainty, and after the evidence had been accumulated all doubt was gone. I became absolutely certain that Mark Twain was dead. I know this statement will be dismissed by those readers, who resent any disturbance of their too readily accepted beliefs, as the vagary of a crack-brained theorist, if, indeed, they do not ascribe it to a more acute form of mental instability. But should the fear of ridicule compel my silence? Did I not owe to Mark Twain's readers of a century or two hence the moral obligation of publishing my discovery? Ought not future generations be saved from the endless argument, the crimination and recrimination of learned commentators, that surely would convulse the literary world when the authenticity of Mark Twain's later writings was questioned? Should not posterity be spared the phalanx of Twainian critics, whose lives given over to the minutiæ of investigation, might be more profitably employed, and the countless volumes that would be written, and perhaps read, to establish one side or another of the controversy? For, of course, the question, so thoughtlessly ignored by the readers of to-day, whether Mark Twain was the author of his works, would undoubtedly be raised by the literary dilettanti of a hundred years from now. How much better that it should be raised and

settled in this day and generation! What interminable literary strife, and how many useless volumes we, and those who come after us, would have been spared had some one, during Lord Bacon's lifetime, confronted him with the fresh evidence of the conspiracy to palm off upon the guileless actor, William Shakespeare, the plays and poems which Bacon had himself written and was ashamed to father! If any contemporary of Shakespeare had merely mentioned the deception that must have been known to many, how quickly it would have been ended and the true authorship of Bacon's plays revealed! For if we, out of our great ignorance of Shakespeare's life, are able to establish that he was not the author of his purported plays, how conclusively it could have been demonstrated by one who associated with Shakespeare and knew all about him! And had we been spared the all-absorbing problem of the authorship of Shakespeare's works, which, like Banquo's ghost, will not down, we might now find time to read the plays themselves. No; the indifference of the contemporaries of Shakespeare and Bacon to the great literary deception of their day shall not be imitated by me. The mystery of Mark Twain's writings shall not be left for some learned Ignatius Donnelly or Nathaniel Holmes of a century from now to unravel. The blunderbuss loaded for his destruction shall be fired now, not a couple of hundred years after his death. The evidence of the conspiracy shall be given to the public while it is still fresh and unquestionable.

So indisputable does it appear to me that Mark Twain has been dead for some years that I marvel the public should so long have been deceived. Strange that of all the readers of his latest alleged work, "Is Shakespeare Dead?" I alone have dismissed that academic question for the obvious and more important inquiry it suggested, *Is Mark Twain Dead?*

Let me briefly state the facts as I have gathered them, and then with such particularity as the limits of this article will permit the evidence upon which they rest. Mark Twain died in the year 1906. The exact date and place of his demise I have been unable as yet to discover. But it is undoubtedly true that he passed away during the summer or early fall of that year in an obscure village of Switzerland. For the reading world he has continued to live. Pseudo-humorous writings, in feeble imitation of those which have made him the first of laugh-provokers, have

been given to the eager public after the Almighty had silenced the tongue of the teller of tales, and forever deprived the world of the brilliant mind which gave us "Tom Sawyer," "Huckleberry Finn" and "Colonel Mulberry Sellers." In all history no greater literary hoax than this has been perpetrated. The Shakespeare delusion, the Ireland forgeries, the mystery of Junius, the Fiona MacLeod myth, are insignificant deceptions compared with that which is being carried on at the present time by the use of the name of Mark Twain. Of course there is a motive for this fraud, and it is a very obvious one. For many years prior to his death Mark Twain commanded the largest audience of any writer of his day. Not only in America, but throughout Europe, his new books were awaited with as much eagerness as an instalment of a Dickens novel seventy years ago. Not even Kipling or Roosevelt, in the zenith of their literary careers, could so readily mint their words into golden coin. The financial return to his publishers was enormous. But they foresaw that the steady stream of wealth that flowed from Mark's genius must cease at his death. The inexhaustible mine must close when he was no more. The old levels might be worked over, but no new veins of virgin gold could be unearthed and marketed. Mark Twain's passing of the Biblical tenure of threescore-and-ten warned the publishers that this financial catastrophe could not be averted much longer. Then it was that the possibility of keeping him alive indefinitely flashed upon them. If his death, when it occurred, could be kept secret, books written by the publishers' hacks might be given to the gullible public year after year as the latest offerings of Mark Twain. And the mine would, indeed, prove inexhaustible! So with every contingency carefully provided for, it was not difficult, after Mark Twain had quietly passed away, to continue his existence. The fact that his death occurred in an obscure European village made it easy to suppress. As his last years had been spent abroad he was an unfamiliar figure to his own countrymen, and so detection of the imposture was unlikely. An impostor had, of course, to be provided, but the impersonation was much easier than that of the Prince of Zenda, so successfully carried on by Rudolph Rassendyll in the novels of Anthony Hope. Oscar Wilde, in that delightfully truthful essay on "The Decay of Lying," has shown that nature imitates art and that life patterns itself after fiction. And so

probably it was the late Edward Everett Hale's story of "My Double and How He Undid Me" that suggested to the conspirators the idea of providing a double for Mark Twain to continue his life after he had laid it down. But whether this be a fact or only a theory, the double was provided and continues to act his part. As often as seems advisable to avoid any suspicion of Mark Twain's death, no oftener, he parades himself in public. These sallies into the limelight are confined to audiences of college girls, to whom the person of the real Mark Twain is about as well known as that of Napoleon. But while his public appearances are infrequent, books and magazine articles that bear the name of Mark Twain are brought forth with rapidly recurring regularity. The conspiracy has succeeded. The public has accepted the counterfeit works as genuine. No pure-food law protects the gullible reader from mislabelled literary pabulum, and the reputation of Mark Twain has been burdened with a mass of serious and solemn writing whose weight even it can scarcely sustain. I can only hope by this exposure to relieve that sacred reputation from additional sorry burdens.

The limits of this article prevent me from mentioning all of the evidence upon which these statements rest, but I shall offer sufficient to convince any fair-minded reader of their truth. Mark Twain's latest works have been copyrighted in the name of the Mark Twain Company. This fact has been widely commented upon by reviewers, but they have seen in it only subject for jest. It possesses a more important significance. The creation of this corporation is a convincing proof that Mark Twain is no longer alive. For what possible pretext can there be for a living author incorporating himself? From the earliest day, when "our father Adam sat him down and scratched with a stick in the mould," down to the latest moment of time, when the maiden effort of the youngest scribe is struggling into print, we search in vain for an instance of a living author turning himself into a corporation. There is no record of any Homeric Consolidated Epic Company, although it has been shown that Homer was a syndicate. No corporate charter was taken out by Dumas, although Dumas was an underwriter of other men's works. We do not find any articles of association filed by the Shakespeare-Bacon-Marlowe Universal Classic Company. Even Andrew Lang, an underwriter of the first magnitude and a most active literary

syndicate, has so far denied himself the luxury of incorporating. Every author, ancient or modern, great or small, has cast his work upon the troubled waters of public opinion unprotected by the buoy of a corporate copyright. Surely if there were some reason for this unusual course other authors, equally jealous of fame and fortune, would have turned themselves into corporations. There is, there could be, no reason for incorporating a live Mark Twain; but there was the strongest motive for incorporating the dead Mark Twain. In no other way could the conspirators obtain a valid copyright of the works they published in his name. For, their copyright in Mark Twain's name would be invalid if it was discovered that the author was dead when he applied for it; on the other hand, the discovery of the fraud would not affect the validity of any copyright granted to the Mark Twain Company.

I find strong corroborative evidence that Mark Twain is dead in the articles of incorporation themselves. The Mark Twain Company purports to be a corporation created by Mark Twain for his sole and separate use. Certainly we would expect him to be present at its birth. He would unquestionably be a party to the incorporation of himself. It was hardly the sort of thing to leave to strangers. If his name is not signed to the articles of incorporation as one of the organizers the conclusion is inevitable that it was impossible to obtain his signature. For such impossibility there could be but one reason—he had passed into that shadowy realm from which, in the present state of mediumistic advancement, the only signature he could furnish would be on a slate. Accordingly I turned my attention to the Mark Twain Company and found that it was a corporation chartered by the State of New York on December 28th, 1908. I examined the original articles in the Secretary of State's office and made the startling discovery that *Mark Twain was not one of the organizers of the Mark Twain Company.* His signature does not appear to the agreement which constituted him a corporation. The articles are signed and acknowledged before a Notary Public by three individuals, residents of the City of New York, whose names are unknown to fame. This fact the reader can verify by referring to the corporation records of the State of New York. I maintain, therefore, that the absence of Mark Twain's signature from the papers incorporating him, if not conclusively establish-

ing his death, at least shifts the burden of proof upon those contending that he is alive.

About five years ago Mark Twain announced that he was writing his autobiography which would not be published until one hundred years after his death. This latter statement was so frequently and so emphatically made by the author that it will be readily recalled. Mark Twain was a truthful man; he would not resort to a gross deception for the purpose of advertising a forthcoming book. We can safely assume that he would never permit the autobiography to be given to the public during his lifetime. But about two years ago the first instalment of this very work appeared in a magazine and further instalments followed for over a year. What more conclusive evidence could there be that Mark Twain is dead? He always kept faith with the public, and if we believe him alive at the time the autobiography was published we must hold him guilty of deception and trickery. And to his thousands of friends and admirers, who were so deeply pained at the premature publication of the autobiography, my discovery of his death prior to its appearance will come as glad tidings and welcome relief.

I have already made some reference to the freedom from suspicion with which the public accepts the impersonator for Mark Twain himself; and yet, even a superficial view ought to show plainly that he is an impostor. Of late years there have been frequent charges, all unsubstantiated it is true, but nevertheless widely circulated, that Mrs. Eddy's life is being lived by a clever substitute. I incline to the belief that this claim was concocted by the conspirators to divert attention from the actual impersonation of Mark Twain which they were carrying on. If it is the old cry of "Stop Thief," it is not the first time that ruse has proven successful. The personality of the present Mark Twain convinces any thoughtful man that he is bogus. True, he possesses certain physical resemblances to the Mark Twain we knew—notably the long, bushy, white hair. But the resemblance does not extend beyond the physical appearance. The old Mark Twain was profoundly profane; the new Mark Twain uses language that requires no expurgation for Sunday-school purposes. The old Mark Twain was notoriously indifferent about his dress; the new Mark Twain is a Beau Brummel, who, with his white suits, even to evening dress, is the acknowledged leader of

fashion. The old Mark Twain expressed himself in all of his writings in terms of the river craft; the new Mark Twain uses the language of the drawing-room, not of the steamboat deck. The old Mark Twain hobnobbed with river men and luckless Western miners; the new Mark Twain is the boon companion of captains of finance and millionaires are his playfellows. Is further illustration necessary to show that this person, whoever he may be, is not the Mark Twain we have known for fifty years?

But I attach little importance, after all, to the personality of the man; my most conclusive evidence that Mark Twain is no more I find in the books that bear his name. "By their fruits ye shall know them." If the dead can do no wrong, likewise can they write no books. Since 1906 two books by Mark Twain have appeared—"Christian Science" and "Is Shakespeare Dead?" Even with his name on the title-page, it must have taxed the credulity of the most unsuspecting to accept Mark Twain as the author of these works. Instead of the fanciful stories or delightfully humorous travesties that Mark Twain produced during his forty years of writing, we have here a ponderous theological argument and a profound study of the Baconian controversy. If the long series of Gilbert's comic operas had been followed, in his declining years, by the publication, under his name, of a treatise on Hindu philosophy, would we not have rightly doubted the asserted authorship and felt certain that the publisher was perpetrating a joke? But not only the subject-matter of the later Mark Twain books, but their style, give the lie to their alleged authorship. We look in vain for the delicious humor, the unexpected play of imagination, with which his authentic works abound. The forced funny story, the occasional humorous remark, so evidently dragged in by the heels, indicate an obvious imitation rather than the genuineness of Mark Twain's authorship.

Of "Christian Science," I need only say that it is a learned and weighty discussion of Mrs. Eddy's favorite religion. Convincing, scientific, profoundly learned, I admit; written by the author of "Huckleberry Finn," never! I doubt whether Mark Twain could have written "Christian Science" if he had wanted to; that he would not have wanted to I am sure.

But the most convincing proof is found in the latest book bearing his name, "Is Shakespeare Dead?" which appeared in

April of this year. Emboldened by their success and no longer fearful of detection, the publishers have exhibited the extreme of recklessness in putting Mark Twain's name to this work. The author sought to lend some probability to this claim by sprinkling throughout the book an air of forced facetiousness, and inserting in its pages inappropriate allusions to Mark Twain's early life in Missouri and on the Mississippi River. This work could never have been written by the Mark Twain that we knew. Perhaps his famous remark, that Shakespeare's works were not written by Shakespeare, but by another gentleman of the same name, might be equally true of this book. But the author of "Tom Sawyer" is not the author of "Is Shakespeare Dead?" It is a scholarly work of profound erudition, and has been accepted by critics as the final word on the Baconian controversy. No Shakespearite after reading it can longer cling to the Stratford fallacy. The author reasons logically that the writer of the plays could not have been Shakespeare, because they exhibit an intimate knowledge of the technicalities of the law, and there is no evidence that Shakespeare, the actor, had at any time the leisure to acquire legal lore. Now, in like manner, I contend that the author of "Is Shakespeare Dead?" was the greatest Shakespearian student that ever lived. Nothing but a lifetime of study could have given such complete mastery over the subject. The author displays greater knowledge of his subject than such scholars as Dowden and Furness, who have devoted their lives to the study of Shakespeare. Do the known facts about Mark Twain's life give any evidence that he could have been this profound Shakespearian scholar? On the contrary, they make it positive that he was not. We know that Mark Twain acquired little learning and less literature in the few years he attended school. We know that he spent the early years of his life busily occupied in ways that left no time for soaring to the topmost heights of scholarship; that he was a river pilot and a printer, a gold miner and a reporter on Western papers. We know that in his later years his whole time was given to writing humorous books and making after-dinner speeches; that his final years were spent in travelling abroad, writing more books and making more after-dinner speeches. Truly, a busy life with little time for acquiring extensive learning, and I challenge any who disagree with me to point to a single period of that active life when leisure could

have been found to acquire the erudition so profoundly displayed in this work on Shakespeare. Judged by the known facts of his life, not by what we might assume they might have been—Mark Twain could not have written "Is Shakespeare Dead?" We can more easily believe that the unlettered son of a Stratford butcher wrote the plays that bear the name of Shakespeare than that the uneducated Mississippi River pilot could have acquired the intimate knowledge of the Baconian question displayed in that work.

Another argument successfully used by Baconians is suggested by the same work. In "Is Shakespeare Dead?" Macaulay's "Essay on Bacon" is so frequently quoted that we may assume that it was well known to the writer. I have examined all available data concerning Mark Twain, from the autobiography itself to the merest magazine reference, and I find no indication that he ever read or even knew of Macaulay's Essay. In the absence of any affirmative statement anywhere to that effect, we may properly conclude that he had not read it. It follows then that Mark Twain could not have been the author of "Is Shakespeare Dead?"

If not Mark Twain, then who is the author? the curious will doubtless ask. Just as some anti-Shakespearians are satisfied when they convince us that Shakespeare was not the author of the plays and leave the identity of the real author in doubt, so I might content myself with proving that Mark Twain did not write "Christian Science" and "Is Shakespeare Dead?" without attempting to strip the mask from the writer who has borrowed his name. But the identity of the author is so evident that the reader has probably already guessed it. Applying the principles of deductive ratiocination, made popular by Sherlock Holmes, we know that the real author is a writer unhampered by any sense of humor. He combines a mastery of all subjects of human knowledge with a complete understanding of all religions. He possesses the commercial instinct which makes him an author for revenue only. He is willing to write as the dead for the living there is in it. He is an erudite Shakespearian scholar and has read Macaulay's Essay on Bacon. Jealousy of literary honors has made him the arch enemy of Mrs. Eddy. To enumerate these essential attributes is to name the author. Other writers may lay claim to some of the qualifications; he alone possesses

them all. The name springs instinctively to the lips—Elbert Hubbard.

But any lingering doubt of the correctness of the author's identification is dispelled by the existence of a cryptogram in the works themselves. We know now that Lord Bacon, with infinite labor, wove his name in cipher into the plays which he did not care enough about to claim. So I surmised that Elbert Hubbard, prevented by his arrangement with the publishers from acknowledging the Mark Twain books, would profit by Bacon's ingenuity and likewise reveal his authorship to the elect by similar tortuous methods. But with limited leisure for investigation, I was at a loss how to go about the search for the cipher. Fortunately at this time a friend placed in my hands an exhaustive work just published by William Stone Booth entitled "Some Anacrostic Signatures of Francis Bacon" (Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1909). After reading that work, the discovery of the Hubbard cipher became easy. The author (page 38) points out that the proper place to look for a cipher is at some striking page of the book, one that would readily fasten itself in the author's memory. So I took up "Is Shakespeare Dead?" and turned with confidence to page 23. How to find the cipher that existed there was the next problem. Again Mr. Booth came to my rescue, and I learned (page 36) that you may read the desired anacrostic by selecting from the text the necessary letters, reading from right to left on either the terminal, initial or any letters of any words. I elected to read on any letter of the text and was promptly rewarded with the following anacrostic signature of Elbert Hubbard. Here is the passage exactly as it occurs at page 23 of the book in question, except that I have put the anacrostic letters in capitals to facilitate the reading of the cipher:

"And so on and so on. We sEt down five known facts by themseLves on a piece of paper and numBered it 'page 1'; thEn on fifteen hundred other pieces of papeR we set down the 'conjectures,' and 'supposiTions,' and 'maybes,' and 'perHapses,' and 'doubtlesses,' and 'rUmors,' and 'guesses,' and 'probaBilities,' and 'likelihoods,' and 'we Are permitted to thinks,' and 'we are waRranted in believings,' and 'might have beens,' and 'coulD have beens,' and 'must have beens,' and 'unquestionablys,' and 'without a shadow of doubts'—and behold!"

The supercritical may direct attention to the fact that the "Hubard" of this signature is minus one "b," but if Lord

Bacon spelled his name in sixty different ways in Shakespeare's plays, as Mr. Booth has proven, surely Elbert Hubbard may be permitted, for the purpose of his anacrostic signature, to occasionally drop a "b" from his name. Convinced by this great discovery that the author's name was actually revealed by a cipher, I turned my attention to "Christian Science" and by patient investigation discovered many anacrostic signatures in that book also.

I have now demonstrated beyond all possible doubt that Mark Twain is dead, and that Elbert Hubbard is the author of the books that have appeared since his death. Of course my statement will be emphatically denied by the bogus Mark Twain. But such denial should not shake any one's belief in the facts I have proven. Even in a court of law the denials of an interested party are regarded with suspicion. They are never permitted to prevail over the statements of a disinterested witness. I can have no possible self-interest to serve in proclaiming Mark Twain's death; the strongest possible motive, namely, self-preservation as Mark Twain, prompts denial from the impostor. Will any unbiased reader accept the denial of the most interested party in preference to my disinterested statement?

Besides, any such denial, rightly viewed, is in itself proof that Mark Twain is no more. It will be recalled that a few years ago, while the real Mark Twain was living abroad, a rumor of his death was circulated in this country, and when a reporter went to him for a denial he modestly contented himself with saying that the report was slightly exaggerated. No emphatic refutation, no denial supported by an oath! If Mark Twain answered a mere vague rumor of his death with the statement that it was a slight exaggeration, would he, if living to-day, deny the positive statement of his death, supported as it is by incontrovertible proof? At the most, he might express some doubt as to the finality of the evidence and ask for further time to consider it. And so any emphatic denial can come only from an impostor and is proof that Mark Twain is no more. If, however, the bogus Mark Twain meets this exposure by silence, it must be construed as an admission of his guilt. The conclusion, therefore, is the same whether he denies my statement or fails to deny it, *Mark Twain is dead.*

EUGENE H. ANGERT.

HAVE WE MISLAID A VALUABLE POSSESSION?

BY HON. M. E. CLAPP, U. S. SENATOR.

THERE seems to be a recrudescence of interest in the political status of the Isle of Pines. Distractions of stirring events throughout the world during the past five years, and the absorption of the mind of the American people in our own partisan discussions, have withdrawn our attention from the situation of many of our worthy fellow countrymen who migrated to or invested their money in an attractive tropical dependency, then generally held to be United States territory, and who now feel that they have been abandoned by their Government as well as forgotten by their compatriots.

Whether or not we unreservedly endorse all the legal contentions put forth by these settlers and investors, we will readily sympathize with them in the unfortunate position of involuntary expatriation which they have been forced to assume. And we can scarcely refrain from encouraging any reasonable proposition that may be suggested for their relief.

The Isle of Pines lies off the southwest coast of Cuba and is alone more extensive than all the other thirteen hundred isles and islets strewn around the Cuban seaboard. Geographically, this island is no more a part of Cuba than the Danish Island of St. Thomas is a part of Porto Rico. The Isle of Pines is from thirty-eight to sixty miles from Cuba, according as the distance is measured to the inner or outer part of the bay of the larger island. In former times the Isle of Pines was not included in the Spanish Administration of Cuba. It is fair to say, therefore, that neither politically nor geographically is it a part of Cuba. Miles of sea separate them and nothing but the recent political status serves to connect them.

The area of the Isle of Pines is about one thousand square miles and its population about four thousand. This area is about equal to that of the State of Rhode Island with a population of 475,000. The island lies seven hundred and thirty miles north by west of Colon, the entrance to the Panama Canal; two hundred and thirty miles east of the nearest port of Yucatan, Mexico; three hundred and seventy miles northwest of Jamaica and three hundred and fifty miles from Tampa, Florida, *viâ* Batabano and Havana.

In general the surface of the Isle of Pines is a plateau of fifty to one hundred feet above the sea-level, broken by ridges of hills or cliffs that project abruptly above the general surface. The two mountain ridges at the northern end reach an elevation of about fifteen hundred feet and are composed of limestone and marble. The other ridges in the centre are much lower, less precipitous and formed of gray sandstone, red rock and gravel containing iron.

The climate of the Isle of Pines is traditionally the most salubrious of the Antilles. Yellow fever, which has repeatedly scourged Cuba, is there unknown. Even in the darkest days of Spanish control no epidemic ever visited its shores. Save for the narrow swamp of Lanier, which nearly divides the southern third into a separate body, the island is high and dry. Ninety per cent. of the land surface is adapted to the raising of the most valuable tropical products. Settlers from any part of the United States require no acclimatization.

The shallowness of the surrounding water has been described as a disadvantage, but the fact, as borne out by marine charts, shows a much deeper channel along the north shore of the island than on the opposite coast of Cuba.

Abundant supplies of the purest water are readily obtainable. The winds coming from the sea and passing over the pine forests are described as gentle and invigorating. The range of temperature between summer and winter rarely exceeds a mean of eleven degrees.

The mineral springs for which the island has a world-wide reputation, judged from official reports, are remarkable, especially in pulmonary, rheumatic and throat affections.

Already American citizens have improved thousands of acres of the fertile land of the interior, planting orange, grapefruit

and lemon groves and pineapple orchards, which are beginning to yield abundantly.

The island, located as it is with relation to the Caribbean Sea and the Gulf of Mexico, is of immense strategic importance to the United States. It is, in a sense, the key to both those bodies of water and would form an admirable outpost as a guard to the mouth of the Panama Canal. The Bay of Siguanea, opening from the western end of the Isle of Pines, is an extensive sheet of water fifteen miles in width by over twenty in length and contains a depth of from twenty-two to thirty-five feet. By dredging a short channel through the sand-bar to the north of Point Frances this bay will be available for vessels of deep draught, and contains several sites eminently suitable for coaling-stations. It could thus be made into a safe and commodious harbor large enough to float the navy of any nation, and of incalculable value to the United States in case of a foreign war threatening the security of the eastern outlet of the Panama Canal at Colon.

On the strength of assurances officially made by responsible officers of the United States Government ten or more years ago, nearly three thousand Americans have become interested as residents or property-owners in the Isle of Pines. At least nine-tenths of the land of the island is now owned by citizens of the United States under titles bought in good faith and paid for to the Cuban and Spanish owners. They have built their homes there, established churches, schools, banks, newspapers, transportation lines and all the adjuncts of American civilization. The conditions which have prevailed in the island for hundreds of years, under Spanish rule, would, with favorable conditions, be mitigated by American ownership. Our people show both a willingness and a capacity for developing its splendid resources, and they feel that they are entitled to encouragement by the maintenance of American sovereignty, instead of enduring prostration and loss through expatriation to an alien flag.

Our fellow citizens have spent their money in the purchase of farms, have moved their families thereto, built their homes, and endured all the discomforts of pioneering, with the distinct understanding, based on their interpretation of the language of the treaty and on official assurances from our Government, that they were entitled to, and would receive, the protection of the American flag. They now find themselves abandoned by their Gov-

ernment and subjected to the rule of foreigners whose history, traditions and policies are altogether different from any to which they have been accustomed.

It will be interesting to inquire how this unfortunate condition has come about.

Article II of the Treaty of Paris which terminated the war of 1898 between the United States and Spain contains these words:

"Spain cedes to the United States the Island of Porto Rico and other islands now under Spanish sovereignty in the West Indies."

The language here used is entirely different from that employed in the same treaty with reference to Cuba, which was that "Spain relinquishes all claim to sovereignty or title." The expression "other islands" was held by the United States Government to include the Isle of Pines. That such was the understanding of the American Commissioners who negotiated the treaty has been, it is stated, specifically admitted by at least two of the Commissioners, Senators Cushman K. Davis and William P. Frye. This is verified by the contention of a Spanish Commissioner at the time the treaty was negotiated, who said:

"They [the United States] did claim sovereignty over the latter [Porto Rico] and over the other islands surrounding Cuba, which will render impossible the independence of the latter, which will always have it at their mercy through their control over the island, which enclose it like a band of iron."

The contention of Cuba and of those who sustain her position is that the Isle of Pines was a part of Cuba and was not intended to be included in the "other islands" expressly ceded to the United States by the treaty with Spain.

This dispute as to the sovereignty of the island has never been adjusted between Cuba and the United States. The Government of Cuba, by the act of its creation through the law of Congress known as the Platt Amendment, was excluded from jurisdiction over the Isle of Pines by the following provision:

"VI. That the Isle of Pines shall be omitted from the proposed constitutional boundaries of Cuba, the title thereto being left to future adjustment by treaty."

As to what was meant by the "adjustment" of the jurisdiction we are left in doubt. Senator O. H. Platt, of Connecti-

cut, the author of this amendment, seems never to have intended a sale, surrender or relinquishment of jurisdiction, but made this provision for a final amicable settlement such as would be to the best interests of all concerned. In a letter dated November 5th, 1902, Mr. Platt said:

"I inserted a clause to the effect that the title should be subject of treaty negotiations. I feel that it is of the utmost importance that it shall be ours. It will give us the most advantageous point from which to defend the entrance of the Isthmian Canal. I supposed, when I provided that it should be the subject of treaty negotiations, that unless we could satisfy the Cuban Government that it passed to us in the Cession it would come to us by purchase, and that is still my belief."

After the Spanish War, President McKinley directed the United States Land Commissioner to place the Isle of Pines upon the official map as United States territory. This was done, and the map was issued with the approval of the Secretary of the Interior in 1899. These maps were so published until 1904, with the Isle of Pines plainly indicated thereon as United States territory, the same as Porto Rico and entirely different from Cuba. The maps were displayed upon the Isle of Pines and in every State in the Union. They were everywhere recognized as official and authentic. President McKinley in reply to an inquiry as to the status of the Isle of Pines made by Mr. Tichenor said: "There is no question about it; the Isle of Pines was ceded to the United States by Spain and it belongs to us."

In 1900 the Assistant Secretary of War, replying to inquiries as to the status of the island, said: "You are advised that the Isle of Pines was ceded by Spain to the United States. It is, therefore, a part of our territory." It is alleged on behalf of the settlers and investors from the United States that for a long period every department of our Government when called upon expressed the same opinion.

It seems to be well established that for several years at this period the United States Government was presenting an attractive picture to the people which was calculated to impress them with the conviction that the Isle of Pines was an inviting place of residence. Our Government has seldom prepared such alluring invitations to the American people for colonizing any of its possessions, even on the Western frontier. We have made no other such a propaganda.

Later, however, and under another national administration, a treaty was made between the United States and Cuba by which for certain considerations we surrendered the Isle of Pines, so far as the executive authorities were authorized to do so. This treaty failed of confirmation by the Senate and expired by limitation.

Another treaty signed March 2nd, 1904, for the adjustment of the title to the jurisdiction of the Isle of Pines contained these stipulations:

"Article I. The United States of America relinquishes in favor of the Republic of Cuba all title and claim to the Island of Pines situated in the Caribbean Sea near the southwestern part of the Island of Cuba, which has been or may be made in virtue of Articles I and II of the Treaty of Peace between the United States and Spain signed at Paris, December 10th, 1898."

Article III provides that Americans in the Isle of Pines shall "be subject to such laws as are applicable to other foreigners."

This treaty was made indefinite as to period of ratification and is still pending before the Senate of the United States. When the treaty was under negotiation at Havana it is claimed, on behalf of the American settlers and investors in the Isle of Pines, that they were assured the treaty would contain several provisions safeguarding American interests. These provisions related to the establishment of a satisfactory form of insular government; special judicial tribunals; the opening of a port of entry on the island; the opening of land records; and the establishment of an American school. None of these stipulations appear in the treaty, but Americans are classed with "other foreigners." The failure to incorporate them has stimulated a loud complaint, on the part of Americans interested, that they have been totally abandoned by their Government.

This treaty was referred by the Senate to its Committee on Foreign Relations, which, on February 1st, 1906, made a majority report submitted by Senator Foraker of Ohio recommending the ratification of the treaty, and a minority report submitted by Senator Morgan of Alabama strongly protesting against such ratification. Both the majority and the minority reports, with the exhibits pertaining thereto, were printed in a volume of 277 pages as Senate Document No. 205, Fifty-ninth Congress, first session. This document contains all the arguments and claims put forth on both sides of the question, as well as a vast amount

of valuable information concerning the island, its history, resources, etc.

Mr. Foraker's report sustained the contention of the Cubans that the island is and ought to be a part of their territory and subject to their jurisdiction.

Mr. Morgan's report strongly maintains the opposite of this conclusion; endorses the claim of the Americans in the Isle of Pines that they of right ought to be under the jurisdiction of the Government of the United States, and that to abandon them to Cuba against their will is a gross injustice. One of the propositions of Senator Morgan's very able report is thus stated:

> "If the United States has no title to the Isle of Pines it cannot have a lawful claim of title under the Platt Amendment, which can be surrendered for a consideration, and that part of the treaty should be stricken from the text; or, if it has a title to the Isle of Pines, the President and the Senate cannot sell the island to Cuba—that can only be done by act of Congress."

The Morgan report further alleges that the Isle of Pines was never an integral part or a province of Cuba, but only a municipal appendage of one province and a judicial appendage of another one. It contends that "if the United States, as sovereign, should cede or sell the title to the Isle of Pines to Cuba, it will thereby create an ownership in the Republic of Cuba that never existed in Cuba as a Spanish department, and a title that is derived solely from the political sovereignty of the United States."

The strong presentation of the case for the American residents of the island in Senator Morgan's minority report has sufficed to prevent the ratification of the treaty for more than three years, and the prospects for its future ratification seem very doubtful. Meantime, however, the island has been turned over to the Cuban Government, which now exercises jurisdiction over citizens of the United States, who went there supposing it to be American territory, and over property rights, which cover all of value there.

The present contention of the Americans is that inasmuch as the Platt Amendment and the Cuban constitution leave it open to adjustment, there is no more reason why Cuba should have possession of the island pending that adjustment than the United States. Furthermore, they assert that, having settled in the Isle of Pines under assurances of President McKinley and the heads of departments of the United States Government, they are en-

titled to fair consideration on the equities of the case regardless of strict legal technicalities.

The present situation on the island is thus seen to be eminently unsatisfactory. The Americans, having invested and settled there under a misapprehension, to say the least, of the intentions of the United States Government as to title and jurisdiction, are naturally very restless over the condition in which they find themselves. Manifestly it is the plain duty of our Government to assist them in every practicable and reasonable way.

It is hoped that some form of compromise may be devised whereby the interests of our people in the Isle of Pines may be adequately protected, whereby the jurisdiction over the island may be settled according to their understanding of the original intention, while at the same time the Government of Cuba, which is our ward and protégé, may be spared any unnecessary humiliation through even an appearance of injustice to them. Senator Morgan said, in his report: "These people were certainly misled by their confidence in the justice of their Government that it would maintain the clear meaning of the Platt Amendment and the Treaty of Paris." Hon. Elihu Root, now Senator from New York, who was Secretary of War in 1903, and who later, as Secretary of State, negotiated the treaty which is now pending, wrote December 18th, 1903, as follows:

> "I think that the Americans who settled in the island could not be expected to know whether it was a part of the duty of an Assistant Secretary of War to decide or make representations about the title of the island, and that they have a strong equitable claim to have our Government take special pains to see that their rights are protected."

The equities of the Americans who removed to and invested in the Isle of Pines are thus officially recognized. Every reasonable man must acknowledge the force of this recognition, and American public sentiment would undoubtedly sustain the present Administration in taking any proper measures for their protection and relief. This Government cannot afford to rest under the imputation of having abandoned its enterprising citizens, who, relying on what they supposed were authentic official assurances, illustrated the American spirit of enterprise by embarking in schemes which looked to the development and settlement of United States territory.

M. E. Clapp.

THE ANOMALOUS POSITION OF THE UNMARRIED WOMAN.

BY CAROLYN SHIPMAN.

In Mr. Henry James' novel "The Golden Bowl," the Prince says to Charlotte Stant:

"'I've been thinking it all the while so probable, you know, that you would have seen your way to marrying—some good, kind, clever, rich American.'

"'I tried every one I came across,' was her reply. 'No one would have me. . . . Existence, you know, all the same, doesn't depend on that. I mean,' she smiled, 'on having caught a husband.'

"'Oh—existence!' the Prince vaguely commented.

"'You think I ought to argue for more than mere existence?' she asked. 'I don't see why *my* existence—even reduced as much as you like to being merely mine—should be so impossible. There are things, of sorts, I should be able to have—things I should be able to be. The position of a single woman to-day is very favorable, you know.'

"'Favorable to what?'

"'Why, just *to* existence—which may contain, after all, in one way and another, so much. It may contain, at the worst, even affections; affections, in fact, quite particularly; fixed, that is, on one's friends. . . .'

"To which the Prince replied, in summing the matter up: 'My dear friend, it's always a question of doing the best for one's self one can—without injury to others. . . . I venture, therefore, to repeat my hope that you'll marry some capital fellow; and also to repeat my belief that such a marriage will be more favorable to you, as you call it, than even the spirit of the age.'"

Such, in general and in brief, is the attitude of the world towards the unmarried woman. From her point of view, existence does not necessarily depend upon marriage; from the world's, and that of her friends, it should so depend, in order that she may "do the best for herself," or "fulfil her destiny," or "have some one to protect her," as the case may be. She is reasoned with, urged, and even ominously warned of the time, fast ap-

proaching, when her charms will fade, and she will be passed by of men for lineaments more youthful and attractions less mature. She is told that it were better to marry without the romantic love hoped for when she was younger, than not to marry at all; better to wed "solid respectability and sterling worth," and so acquire an acknowledged position in the social fabric, than to eat her heart out in waiting for an ideal.

Not only is she reasoned with and cajoled, but she is also tricked into meeting possible *partis*. She is put on the defensive by comments (as a rule made by married women) skilfully conveyed by these same solicitous friends: "Why, do you suppose, such an attractive woman has never married? She would make an admirable wife." And she wisely curbs her desire to reply in a manner not altogether complimentary to the husbands of the speculative ladies.

There is no doubt that the widened sphere of opportunity for American women furnishes the single woman with a position "very favorable to existence," as Charlotte Stant put it. She has freedom to work, no responsibility of household duties and children, her own money if she earns her living, the delights of travel —in short, she can live her own life to the limit of ambition, and develop all of her latent powers. A pleasant picture, surely, and one to tempt aspiring womanhood. The charm of a latch-key and the independence it implies, the comfort of one's club or a cozy apartment, the pleasure of mingling with men and women on a plane of business equality, and the accompanying contact with the world which is denied to the "protected woman," are considerations not to be lightly dismissed. Such experiences inoculate the blood, and the fever appears again at intervals even after that life has been left behind.

Such is the "spirit of the age," as the Prince expressed it. What is the reverse side of the medal?

Let us leave out of consideration the unemployed single women occupied only with "affections quite particularly fixed on their friends," or waiting for marriage as most idle unmarried women secretly are, and speak only of the employed. Perhaps the greatest number of employed single women are engaged in teaching; therefore a teacher's life may be regarded as typical.

In a small town a teacher has little pay, with corresponding low cost of living, hard work, very little leisure, no theatres or

concerts worth considering if she knows the best, few temptations to spend money, but a position as a social being (not a teacher) if education is held in repute in the town. This advantage depends for its value on the personnel of the society. If the "high school" or "academy" is regarded as a centre, the town is likely to contain some people worth knowing; otherwise the woman is thrown on her own resources and is regarded merely as "a teacher"—*i.e.*, a machine for pumping knowledge into children.

A teacher in a public school of a large city has practically no social position *per se*. Whatever life she has outside of her work is created by her own efforts, and for these she has little leisure. A private-school teacher in a large city may be well paid, but she works hard, has little time to herself because of outside duties; and, if she has no social connection with the city through friends, when she is invited out, it is as "Julia's teacher," to discuss with Julia's parents over the dinner-table Julia's progress in history or what not. Other social occasions (aside from her intercourse with fellow teachers and pupils) are school receptions, when Julia's parents are present to ask her how she likes teaching.

A college teacher's fate is more enviable; but here again the work is very hard, and the great disadvantage is the constant feminine atmosphere, only relieved to a slight degree by the masculine presence, and that, possibly, not of one's choosing. Presidents, deans, and women of similar educational positions have more power and influence, in proportion as they are fewer in number, and consequent increase of social attachment.

On the whole, however, the average teacher's life is one of social detachment, hard, nerve-exhausting, and little appreciated by those to whom her services are given—and, moreover, poorly, often wretchedly, paid.

Perhaps the most enviable career for a single woman is the life of a successful writer, editor, or productive (not studying) artist—*e.g.*, singer or painter, in a city. Such a woman has the advantage of congenial work and friends, a large enough bank account for a home and travel, for theatre and concerts. During the most marriageable age—from twenty-five to thirty years—the zest for work and advancement is so great that other thoughts are likely to be crowded out. The joy of living is apparently at its height.

But, after the thirtieth year is passed, when ambition has been to a large extent gratified, and the appetite for freedom is sated; when her position is secure, and her work routine; when her women friends marry one by one and she is left alone, there comes a time when she grows introspective. "What is the aim of it all? For what and for whom am I living?" she asks herself. Then, no matter how many friends she has, a great loneliness settles down upon her—sometimes so oppressive as almost to cause physical heartache—and she feels her detachment from the general scheme of things.

Particularly is this true on holidays and summer Sundays, if she is forced to be in town. Her married friends have their Christmas plans involving families. She may be—she probably is—invited to join them, but she is an outsider. If she has a woman friend similarly placed, they perhaps dine together and go to the play on Christmas, but she realizes that they are two lonely women trying to keep up a brave front. "Holidays are soon over," you may reason. Yes, but they return, and there is always an undercurrent of that haunting loneliness ready to spring up unexpectedly in a woman's heart. Nothing is more painful or hard to bear for a sensitive woman than the kind of loneliness that may overtake her at any turn if she is living a detached life. Married women with family cares or "protected" women with too much leisure often envy the independent life of the self-supporting woman. But they see only the pleasant side. There is another; and the envied one would, more often than most people know, exchange lots with the envier. After a woman has passed her thirtieth year, she is very likely to tire of independence and to wish for guidance and advice. The argument that she is "as free as a man" has been satisfactorily proved to be sophistry. She learns that she is half man and half woman, deprived of the advantages of a wife, with the burdens of a man, but not his privileges. For example, if she is restless and lonely at night, she cannot go to the play in solitary fashion, like a man; she might do so in Boston, but she could not in New York and feel quite comfortable, if she were young. She must sit at home and try to divert her mind if no companionship is available. She has not even man's solace of a cigar and a stroll. Propriety forbids solitary walks for ladies after dark!

This matter of independence for a woman who has always known

it is a vital one in marriage, and not to be trippingly disposed of. It looms large when all the connotations of the word are considered: independence in conduct, thought, time and money. Probably only women unhappily married would wish as fervently as Diana of the Crossways for "freedom to breathe, gaze, climb, grow with the grasses, fly with the clouds, to muse, to sing, to be an unclaimed self." Not every woman has her jealous, exacting husband. But even so, the wish to be "an unclaimed self" unconsciously asserts itself at times; the occasional tendency to eat our cake and try to keep it is manifest in us all. Independence is the single woman's greatest boon, and that very possession helps to detach her from the social fabric.

The implied ingenuousness of the unmarried woman may become a source of irritation. The world assumes much the same attitude towards her that some mothers take towards their five-year-old children: they adjudge them too inexperienced to have observed life, forgetting their own early years, when deep impressions gave instinctive knowledge. Because a woman is unmarried, the world treats her like a veritable *ingénue;* no matter how much experience and observation of life she has had, her intuition and imagination and reason count for nothing against the claims of a chit of twenty summers just fresh from her marriage vows, who can "chaperon" her, forsooth! This state of things would be annoying were it not so laughable! It becomes a real disadvantage when used as an argument to prevent a woman from living alone. What age must an unmarried woman have reached before Society will allow her to chaperon herself?

Anthony Trollope's view of women expressed on the occasion of Eleanor Bold's marriage to Mr. Arabin, that they are clinging vines which creep along the earth until they find a tower up which to climb, is an obsolete metaphor. Especially is this supineness untrue in the twentieth century. Women are not only free, but able to stand alone. The strongest, most intellectual woman, however, needs companionship and the love of one particular individual. The classic example is George Eliot, whose "mind of a man" was housed in a woman's body pathetically dependent upon protection and love. This fact satisfactorily explains the reason for her marriage to Mr. Cross. If she had been less feminine, her last days would have been spent in mourning her lost companion.

Miss Repplier, in her admirable defence of the Spinster, asks:

"What if she is not in the least wistful, and never casts longing looks at her sister-in-law's babies, nor strains them passionately to her heart, nor deems it a privilege to nurse her nephews through whooping-cough and measles, nor offers herself in any fashion as a holocaust upon other people's domestic altars? What if, holding her life in her two hands, and knowing it to be her only real possession, she disposes of it in the way she feels will give her most content, swimming smoothly in the stream of her own nature, and clearly aware that happiness lies in the development of her individual tastes and acquirements? . . . Marriage is a delightful thing; but it is not, and never can be, a duty."

True! But the woman who does not at some time of her life think of marriage as a possibility or a desideratum is either too masculine for such a desire (*i.e.*, abnormal), too confirmed a spinster in her fastidiousness or habits of single life, or is in the enjoyment of a career artistic, literary or otherwise professional which is sufficiently productive of satisfaction to compensate for the lack of married companionship. Probably, if the truth were confessed, the majority of unmarried women over thirty years of age have the normal desire to be married. A genius, like Rosa Bonheur, may live a life apart in an altitude of creation and contemplation, where human companionship is unnecessary except at intervals; but it is the exceptional woman who does not secretly cherish the hope or expectation of marriage. Even the most unlikely entertains the idea.

The maternal instinct is the motive power for marriage with most women, and many unmarried women even long for children without the necessity of a husband! The world is inclined to think a wife's existence unjustified if she has no progeny, like the old man who looked at Mrs. Carlyle in astonishment upon her confession that she was childless, and exclaimed, "What have you been doing all these years?"

The desire of the average educated woman who marries in these days is for companionship. Miss Repplier lays too much stress upon maternity, which is only incidental in such a marriage. There are interests, emotions, obligations, and ambitions unconnected with the rearing of children, as she protests. But matrimony does not necessarily imply the rearing of children, despite the misleading and officious pronunciamento of the author of the phrase "race suicide." By whose dictum does a woman "owe it

to the race" to have children if she does not desire them? She did not ask to be brought into the world, neither did her arrival imply a contract to bear children as likely to be unthankful as thankful for "the boon of life." If the law of the survival of the fittest is not to become utterly extinct, the supply of unwelcome children should be lessened, for the antagonism of the parents will surely crop out in the progeny in some mental or moral twist.

There is a well-worn truism suggesting sour grapes: Riches do not bring happiness. The irritated reply to such pseudo-philosophy might be: No, but they help to soften sorrow and relieve unhappiness as poverty does not. Better to be unhappy and rich than unhappy and poor.

So with marriage. To the average person, life is a gamble at best, and marriage a lottery; but the calculation of chances favors greater happiness to the married than to the unmarried woman, because of the possibility of completer, fuller life. Hume left money to be spent on masses for his soul, agnostic that he was, on the chance that the Catholic religion might prove to be the true one. In the same manner a woman past forty years of age who has never been in love, might better take the chances with a man whom she can respect and who is her equal in refinement and social position, and is congenial to her, than never to marry at all. It is safe to say that no woman meets her "ideal." He is a creature of moonbeams and sawdust constructed by youthful fancy. But she should look for certain traits in a man—courage, honor, sincerity, generosity, tenderness, sympathy—above all, loyalty, which are good to live with day after day and day after day, "for richer, for poorer, in sickness and in health"—qualities which endure and command respect and form the only true foundation for lasting love, when the passion of youth and early love is spent.

I might quote Tennyson's "Princess," but I will not! Neither will I mention Woman's Sphere. My brief is for companionship, for married *camaraderie*. The plea is not sentimental; it is social, practical, even precautionary, like taking out an insurance policy against certain death! Women are bound to have unhappiness in whatever their sphere. Why not have some one to share it, a congenial travelling companion with whom to work and play, to be sad or gay? "To hold back the hand from the rose

because of the thorn" is to miss the exhilaration of an adventure which is just as likely to be successful as the opposite. The woman who hesitates is left behind.

But, some one argues, suppose the women willing to marry. Where are the men? In one small Eastern town of which I know, of the twenty-five hundred souls, sixty are women far past the marriageable age, and there are numbers of marriageable girls. In New England the proportion of single women is even more discouraging. Whom shall they marry? The number of eligible men decreases as women advance in age—no woman of forty wants a crusty old bachelor of fifty, and the men most attractive to women are already married.

The average man will not ask a woman in marriage unless he can support her in the manner to which she is accustomed. With the increasing cost of living, the problem grows in seriousness. The material side of marriage is so emphasized that the question now asked when a woman marries is not, "What is her husband's character? Is he honorable, courageous, generous, loyal, worthy to be the father of children?" The question is, How much money is he worth? Yet there exist fine women who would "scrub the floor for him" if they could find the right man, as I recently heard a woman say who lives in independent ease. Doubtless there are many Dianas of the Crossways whose Thomas Redworths would not need to let the world go wrong for fear of lack of money. But the Redworth type of man has fixed ideas of what is due to a woman and he is difficult to convince.

Where lies the trouble? Perhaps in education and the present over-emphasis of money. Any system of education for women is defective which ignores wifehood and motherhood—nay, which does not tacitly have these ends in view. Not that women are incapable of other things, but that in the long run they will presumptively find their truest, completest happiness in the married state. I contend that the woman who is not a vital part of the social organism and the centre of a home revolving around her, occupies an anomalous position. She is part of a world, social or economic, a world of theories and abstract principles, but not of *the* world of life-giving forces, the world of actual creation of which the family (the foundation of the state) is the unit. She is like the fringe of a shawl, which is not the texture; belonging to it as an accompaniment, but not necessary.

"But some one must teach," we hear. "Some one must perform the duties now accomplished by wage-earning women. Who would be left to work if all women became wives and mothers?"

Who did the work before women entered the field in such numbers? Was there not then as much sound and profitable education as now? Why this sudden necessity for women to earn money when heretofore the fathers and brothers and husbands supported them? How much happier are the restless women of the present day than their grandmothers and great-grandmothers who did not compete with men along industrial lines? How much finer, more unselfish and more lovable men and women are we producing as the result of this social and economic restlessness? It is well for every woman to be able to earn her own living, but do we not carry it too far?

The question is merely of the greatest final happiness and good. No one will deny that we all desire happiness. What will be the ultimate end if the education of women tends to make them unmarried wage-earners, and if money is to be the chief requisite for marriage? A society of spinsters and clubmen, and the "race-suicide" theory disproved (as it now is) by the very class of people least fitted to perpetuate their species, the ignorant and vicious, and with such zeal as to furnish occupation for all time to innumerable and increasing "social settlements"!

CAROLYN SHIPMAN.

THE BRUSSELS SUGAR CONVENTION.

BY BENJAMIN TAYLOR.

THE tariff movement in the United States and the negotiations for a reciprocal treaty between Canada and the West Indies make it desirable to consider what the Brussels Convention really is, and what it has done in especial for British colonies and British industries. In some quarters the fallacy has been current that the British sugar duty and the Brussels Convention combined to raise the price of sugar on the inevitable "poor man." The British duty and the Convention have nothing whatever to do with each other, and the only effect the Convention has had on prices has been to bring them to the level of economic conditions which they had not under the bounties.

Even the most ardent Free Traders had to confess that Protection did make the beet-sugar industry of Germany. After the Franco-German War, as an immense army had to be maintained and emigration had to be checked, home employment in Germany had to be found for the largest possible population in order to supply soldiers. The cultivation of beet-root for sugar furnished a large source of employment, and it became a matter of Imperial policy to encourage this industry. It was soon found to be very profitable, and rapidly advanced and outgrew the home requirements. Then the system of granting drawbacks on exported sugar provided a fresh source of profit, which formed the bounty. A similar arrangement was adopted in Austria-Hungary, and in both countries Protection permitted the formation of *kartels,* which allowed the sugar manufacturers and refiners to charge prices at home that insured handsome profits and led to still further expansions of the sugar industry. In Russia, which was not a first party to the Brussels Convention, a system of indirect bounties prevailed which encouraged the production and exportation of sugar to non-Convention countries.

The gains from the bounties enabled the Continental beet-sugar exporters always to undersell cane-sugar, which finally could not obtain a price to cover the cost of production, no matter how much the planter might economize. The weakest went to the wall first, some cane-planters with means held on longer, but all backward properties were abandoned and only those which were well situated and well equipped continued in the race. In Java, sugar plantations have always been well equipped and they are worked on strictly scientific lines, with the advantages of an abundance of cheap labor, so that cane-sugar is produced there more cheaply, probably, than anywhere else; but even in Java it was at one time seriously debated whether the industry would not have to be abandoned. The result of the bounty system was that no cane-planter could develop his estate or improve his machinery, no new plantations were made, and no one would put money into a cane-sugar scheme in a British Crown Colony. Therefore, orders for sugar machinery dwindled away almost to the vanishing-point. During the period 1900 to 1902, the output of those engineers in Great Britain who engage in this class of work was not more than one-fourth of that of former normal years.

The German Sugar-makers' Associations frankly rejoiced that Colonial cane-planters were being driven off the field, that their capital was gone, their credit exhausted, and that a continuance of low prices would ultimately complete their ruin. The policy of the Continental beet-sugar makers was to keep down prices until cane-sugar competition would be forced out; beet would then control the markets of the whole world. The Brussels Conference, however, upset that policy. The Convention abolished the State Bounties and diminished protection to an amount that prohibited *kartels*. The Continental beet-sugar manufacturers have now no artificial stimulus to overproduction, and have to be content with supplying their share of the world's demands at prices fixed by open competition regulated by the production year by year of the whole sugar world.

The United Kingdom was the only country in which the bounties upon Continental sugar were of service to the producers in marketing their produce. The West-Indian Colonies received no bounties and were placed at a great disadvantage in all markets—except the United States, where bounty-fed sugar

was countervailed. In the British markets these Colonies are at a geographical disadvantage as compared with the Continental beet producers. The serious condition of these colonies was thus noted in the report of the West India Royal Commission:

"Dealing broadly with the whole question, we may say at once that, looking to the low prices now prevailing and to the probabilities as to the future of prices, the sugar-cane industry of the West Indies is threatened with such reduction in the immediate future as may not in some of the Colonies differ very greatly from extinction, and must seriously affect all of them, with the single exception of Grenada, which no longer produces sugar for export."

The Commissioners further gave it as their opinion that,

"The benefit which the British Empire as a whole derives from any lowering of the price of sugar, due to the operation of the bounty system, is too dearly purchased by the injury which that system imposes on a limited class, namely, Your Majesty's West-Indian and other subjects dependent on the sugar industry."

Some Free Traders would do nothing to abolish bounties, on the erroneous assumption that the abolition of them would deprive consumers in Great Britain of the benefit of "cheap sugar." The late Lord Farrer, when chairman of the Cobden Club (in 1897), however, said:

"Upon that point [sugar bounties] we, as Free-Traders, must walk warily. We must admit to the fullest degree that sugar bounties are an abomination and we must not, because they make sugar a little cheaper in this country, say they ought to be continued."

And as to the claim that the bounties had been a great boon to this country, bad as they had been for British colonies, Sir Neville Lubbock said:

"No evidence is vouchsafed in support of this assertion, and I venture to say that, if an impartial estimate were made and a balance struck between the losses inflicted on this country by the collapse of its sugar and allied industries, on the one hand, and the gain accruing to our consumers from any lowering of the price of sugar which may legitimately be traced to the operation of the bounty system, on the other hand, it would be found that this country stands to gain very largely by the abolition of that system."

The removal of the bounties led to the disappearance of the divergent scale of European prices, and actually increased the

demand for sugar. The total abolition of burdens and a freed consumption have given the producers better results than any derived from the old system. The British consumer has to pay no more for his sugar than *its true economic value.* And there has been renewed prosperity of the home and Colonial trade.

It is necessary to recall that the Brussels Conference of 1898 was fruitless as regards its main purpose, though it found that the majority of the bounty-giving nations were willing to throw off the burden; but France and Russia then barred the way to an agreement by reserving from discussion their internal legislation which conferred an indirect bounty on exportation. The French expressed willingness to abolish the direct bounty granted in 1897, but refused to discuss the indirect bounty, which was three times as large. The Russian Government at that time had no intention of altering its external legislation. All efforts at a compromise were therefore unsuccessful. In October, 1900, however, a preliminary agreement was concluded between Germany, Austria-Hungary and France, with the object of paving the way for further negotiations. France was by this time willing to give up her export bounty and one-half of her indirect bounty, on condition that Germany and Austria-Hungary would give up all their bounties.

The material difference between the latest Brussels Conference and the first (1888) International Conference at London may be briefly indicated. At the London Conference of 1888 all the bounty-giving Powers met for the purpose of discussing the best means for the abolition of sugar bounties. The object of the British Government of that day was to endeavor to bring about a mutual agreement by which this vexed question should find a practical solution. The result of that Conference was the signature of a Convention by the representatives of Great Britain and the bounty-giving Powers, containing a penal clause by which, after a ceratin date, the signatories—with the exception of France and (with certain reservations) Austria—agreed to exclude bounty-fed sugar, either by absolute prohibition or by countervailing duties levied upon it. The necessary Bill was prepared, and introduced by the present Lord Pirbright into the House of Commons; but, owing to the opposition of certain members of the Gladstonian party, the measure was dropped.

Fourteen years afterwards a Convention was signed at the

third Conference at Brussels, on March 5th, 1902, which Convention is now in existence.

The high contracting parties therein undertook to suppress all direct and indirect bounties by which the production or export of sugar would benefit, and not to establish any bounties of the kind during the whole duration of the Convention. This applies to all advantages resulting directly or indirectly, for the several categories of producers, from the fiscal legislation of the contracting States, including the direct bonuses granted to exports, the direct bonuses granted to production, total or partial exemptions from taxation granted for a part of the manufactured output, profits derived from the surplusages of output, profits derived from exaggeration of the drawback, and advantages derived from any surtax in excess of the rate fixed by article four. The second article deals with arrangements for the surveillance of factories. In article three, the contracting parties undertook to limit the surtax to a maximum of 6 francs per 100 kilogrammes for refined sugar, and to a maximum of 5 francs 59 centimes for other sugars. The surtax is the difference between the rate of duty or taxation to which foreign sugars are subject and that imposed on the home product. The provisions of this article do not apply to the rates of import duties in the case of countries that do not produce sugar and, therefore, not to Great Britain. By article four the contracting parties agreed to impose a special duty on imports into their respective territories of sugars from countries that grant bounties either for production or export. This duty is not to be less than the amount of the bounties, direct or indirect, granted in the country of origin; and the Powers reserved liberty to prohibit altogether the importation of bountied sugars. Article five provided that cane and beet sugars ought not to be subjected to different rates of duty. By article six, Spain, Italy and Sweden were freed from the obligation imposed in article one, as far as producing countries are concerned, as well as from the undertakings embodied in articles three and four, as long as they do not export sugar. Article seven provided for the establishment of a permanent International Commission of Surveillance to sit at Brussels. This Commission exercises a general control, settles any litigious questions that arise, and decides as to the admission of States that did not take part in the original Confer-

ence. In article eight the high contracting parties undertook to prevent bounty-fed sugars, which have passed in transit through a contracting country, from enjoying the advantages of the Convention in the market to which they are being forwarded. According to article nine, States which have taken no part in the Convention may be admitted to adhere to it at their request, and after giving notice in conformity to the permanent International Commission. By article ten the Convention came into force on September 1st, 1903, to remain valid for five years from that date; and in the case of any of the high contracting parties not having given notice, twelve months before the expiration of five years, of its intention of ceasing to abide by it, it will continue to remain in force for a year thereafter, and in the same way from year to year. In the event of one of the contracting Powers denouncing the Convention, this denunciation will only have effect on that Power. The other Powers retain, until October 31st of the year in which the denunciation is made, the right of announcing their intention of withdrawing on September 1st of the succeeding year. If more than one Power desires to withdraw, a conference of the Powers shall meet at Brussels within three months to decide upon the course to be taken. By article eleven the provisions of the Convention apply to oversea provinces, colonies and foreign possessions of the contracting parties, with the exception of the British and Dutch colonies and possessions, regarding which declarations were inserted in a final protocol.

The concluding protocol of the Convention runs as follows:

"On the point of proceeding to the signature of the Sugar Convention concluded this day between the Governments of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Spain, France, Great Britain, Italy, Netherlands and Sweden, the undersigned plenipotentiaries are agreed as follows: As regards Article III, seeing that the object of surtax is an efficacious protection of the market of each producing country, the high contracting parties reserve to themselves the right to propose an increase of the surtax should considerable quantities of sugar from one of the contracting States find their way into their own territories. This increase would only apply to sugars coming from that State. Such a proposal must be addressed to the Commission provided for in Article VII, which will decide whether they are good enough for the proposed measure as to the period for which it shall be enforced, and on the extent of the increase, the latter shall not exceed one franc per 100 kilogrammes. The assent of the Commission shall only be given when

invasion of the market in question is the consequence of an actual inferiority and not the result of a fractious increase in price, brought about by an agreement between producers. As regards Article XI, (1) the Government of Great Britain declared that no bounty, direct or indirect, shall be granted to sugars from Crown Colonies during the duration of the Convention; (2) it also declared as an exceptional measure, and reserving in principle entire liberty of action as regards fiscal relations between the United Kingdom and its colonies and possessions, that during the duration of the Convention no preference will be granted in the United Kingdom to colonial sugars as against foreign; and (3) it finally declared that the Convention shall, by its intermediation, be submitted to the self-governing colonies and East Indies, so that they may have an opportunity of giving their adhesion to it. It is understood that the British Government has power to adhere to the Convention on behalf of Crown Colonies. The Government of the Netherlands declares that for one duration of the Convention no bounty, direct or indirect, shall be granted sugars from Dutch Colonies, and that such sugars shall not be admitted into the Netherlands at lower tariff than that applied to sugars from any of the contracting countries."

This Convention, then, provided a method of abolishing bounties by international agreement, which the Legislatures of the several countries concerned duly ratified. The Convention did not come into force until September, 1903, because the sugar year extends from September 1st to August 31st; and, as a large part of the business in sugar is done on forward contracts, these contracts would be largely conditioned by the sowings and arrangements of 1902-3. The beet farmers and manufacturers of the Continent were allowed time to adjust themselves to the new conditions.

An objection was urged on account of the stipulation in the protocol that Great Britain shall give no preferential treatment to the sugar of her colonies during the duration of the Convention; but cane-sugar in the tropics, under vigorous and scientific management, can be produced more cheaply than beet-sugar in Europe. Under the Convention, Britain cannot differentiate in favor of colonial sugar. The only course for the Colonies was to waken up, and, by the aid of fresh capital, to improve and cheapen the cost and increase the bulk of production. It was suggested that the limitations of the Convention to five years would prove a discouragement to the investment of capital in the West Indies. This has not been so, and the Convention can only terminate by all the parties denouncing it.

From an industrial point of view the Convention has been of the highest importance to Great Britain. There has been no ground for the fears of those who thought or said that the abolition of the bounties would make sugar so dear as to injure her jam, confectionery and biscuit industries. These industries stand on their merits. They produce what were once luxuries, but are now ranked among the necessaries of life to the middle and working classes. Sugar has not been made "dear" in an economic sense, and the sugar-consuming industries are in effect protected from foreign competition by the high duties imposed on the consumption of sugar on the Continent.

The effect of the Convention was to make it more convenient for the Continental beet-sugar manufacturers to export raw, rather than refined, sugar. Thus resulted the revival of the British refining industry, previously decadent. Under the adverse influence of the bounties, sugar-refining fell off very seriously in Great Britain; the imports of raw sugar declined and those of refined sugar increased. But there has been an increase in the imports and deliveries of raw sugar since the Convention year.

There was an enormous increase in refined sugar under the bounties up to 1900-02, then a sharp decline after the Convention year. Britain has not consumed less refined sugar since 1903, but she has refined more herself, to the advantage of British labor. One may search the statistics in vain for any evidence in support of the complaint of confectionery and aerated-water manufacturers that the Convention has hurt their export trade: and one can certainly find no indication of any falling off in the domestic consumption of these products.

Although in the countries (Britain excepted) which are parties to the Convention beet-sugar still enjoys some protection, it amounts to only forty-two shillings per ton. West-Indian cane-sugar is not protected, and in competition with European countries it has to bear this handicap of about one farthing per pound. But, even with this disadvantage, the conditions secured by the Convention for the cane-sugar growers wrere practically those of Free Trade, and their effects were very soon made apparent by the increasing orders given out from the Colonies for improved machinery for cane-sugar making.

The usual estimate of annual outlay on machinery by cane-planters was one pound, sterling, per ton of sugar produced.

For the British West Indies alone this would represent about £250,000 per annum, and for the whole cane-sugar industry it would represent several millions per annum. British engineers have never, of course, had all this machinery trade to themselves. The French have always had some proportion of it; and, latterly, American, Dutch and German engineers have sought and obtained some share (although their home markets are securely protected against foreign sugar machinery). But, wherever cane-sugar is made, the work of British engineers is to be found, and it still preserves its high reputation. The proximity of Cuba to the United States favored cheap freights for American machinery, tariff arrangements give it an advantage of two and one-half per-cent., and financial combinations ensure for it a further preference. Nevertheless, Great Britain has benefited even in Cuba during the few years the Brussels Convention has been in operation.

Although cane-planters on the verge of bankruptcy could not instantly renovate their plant, their machinery requirements have steadily increased since 1902, and British engineers have been employing double and treble the number of men they employed for ten years previous to that date. But on the threatened abandonment, two years ago, of the Brussels Convention various schemes were arrested, and so British enterprise was once more checked and the employment for British workers was again menaced.

The future development of the sugar products of the world to meet the ever-increasing demand (at the rate of about four per cent. per annum) is more likely to be in cane than in beet, because the former costs really less to produce. But if the Brussels Convention terminated and the bounty system were revived, the cane-sugar industry would again diminish, if not disappear, and with it sugar-refining, sugar-machinery manufacture and the other allied trades, in Great Britain. In these days, when the question of lack of employment is an open one and the Labor vote is abroad, it is an important consideration how the bounty system is, after all, a matter which directly affects the welfare of the Mother Country, and especially its working-men, as well as that of the sugar Colonies.

A number of the small West India proprietors who had intended to improve their plants decided not to do anything until they knew what would happen as to the Convention in September,

1908. One who visited the West-Indian islands, and conversed with the bulk of the cane-sugar growers there, found that, whilst they were prepared to consider schemes for the improvement of their properties, so as to enable them to exist by producing sugar at prices which would compete with beet-root sugar in the British market, they were not prepared to make any fresh expenditure so long as there was any possibility of the Brussels Convention being denounced. The feeling was that, if they have again to compete against bounty-fed sugar in the British market, they must grow cotton or fruit, if possible, as it will certainly not pay to continue to grow sugar.

As to prices in bounty days and prices since the Convention, the following are the old tariff average prices of beet-root, granulated and cane-sugar for the eight years 1896-1903, and the tariff average prices for 1904-1906:

	88 Per cent. Beet-root.	First marks granulated.	Cane-sugar.
	s. d.	*s. d.*	*s. d.*
1896	10 6	12 3	12 7
1897	8 9	10 7	10 10
1898	9 7	11 4	11 6
1899	10	11 6	12 1
1900	10 7	12 1½	13 6
1901	8 7	10 5	11 3
1902	6 8	8 1	8
1903	8 3¼	9 8½	9 10½
1904	9 9	11 7	11 1½
1905	11 6½	13 7¼	12 10
1906	8 7½	10 8½	9 9

The advance in prices in 1903 was due to short crops of beet on the Continent, owing partly to reduced sowings, but mainly to drought. Then came larger sowings and a full crop of beet, but in 1905 the Cuban troubles caused an advance in cane-sugar. Neither of these movements had anything to do with the Convention, but the effects would have been much greater had there been no Convention. For this reason: if the Continental bounties had not been abolished, the production of cane-sugar in the West Indies would have fallen off; whereas, owing to the stimulus given to the industry, the world's crop of cane-sugar, which was 4,296,506 tons in 1903-4, has been raised steadily year by year up to 5,000,000 tons. The product of a cane-sugar estate cannot be

increased much in a couple of years; the plants need time to grow and become productive. A beet farm can be made productive within six months; and the world's beet crop which dropped from 5,881,333 tons in 1903-4 to 4,712,976 tons in 1904-5 rose to about 6,670,000 tons in 1906-7.

The sugar-market has now two unrestricted sources of supply, and is not controlled by the beet-growers and the bounties. Therefore, the current prices in the market of the world are economic prices, regulated by the relation of supply to demand, and influenced only by the conditions which apply to all natural products. What the Convention, then, has done has been to preserve the British sugar Colonies from ruin, to revive Britain's domestic refining industry, to restore a disappearing branch of the engineering industry, and to preserve for the world two large and alternative sources of supply of one of the world's chief articles of consumption.

It so happens that none of the Continental beet-growing countries is now anxious to resume the heavy economic burden of the bounties. Therefore, they were willing to meet the wishes of the present British Government with regard to the penal clause of the Convention, and after much discussion the Permanent Sugar Commission at Brussels agreed in 1907 upon an additional Act to the following effect:

"The Governments of Germany, Austria, Hungary, Belgium, France, Great Britain, Italy, the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, Holland, Peru, Sweden and Switzerland, having agreed to conclude a supplementary Act to the Convention of March 5th, 1902, relating to the sugar *régime*, the undersigned, duly authorized, have come to the following agreement:

"Article I. The contracting States engage to maintain the Convention of March 5th, 1902, in force for a further period of five years, from September 1st, 1908. Nevertheless, it shall be open to any one of them to withdraw from the Convention after September 1st, 1911, by giving notice one year in advance, if, at the last sitting held by the Permanent Commission before September 1st, 1910, it decided that circumstances render it necessary that this facility be given to the contracting States. For the rest the provisions of Article X of the Convention of March 5th, 1902, concerning the denunciation and renewal of the same, remain in force.

"Article II. As an exception to Article I Great Britain shall be released, from September 1st, 1908, from the obligations contained in Article IV of the Convention. From this same date the contracting Powers shall have the right to exact that, in order to obtain the benefits

of the Convention, all sugar refined in the United Kingdom and exported to their countries shall be accompanied by a certificate to the effect that no portion of such sugar comes from a country recognized by the Permanent Commission as giving bounties on the production or exportation of sugar.

"Article III. The present Supplementary Act shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be deposited at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs at Brussels as quickly as possible, and in any case before February 1st, 1908. Its provisions shall not become obligatory unless it is ratified by at least all those contracting Powers who do not come under the exceptional terms of Article VI of the Convention. In case one or more of the said Powers shall have failed to deposit their ratifications within the specified time, the Belgian Government, during the month beginning February 1st, 1908, shall call upon such Powers as have ratified to decide whether the present Supplementary Act shall be applied as between themselves. The States which shall have failed to ratify before the date fixed, viz., February 1st, 1908, shall be considered as having denounced the Convention within the prescribed limits for it to cease to bind them from the following September 1st, unless a decision has been given in a contrary sense at the request of the Powers in question by a majority of the States summoned to deliberation, as set forth in the preceding paragraph."

The following "Protocol of Signature" was also agreed to:

"It is agreed that if the ratifications necessary according to Article III to give validity to the Supplementary Act have not been handed in before March 1st, 1908, the British Government shall be at liberty to denounce the Convention at that date from September 1st, 1908, whether or not they shall have previously ratified the Supplementary Act."

This was confirmed by the principal Powers concerned, and therefore the Convention will remain in force for other five years at any rate, although, if any important Power fails to ratify its signature before March 1st next, the British Government will be at liberty to denounce it at that date. But the non-ratifying Power may withdraw and leave the others to carry it on. As, however, the only sugar-exporting country of any consequence that was not party to the original Convention was Russia, and as Russia has now been admitted to the Convention, it is not probable that any further difficulty will arise in the near future. By the terms of the Supplementary Act, Great Britain may now receive Argentine sugar, which is bounty-fed. But Argentina has little or none to spare for export.

BENJAMIN TAYLOR.

THE GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP OF DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR BUILDINGS AND THEIR EQUIPMENT.

BY CAPTAIN F. M. BARBER, U. S. NAVY, RETIRED. LATE NAVAL ATTACHE AT TOKIO, PEKIN, BERLIN, ROME, VIENNA.

ALTHOUGH the annual Congressional Public Buildings Bill is continually increasing, it is evident from numerous indications that the United States Government will soon adopt the policy of owning its diplomatic and consular buildings abroad, and the time is not far distant when travelling Americans will no longer be mortified at the sight of the United States Embassy or Legation being located on a single floor in an apartment-house or office building with a tin shield over the door, far inferior in appearance to that of many a butcher or baker in the vicinity.

In the early days of our history, when modesty in appearance was a necessary accompaniment of economy in expenditure, it was highly desirable that our rented establishments abroad should reflect the sterling principles of our forefathers; but as the years have gone by the very economy which we sought has become ridiculously distorted into the payment of annual rentals whose accumulation represents a sum which would have bought the buildings themselves over and over again, and still we have the buildings yet to buy. Meantime our country has grown to be one of the richest nations on the face of the earth and our representatives should be installed in a manner more worthy of the country they represent, for of all nations Americans abroad are most fond of frequenting their Embassies, Legations and Consulates.

There is, too, another aspect of this early simplicity idea which it is, perhaps, well not to lose sight of. In those days our weakness excited the sympathy of Continental Europe, and our repre-

sentative was Franklin, one of the most remarkable men of the day, one who could converse equally well with a man of science, a diplomat or a court lady; indeed, it was his popularity with the latter which gave him his enormous influence, for he was a new species of lion to exhibit in their salons. Court uniform was deemed absolutely necessary in those days, and when, after being well received in society, Franklin was officially presented at court it is said that his tailor did not bring home his uniform in time, and he had the nerve to go in simple habit and so made a great hit. He was quick to perceive this himself, and he thus laid the foundation of an honorable custom which has since become deservedly a matter of national pride. But we are no longer a weak nation, and instead of exciting sympathy it is fair to say that we excite an honest envy because we are not handicapped by the historic traditions of older people and our future is somewhat dreaded by Europe.

Now that the time for the buildings is arriving, however, it would seem that to make haste slowly is the part of wisdom, so that the structures to be erected may be in accordance with the best ideas of modern business requirements and typical of the most practical people of the present day. Judging from the discussions in Congress and the attitude of various newspapers, the idea seems to be quite prevalent in the United States that the main object of these new buildings is to afford our representatives the means of giving gorgeous receptions and handsome dinners, as though the dignity of the United States would be supported and the attainment of diplomatic objects be effected by display and through gastronomic attractions; but such is not the case. Time was, of course, when diplomacy meant intrigue and petticoat influence and subterranean methods generally; but that time has gone by, and it is extremely doubtful if in the last twenty years there has been a single instance where the official interests of the United States have been advanced in the slightest degree by any social entertainments whatever. Our representatives should not, by the smallness of their salaries, be put in a position such that they cannot suitably return the social civilities offered them; and, indeed, for many reasons an increase of salary is far more important than anything else that can be done for them; but that is another story. There does not at present seem to be much disposition, on the part of Congress, to increase the

pay of the diplomatic corps, although an English Ambassador receives $40,000 per year with his house and entertaining expenses, while an American Ambassador receives only $17,500 and nothing found. Under any circumstances, however, whether the Ambassador entertains foreigners or not, is no matter of national importance.

What should concern our people, however, is the fact that, while in Washington we have official buildings superior to those of any other country for the transaction of business, abroad we occupy quarters neither creditable to a first-class nation nor large enough for the purpose. We recognize at home that every Senator and Member and every leading official should have a large, airy, well-equipped office, but we fail to see that in foreign capitals we ought to take pride in showing that these same ideas are most conducive to the satisfactory discharge of public affairs even there. To buy a handsome building for an Ambassador or Minister to reside in and to relegate the offices to a mediocre flat or other makeshift would be to repeat officially the joke well known to all naval officers in Yokohama thirty years ago, where a missionary built a minute chapel and a large brick residence and then reported to the home society that he had erected a handsome church for the heathen and with the few remaining bricks had built himself an humble mansion.

Nor is it our policy to follow blindly in the footsteps of European nations and by erecting buildings similar to theirs repeat their defects. Generally speaking, these buildings consist of a handsome central body with two wings enclosing a court separated from the street by a wall having one or two huge gateways for the entry and exit of carriages. The Ambassador's residence and reception-rooms are in the body, the Embassy proper in one wing and the servants' quarters and stables in the other; but these buildings are mostly old and when erected were without modern conveniences and the enormous increase in Government business, the change from horse vehicles to automobiles, the much greater crowds to be handled at official functions owing to the facilities of modern travel, etc., make these buildings obsolete in spite of the continual alterations that are being made to them, and the stories that are added because they have no more ground space.

Poor nations like Japan may wisely buy and alter old buildings,

but we should start with a clean slate. Americans are beginning to realize that our geographical situation alone is absolutely certain to make us eventually the first nation in the world, both physically and financially, and that our preponderance in commercial affairs and the necessity for markets will demand our taking an interest in many world matters which our ancestors never dreamed of. Hence the desirability of establishing our representatives in the capitals of the world in a manner that is worthy of our great future and of doing it deliberately.

Briefly it would seem desirable, first, to send a commission of architects abroad to study the local conditions in each capital of the world. Then buy land—a whole block—in any healthy quarter, whether fashionable or not, for fashion will follow the flag. Plan the Embassy and Consulate General on a corner lot, with offices on one street and the ambassadorial residence on the other, with a tower at the point from the top of which the national flag may float on proper occasions, instead of being stuck out of a window like that of a ship in distress.* Having an entrance on each street, an arriving and departing crowd, no matter how large, can be handled with facility; whereas with an entrance only on one street three-quarters of an hour for arrival must now be allowed in a line of carriages at an ordinary diplomatic reception and one hour and a quarter to get away after one has said good-by.

Two interior wings would be required for archives, library, visitor's reading-room, garage, etc., and ample space even beyond this should be allowed for future expansion. The increased value of the remainder of the block would in a short time pay for the investment. One advantage of this method of procedure would be that in most cases the plans could be submitted to Congress at the same time that an appropriation was asked for and they could be published in the newspapers. It is really surprising to see what a unanimous feeling there is on this subject of Government ownership among the Americans travelling abroad, and yet how little opportunity there is for any one to actually do anything about it in a manner which will reach the people whose money is to be spent for the purpose.

* It is not advisable to have the residence of the Consul-General in this building. An increase of twenty per cent. in his salary for the specific purpose of house rent and the entertainment of American citizens would be much more practical.

The buildings, once erected, should be equipped with a complete staff of well-paid jaintors, lift men, messengers, chauffeurs, etc. For this purpose United States colored men would be most uniformly satisfactory; they are typically American in appearance, they are loyal and they have an intuitive faculty for learning foreign languages by ear, which few people in the United States suspect. Besides, they always have a hearty welcome for American visitors, which cannot be said for many of the foreigners that we are forced to employ. In any event, "let none but Americans be on guard." During our war with Spain, when it was necessary to do a great deal of hard work at our Embassies, and when the entire sympathy of Continental Europe was against us, it was embarrassing to have people in our service whom we dared not trust and whose patriotism was not our patriotism.

There are two objections to the locating of buildings in the manner that I have suggested. The first is their exposure to mob attack in case of a popular demonstration, which was always carefully considered in planning the older Embassies, but the progress of civilization and the business advantages would, it is thought, counterbalance this defect nowadays. The second is the accessibility of the Ambassador, out of office hours, to persistent Americans who insist on seeing him whether he wants to be seen or not. This difficulty is one to which the representatives of other nations are not so much subject. No person, for example, who has not been presented at the English Court, would presume to besiege an English Ambassador for social attentions, tickets to official functions, etc.; but there are a few citizens of our country (where it is easier to be presented to the President than it is to see a doctor, because it costs nothing) to whom the idea that an Ambassador or his wife has any right to privacy is entirely wanting. Such people often think that they own the Embassy, and one could not do like the old admiral who in a similar case cut a chip out of the wooden deck and handed it to the intruder as he was assisted over the ship's side with the remark that he could take his share with him. The ancient Egyptians buried their kings at the end of a long dark tunnel in the side of a mountain. In the middle of the tunnel was a huge pit into which plunderers might fall. It must be confessed that this plan did not ultimately succeed, for no Egyptian king's tomb has been

found unrifled. Still, if such a tunnel connected the Ambassador's office and his residence it might kill a few of the more heedless.

The social side of a diplomat's duties is a thorny topic to discuss, but it is very important. His official duties can be regulated by cable, but not so his social duties. In the first place, few Americans understand that diplomats and their wives are not required by etiquette to return visits in person; a return by card is all that is required; but this is absolutely necessary, and there is no social crime that our representatives and their wives more often commit than to neglect this simple courtesy. It is largely due to the fact that there is no one at a United States Embassy or Legation whose specific duty it is to care for the cards, and oftentimes a second or third secretary, when the pressure is great, has to be diverted from his legitimate duties to attend to it. Many a diplomat has made a lifelong enemy of a man he never knew by thus slighting the latter or his wife. There should be a special secretary (preferably a lady) attached to an Embassy to attend to these social requirements. This part of the equipment may seem silly to plain Americans at home, but let them come abroad and be treated that way themselves once and see how long it will be before they will forget it; and silly or not silly, it is the social side of an American diplomat's existence which causes ninety per cent. of his diplomatic troubles.

I would go further and say that the Embassy should be equipped with minute printed instructions about matters of courtesy; something like we have in the navy regulations, for example. People new to diplomatic life cannot be expected to know these things, and many who do know will disregard them. Sometimes an Ambassador on leave will make a continued stay in the capital to which a colleague is accredited and never go near him. Sometimes an Ambassador's wife will pay no attention to commercial people on the ground that they belong to the Consul-General's wife, etc. Such things should not be permitted.

Naturally, people who expect social attentions usually bring letters of introduction, but even these get mislaid and lost, much to the chagrin of all concerned when it is discovered. In the old days in Japan, where the Legations of all countries were thrown much together because we were strangers in a strange land, special passports or letters of introduction were known by

the English name of soup-tickets, and a pleasant dinner, which we all attended, was considered to be the proper attention that should be paid to the bearer. But in Europe, where there are so many more travellers, the problem is not so simple. Suppose, for example, the diplomat's wife mixes up a variety of soup-ticket holders and invites them to meet each other at the same dinner. The chances are that they may all freeze the atmosphere, because at home they do not speak or because they had expected to meet foreign nobility. Suppose, however, that she has provided for this emergency, then the table may be disarranged in an unexpected manner. Once when I was detailed by the Ambassador's wife to take a charming young American girl out to dinner and was just polishing up my brains for conversational purposes, suddenly her mother engineered herself into the seat next me and navigated the daughter alongside a young nobleman much in demand in the matrimonial market. The hostess was much amused, and I was quite pleased, too, for the lady was very intelligent and, anyway, she is dead now.

Sometimes, too, weird people appear with special passports: people it would be awkward to invite any one to meet. I remember once in another capital— But perhaps I had better reserve that reminiscence for my memoirs. Then there were the ladies who wished to travel before coming to our capital and who sent all their heavy luggage to the Embassy direct from the steamer and were so very wroth when they arrived and found that it was in the custom-house, and the multitude of others who had their mail sent there, and the poor beggars of distressed Americans who used to turn up from time to time, not knowing that the United States is the only country that makes no provision for sending such people home. The Ambassador and his wife, and the Attachés and their wives, and the Consul-General and his wife, and the Consular Attachés and their wives, all have a financial knowledge of the distressed American that the good people at home wot not of.

But the real riddle for the diplomat's wife to solve is that of the American colony, of which she is or ought to be the social leader. This colony in the principal capitals of Europe consists of three classes: the wives of Americans in business, ladies educating their children and ladies of leisure. Now, what shall she do with these? Shall she class them or hash them? The riddle

is as bad as that of the Sphinx, but Œdipus finally solved that one and a few tactful ladies have solved this one; but with most ladies it is a choice between Scylla and Charybdis, and whatever plan they decide to pursue they regret it. Perhaps they may then turn exclusively to foreign society; but this only excites the contempt of the entire colony, as it ought to do, and the ridicule of the foreigners themselves.

All this goes to illustrate the trite saying that a circle is much more convex when viewed from the outside than it is when viewed from the inside, and those who imagine that the social life of a diplomat is a bed of roses are quite mistaken. The moral seems to be that the prudent diplomat will entertain whom he pleases, but in as quiet a manner as possible and never have his guest list published.

Our national holidays are, of course, exceptions. On these days all the American world, both travelling and local, should be welcomed with the most lavish hospitality, and the entire list should be published. No matter whether an American lives abroad or has been away from the United States only a week, he likes to tread American soil (and Embassies and Legations are American soil), and most Americans have the good sense to be quite satisfied with this amount of attention. Whether the ladies are in travelling, visiting or décolleté gowns, or the men in checked suits, frock coats or ulsters and goloshes, they all thoroughly enjoy themselves, and it is a pleasure to mingle with them. To a naval officer who has been long abroad, but is still an American, even "plain Jane with no trimmings" is an attractive object; but at any one of these receptions he will see more pretty girls to the square yard than any other nation can produce, and as General Porter once said to me enthusiastically at one of his receptions in Paris: "There is nothing like 'em."

NOTE.—Since the above article was written, a society has been formed among Americans in London for the purpose of agitating this question, which shows its increasing importance.

F. M. BARBER.

THE POSITION OF ENGLISH RAILWAYS.

BY W. M. ACWORTH.

FIFTY years ago, not in England only, but throughout the civilized world, the English railway system used to be described as the greatest monument of private enterprise that the world had ever known. Within the lifetime of one generation private enterprise, with no help and not a little hindrance from the State, had, it was pointed out, constructed in Great Britain a network of railways which covered the whole face of the country, and was providing over that network a service of trains admirable both in speed and frequency. It was pointed out, too, how far the railways of the Continent, which, even where they were not directly State-owned, depended largely upon the Government for their existence, lagged behind the private railway companies of England. Now that the fifty years have passed, it looks as though the next chapter to be written in the history of English railways will need to be headed "The Death of Private Enterprise."

All the signs at the present moment point in the same direction. Socialists, State Socialists and semi-Socialists of all sorts and conditions desire to see the State take over the railways. Sometimes the formula is "nationalization of the means of production"; sometimes it runs that "natural monopolies should be in public hands." But, whatever the formula and by whatever process, logical or illogical, arrived at, the result is that a very large number of people have an abstract preference for State, as distinct from private, ownership. Other influences are of a more concrete nature. The railway employees would undoubtedly be found in very large majority on the same side. They think that the State employer would be sure to give them either more wages for the same work or less work for the same wages—or, possibly, even both benefits, less work and more wages,

combined. And they are probably not far wrong in so thinking. The post-office employees are a much smaller and much less influential, because more scattered body of voters, and they have undoubtedly been able to extract from the not wholly disinterested sympathy of Members of Parliament conditions of service markedly superior to those enjoyed by men doing work of a similar standard in private employ. There is yet another important class whose influence will make in the same direction: the railway shareholders and their officials. Given State purchase on fair terms—and State purchase of private property in this country has always hitherto been on terms that have been more than fair to the dispossessed owner—shareholders are bound to welcome it; while, as for the officials, it is only natural that they should offer no objection to a system which would either secure for them an ample pension or else, while preserving their existing salaries, give them a higher status and more influential position as Government servants.

With all these forces making for State purchase, it is difficult to see what forces there are to counterbalance them. A certain number of reflecting citizens would undoubtedly view the proposition with deep distrust. But they are not numerous and are unorganized and therefore uninfluential, and they would hardly be likely to take off their coats for a serious struggle. Undoubtedly the permanent officials of the Civil Service responsible for the finances of the country (whom we speak of collectively as "The Treasury") would oppose strongly any proposal that would at one stroke much more than double the national debt. But, powerful as the Treasury is, it could not in the long run stand out against public opinion and a majority of the House of Commons. So, as I have said, it is probable that the purchase of the English railways by the State will be a live issue in English politics within a very few years; and—as one of the most distinguished professors of Political Economy in the United States said in my hearing a few weeks ago—if that were to happen the echoes of the fall of private ownership would ring through the length and breadth of America.

I have spoken above of the change that half a century has brought. But a comparison between the quite recent history of the railways of the United States and England, respectively, is also not without interest. Fifteen years ago or thereabouts, when

the common stock of many American railroads now far away above par was almost sold by weight, the common, or ordinary, stock of English railways was the favorite investment of very thrifty people of the middle class. The ordinary stock of one of our great lines paying perhaps a dividend of six per cent. stood at a price which only yielded the investor a bare three and one-half per cent. for his money. As for new capital, the railway companies had only to hold out their hands and they could have it for the asking. There was no need to make a public issue. They peddled out their securities on the Stock Exchange, and the British public absorbed without hesitation as many millions of new stock as the railways thought fit to issue. And they issued that stock with a lavish hand. Stations and yards were enlarged all over the country, single lines were doubled and double lines were quadrupled over hundreds of miles. And naturally, for if nobody keeps a tight hand on the purse-strings, who can blame an operating official for desiring that the machine that he controls should have power amply to deal with all emergencies. To work traffic with inadequate rolling-stock on an overcrowded road may be extravagant, but it certainly implies hard and exhausting brain-work; and why exhaust one's brain when the Board of Directors are ready to order all the new rolling-stock asked for and to widen all the lines where congestion is so much as hinted at? And so, year after year, English railway capital went up by leaps and bounds, while no new territory was being developed and no new sources of traffic were being tapped.

The upshot is that English railways find themselves to-day in a position which has been described as "waterlogged" with capital. Dividends have fallen somewhat; the market valuation of the property has fallen far more, certainly not less than thirty per cent.; and companies which ten years ago were spending lavishly hardly dare to-day to attempt to raise money, and feel constrained to postpone even necessary improvements. Gross receipts have increased steadily, though not rapidly, according to American ideas; perhaps at an average rate of two and one-half per cent. per annum. But expenses have risen much faster, and the net income has actually fallen off. Meanwhile, American experience has been strikingly different. Companies that ten years ago were in the hands of a receiver are paying dividends

of six and seven and even ten per cent., and the market value of the railroads of the United States has appreciated by a percentage at least as great as that by which the value of British railroads has depreciated. Of course this is not all due to the virtue or intelligence of American railway men. The abnormal growth of the United States has covered up not a few errors in policy, as well as a good deal of questionable or unquestionable finance. But the main difference, I think, has arisen from the stern lesson of adversity taught to American railways in the year of 1893, and from the way in which American railway officials took those lessons to heart. If an outsider might criticise, I should say that I am startled at the ingratitude which the American public has displayed in return for the marvellous skill and energy with which American railroad men revolutionized the operation of American railways in the years when traffic began to recover after the panic of 1893. New capital being practically unobtainable, they made one dollar do the work of two, and turned out with the old plant an output that would have been inconceivable to the men ten years before.

Regarding the matter from an operating side, the American railways have had enormous difficulties to face, and on the whole have surmounted them. Their colleagues here have not been so successful. They have failed to keep down operating expenses. With a rapid increase in expenses, coupled with a rapid growth of capital, the result to shareholders could hardly be satisfactory. But the railway profession in America has enjoyed one great advantage denied to it in England. The tradition of American business life is publicity; secrecy is the tradition of British business life. The habitual mental attitude of the English railways is that no information should be given to the public, because the public would be sure to use that information for nefarious ends. And information, if it exists, is sure sooner or later to reach the public. For fear of this, the British railway managements have denied themselves necessary information. They do not know today the average rate they charge for carrying a passenger or a ton of goods one mile. They do not know the average load of their trains or the average distance a ton of goods or a passenger is hauled. They possess no comprehensive system of units statistics by which a railroad can be compared with itself year by year or one railroad can be compared with its neighbors. In the

absence of scientific information, scientific criticism and scientific discussion are alike impossible. One railway man cannot learn from the experience of another; the rising generation cannot be taught their profession scientifically, and are forced to rely on their own limited experience and rule-of-thumb methods.

It would not be fair to seem to imply that the present depressed condition of English railways is due merely to the shortcomings of English railway men of the present or of an earlier generation. Undoubtedly British railways have had great difficulties to face. With a revenue increasing but slowly, they have had to meet the demands, constantly more exacting, of the public and of the Legislature. But I am bound to say that the conditions they have had to face have not been as difficult as those that have been faced successfully in America. The British Legislature has interfered to require shorter hours of labor, large expenditure on safety appliances, and in some few cases even lower rates. But the sum total of it all has not been very serious. And I think an American railroad official would breathe a sigh of content if he could exchange the whips of Louisiana or the scorpions of Texas for the gentle parental suasion of the British Parliament. Wages on British railways have gone up and hours of labor have gone down. The same thing has happened in the States. But in the States better organization has enabled one man to do the work of two, with the result that, per ton handled, wages are down, not up. That result has, unfortunately, not been attained in Great Britain. Again, British railways have suffered severely from the competition of tramways; but the competition in America has been fiercer and more ubiquitous than here. American railroads met the competition at the outset with a considered policy. British railroads, with some exceptions, have done nothing but sit still and weep over the loss year after year of suburban passengers by the tens of millions.

And so, as I began by saying, English railways are to-day in a critical situation—a situation from which the only ultimate escape, in my judgment, will be by way of State purchase. But nature does not, as the old proverb says, advance by leaps; certainly not English nature. English opinion has not arrived at State purchase yet; it is only in the preliminary stage. The present talk is all about pools; about arrangements for community of interest. The English attitude of mind in this matter is quite

interesting. The average Englishman is, where his own personal interests are concerned, as strong an individualist as he ever was. He fully believes in competition where his own trade is touched, and he has not learned that the out-and-out competition of the open market is impossible in the special case of railways. On the other hand, he believes in combination in the abstract, and there is in England no such popular dread of pools as still exists in America. Pools have never been prohibited by English law. They have existed since the very beginning of English railways. One of the most famous and far-reaching pools was arranged more than sixty years ago by no less a person than Mr. Gladstone, and in not a few cases pools have been given direct Parliamentary authority. Some ten years ago the two railways which connect London with the Continent by way of Dover, the Southeastern and the London and Chatham, which had already pooled under statutory sanction a large part of their traffic, were united by an Act of Parliament, described as a "Working-Union Act," into one company for all purposes of operation and traffic, though not of capital. And the following year Parliament also sanctioned important amalgamations of railways in Ireland.

Of late years, then, public opinion has tended to magnify the waste of competition rather than to insist on its advantages from the public point of view, and the influence of railway shareholders, who, as I have said, have seen their property rapidly decreasing in value, has naturally been thrown in the same direction. Moreover, at a private conference at the Board of Trade* in the autumn of 1907, which is likely to be famous in English railway history, the President of the Board is understood to have expressed his personal sympathy with the prevailing sentiment.

The English railway managers were naturally not reluctant to set their sails to the favoring breeze. Early in 1908 it was announced that two English trunk lines, the Great Northern and the Great Central, had entered into a perpetual working agreement of the closest kind. They claimed that, under powers conferred by an Act of Parliament passed forty-nine years before, it was competent for them to do so, provided they obtained the consent of the Railway Commission. For that consent they

* The Board of Trade is a department of the Government and might well be called the Ministry of Commerce. Its President is a member of the Government and a Cabinet Minister.

accordingly applied. When, however, the case came before the Commission, the Board of Trade found itself constrained, whatever the private sympathies of the President may have been, to take up a position which, if not of actual hostility, was by no means an attitude of approval. A considerable number of other opponents, rival railway companies, municipalities affected, and others, appeared, the result being that the Commission decided that they had no jurisdiction to sanction the proposed agreement and that the two companies must submit their proposals to Parliament in the usual way. And this the companies announced their intention of doing.

Before their Bill could be introduced into Parliament at the beginning of the present session of 1908-09 events further developed. A third trunk-line company, the Great Eastern, threw in its lot with the Great Northern and Great Central, and the Bill that was deposited provided for the working union of these three companies. In effect, it would have sanctioned the monopoly in the hands of one undertaking of the whole eastern half of England from the Thames to the Humber. About the same time two of the remaining trunk lines, the Northwestern and the Midland—companies whose united capital amounts to over $1,500,000,000—also announced that they had entered into a close alliance; and subsequently the Lancashire and Yorkshire—a company which, though it only has 500 miles of line, serves a population greater than that of the whole State of New York—is understood to have joined the alliance. These three companies between them control the whole northwest of England almost as completely as the other three companies control the east. The alliance to the west differs, however, from the proposed union on the east in important particulars. Each member of the alliance preserves its separate identity and retains its own sole control of non-competitive traffic. But all competitive traffic is to be the subject of agreement, and the whole of the receipts therefrom are to be pooled and divided between the allies in agreed proportions. Further, the alliance is not, it may be assumed, beyond the ordinary legal powers of the companies concerned, and they do not propose to ask any Parliamentary sanction to their bargain. Simultaneously movements in the direction of closer union have taken place among the railways both of Scotland and of Wales, but these latter need not be more than mentioned here.

The upshot of the position as sketched above is that throughout the greater part of Great Britain railway competition is dead. Theoretically, of course, competition survives between what I may call the east group and the west group to points where the two groups converge, say Manchester and Scotland. But the will to compete is gone, and if two parties refuse to compete it is quite certain that no outside authority can constrain them to do so. Further, unless the prevailing opinion among those interested in railway policy is more than usually wrong, those responsible for the management of the two groups have not yet by any means reached the goal at which they are aiming. The union of the three companies to the east and of the three companies to the west is, we are told, only a preliminary to the union of the whole six in a still more comprehensive agreement. The ultimate aim is alleged to be to unite all the railway companies of Great Britain into one single undertaking. And so it is thought that, on the one hand, the railway shareholders will have a more valuable property and one which will command a higher price when the State comes to buy; and, on the other hand, that the purchase by the State will be facilitated if there was only one venture instead of many to deal with. How far these suggestions and suppositions represent the real aims of the policy of the few men whose influence dominates the situation, it is not for an outsider to say. But no facts that have become public tend to disprove the correctness of the above prognosis.

Be this as it may, it is interesting to revert to the public history of the situation. The three eastern companies, as I have said, deposited in Parliament a Bill to sanction their union, and it very shortly became evident that the same traders who were in the abstract, convinced of the wastefulness of competition and who were quite prepared to see competition abolished over their neighbors' traffic, were by no means so ready to sacrific the advantages of competition when the traffic was their own. Parliament and the Board of Trade were besieged with objections from all and sundry. With great difficulty the influence of the Board procured for the Bill a second reading in the House of Commons; and when, after a debate which showed pretty distinctly that the Government was not carrying with it the sympathy of its own supporters, the Bill was read a second time and referred to a committee, so many petitions poured in and so many demands

for far-reaching concessions were made upon the companies that they abandoned in despair the attempt to obtain Parliamentary sanction to their proposals and withdrew their Bill. They are continuing, however, it is understood, so far as they can do so within the scope of their legal powers, to work in close union.

To complete the story the Board of Trade have within the last few weeks appointed a committee to advise them on the whole question of amalgamation. To the plain man it is not quite apparent why they have wanted advice. They did not invite it before they committed themselves to a policy which is practically amalgamation. But, on the other hand, if they did not want advice at the earlier stage, why do they want it now when the question of Parliamentary sanction has for the present been decided?

Such, in outline, is the present position in England. Throughout the greater part of the country competition is dead and shows no signs of coming to life again. Yet the whole English railway system has grown up on the basis of competition. Foreign countries have relied for the control of their railways on State regulation. Englishmen have relied for control first and foremost on competition, with only a minimum supplement of State control in matters with which competition could not deal, such as excessive rates and provision for public safety. To work a system of executive control on the Continental pattern the English have neither the experience nor the trained staff. And yet it is impossible to suppose that England will submit to an almost unregulated railway monopoly. The present position cannot be permanent. That England shall adopt a system of State regulation on the French pattern is to me inconceivable. For my own part, and I have been forced to the conclusion with the greatest reluctance—for I cannot but think that it is much against the public interest—I can see but one outlet from the position in which English railways find themselves, and that outlet is State purchase.

W. M. Acworth.

THE AGRARIAN REVOLUTION IN THE MIDDLE WEST.

BY JOSEPH B. ROSS.

It was a fundamental axiom of thinking Americans a hundred years ago that our economic well-being was thoroughly at one with our agricultural institutions. However much the founders of the American Republic may have differed on questions of political expediency and religious dogma, they were agreed upon the agricultural basis of the economic state. Even New England, with its productive fisheries and its incipient manufactures, legislated favorably to the more exclusively rural toilers throughout the colonial period. Jefferson was not unique in his estimates of the vital relations of agricultural well-being to our national growth, but only the spokesman of his time and country. In 1785 he wrote John Jay from Paris:

> "We have now lands enough to employ an infinite number of people in their cultivation. Cultivators of the earth are the most valuable citizens. They are the most vigorous, the most independent, the most virtuous, and they are tied to their country and wedded to its liberty and interests by the most lasting bonds. . . . I consider the class of artificers as the panderers of vice and the instruments by which the liberties of a country are generally overturned."

And thirty-one years later, from the quietude of his retirement at Monticello, he wrote Crawford:

> "The agricultural capacities of our country constitute its distinguishing feature; and the adapting our policy and pursuits to that is more likely to make us a numerous and happy people than the mimicry of an Amsterdam, a Hamburg or a city of London."

And with these sentiments there was practically unanimous agreement throughout the entire Atlantic coast. Even the merchants,

who risked their fortunes to the rapidly increasing commerce of the new Republic, had their country homes and spent their leisure on their well-kept estates.

The extensive frontier which receded rapidly before the advance of the pioneers made this original idea more persistent. Beyond the Alleghenies commerce and fisheries offered no allurements, and the primitive life of the people reduced industrial occupations to simple household production. All the expectations of the early settlers of the Mississippi basin were bound up with agricultural life. The productiveness of the soil and the anticipation that the squatter claims would increase in value were the foundations of the financial visions of every one. There was, indeed, some interchange of denizens of town and country even at this time. The learned professions were recruited for the most part from the farms. The brightest of the boys became attorneys and physicians, the more seriously disposed became ministers, and the daughters of the farm ofttimes married the successful professional men and merchants of the county towns. But in this movement from the country to the town there was no depletion of the former. The large families could well dispense with the services of a son or daughter, for the younger children would be able amply to carry on the patrimonial estate and to settle adjoining claims. The chief surplus was that of persons, and by this movement of the choicest personalities to the cities and into the professions a keen and persistent sympathy between the two types of life was fostered.

The present, however, manifests a movement of personalities in our rural neighborhoods which is assuming the proportions of an agrarian revolution. The shifting of an occasional child to the city from the country home has given place to a wholesale removal of the farming classes to the cities. It is less than a score of years since a thoughtful writer called attention to the rate at which the country was being depopulated and the menace which the city was becoming to the country. The fascination of numbers has proven too magnetizing for the isolated farm-boy, and he has gone from his home and has become a part of a strange life. The subject has frequently been discussed, sometimes with alarm at the extent of the exodus, sometimes with satisfaction at this signal proof of the versatility of American genius. But there is another phase of the problem which is quite as inter-

esting, and which promises to create a most serious situation in the very near future. For the city,—with its crowds, which are the destruction of the neighborhood spirit, and which with its changing personnel has given rise to the multiform difficulties of civic administration, and to deserted churches in what has been termed the city wilderness,—has its counterpart in the country bereft of its most virile life. The movement of population from the rural neighborhoods to the metropolises has created the city; the same movement has depopulated the country. It is no longer a movement of a surplus of individuals to an adjacent town, the seat of the county government; it is now a removal of the staid families which have given value to the neighborhood, and it is threatening a dearth of personalities in the rural districts.

The immediate seat of this revolution is the Middle West. The Atlantic States experienced an agrarian revolution during the nineteenth century, but of a very different type, and it has now spent its force. In the Eastern States the primary cause of the revolution in rural life was the exhaustion of the soil. Farms were abandoned because they had ceased to be productive. Families which had once been opulent were reduced to poverty because their landed estates refused to yield further produce. The families either remained upon their patrimonial estates, their stamina yielding as the soil, until life became a passive tragedy; or else the old homes were abandoned and their erstwhile denizens joined the great Western movement and sought to recoup their fortunes in new and more fertile lands. The present revolution in agrarian affairs which is finding expression in the Middle West is radically distinct from the agrarian revolution through which the Atlantic States have but recently passed. It is due not to soil exhaustion, but to marvellously enhanced productivity of the soil. While the people of the Eastern States were impelled to abandon their homes to obtain a livelihood, the rural habitant of the Middle West, because of a surfeit of the good things of life, is impelled to an exodus from his pristine surroundings.

Broadly speaking, the agricultural history of the Mississippi basin may be divided into three periods. In the Northern States east of the Mississippi the first period extended from about the beginning of the nineteenth century to the year 1835. Land was abundant and cheap. It could be obtained from the Government by original entry for from one dollar to five dollars an

acre, or from the early land speculators at from one dollar to ten dollars an acre. The greater portion of the land was owned by the original settlers, or by those who had purchased holdings from the original entrants, and it was occupied and cultivated by the owners. It was a period of landlord cultivation. A small percentage not to exceed one-tenth of the occupied land was owned by non-resident speculators. The latter were only temporarily possessed of their holdings, and were very willing to dispose of their tracts in small farms at a moderate profit over their original investments. In this period there was much wild land; few fences had been erected, roads consisted of cow-paths and blazed trails, houses were of logs, and all buildings were small and meagre. No attempt was made to place valuable improvements upon the claims, as the chief energies of the settlers were expended in clearing the land in order to render it cultivable.

The second period of agricultural development for this group of States extended approximately from 1835 to 1890. This period was characterized by a gradual amelioration of general conditions, an increase of land values and an improvement of facilities for social and economic intercourse. Land advanced from ten dollars an acre, the maximum price during the first period, to about seventy-five dollars for the choicest tracts. Practically all the land was owned by residents. Very little was possessed by non-resident speculators, though, perhaps, the same percentage of the landed area which had been held by them during the first period now was owned by residents of the towns. Farms tended to become smaller. Cultivation was pursued by the owners personally, or they directed tenants in the cultivation of the lands and received a share of the produce as rent. The tenants remained for years upon the same farm, and only gave up their tenancy when they had accumulated sufficient to purchase farms for themselves. Roads were much improved, and railroads were established from time to time which afforded convenient markets within a few miles from every farmhouse. The highways were gravelled and macadamized. Then, too, the farms were greatly improved intensively. Some attention was paid to drainage, generally by the establishment of private drains through neighborhood co-operation. But the principal consideration was given to the erection of commodious homes and ample barns for the

comfort and well-being of the family and stock. The chief pride of the landowners was in their broad acres. They believed that of all men they were most blessed, nor would they have exchanged their lot for any other upon the earth. It was a period in which agriculture was gradually reaching a high state of development through the application of improved methods of cultivation and the use of artificial fertilizers, and in which the ambition of the rural classes was to render their lot most attractive through a lavish abundance of necessaries, and occasionally of the luxuries of existence.

About the year 1890 the second period in the agricultural history of the Middle West, and particularly of the group of States north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi, drew to a close, and this territory entered upon a novel type of development. The second period was an evolution from the period of settlement which was natural and expected. The third period, in so far as it has already advanced, has had many of the characters of a revolution and has been unexpected. First of all, there has been a rapid advance of land values. Land has doubled, trebled and in many instances has become tenfold more valuable than at the commencement of the period. The land which in the closing years of the second period could not be disposed of for ten or twenty dollars an acre now sells readily for a hundred dollars. The higher-priced land has not risen at so rapid a rate, but it, too, has shared in the general appreciation of values. Large sums of money have been spent, and are spending, for the improvement of the land. But while in the second period these expenditures were chiefly made in building stately homes and commodious barns, in the present period they are directed almost wholly to the rendering of the land more productive and to increase the facilities for marketing the grain. Private co-operation for drainage has been succeeded by vast public enterprises, and several counties are frequently included within a single drainage district. Not only the main roads, but the minor and connecting highways, have been improved so that they may be utilized for traffic at any season of the year. Telephone lines connect farmhouses with each other and with the market towns, and the rural free delivery of mail and of the daily newspapers affords an opportunity for the most isolated household to feel the throb of the great world-life. And the rapidly multiplying system of inter-

urban electric roads will even more thoroughly sensitize the country to the nearness and fascination of the city.

In this period farming has been commercialized. The splendid buildings which were erected for the use of the family during the second period have been suffered to fall into decay, the family having removed their permanent residence to the adjoining city. Landlord cultivation has given place to a cultivation by tenants. And in the stead of tenants who looked forward to the possibility of becoming freeholders, and who, during their career as tenants, remained upon the same tract of land or in the same neighborhood for a score of years, there has arisen a nomadic class of tenants who itinerate from farm to farm and from one neighborhood to another. Rents for a share of the produce are still quite common, but there is an increasing tendency to demand a fixed cash payment for the use of the land regardless of the productiveness of the season. The younger sons of the farmer's family have no longer an expectation some day to possess a messuage of their own. Rather do they compete with one another for the tenancy of cultivated tracts until the rents which they contract to pay are rapidly becoming ruinous. And they know that even if they should be able to accumulate a few hundred or a few thousand dollars, they cannot hope to purchase farms for themselves because of the enhanced value of the land.

The agrarian revolution which we have outlined has reached its most advanced stage of development in the group of States in the northeastern portion of the Mississippi Valley. In other parts of the Middle West this revolutionary tendency has scarcely begun, but even in its rudimentary stages it conforms to the outline of the more highly developed section which we have analyzed here in detail. Some of the States west of the Mississippi are only in the second stage of evolution; in the southwest the first stage has not yet been passed, and much of the landed property is owned by corporations which have been organized for speculative purposes. The history of the States on the west of the Mississippi has been briefer than that of their more easterly neighbors, yet there is little reason to believe that the course which has been pursued in the older States of this region will not be duplicated in all essential features in the regions which have been more recently settled.

Here, then, are the revolutionary proportions of the present agrarian exodus. The increased value of the farm holdings and the multiplied productiveness of the soil have caused the land-owners to become dissatisfied with their comfortable rural homes and to long for the social life of the city. Sometimes the city, which is the Mecca of their bent, is the county town, but more often it is the neighboring metropolis. Their removal to the larger cities is primarily social, not economic. In this it differs remarkably from the movement to towns and cities which was common in the second period. And in another factor there is also a marked difference from the former migration. The migration to the cities from the rural neighborhoods during the second period was not only economic, but was a migration of individuals. The family maintained itself intact and remained on the country estate. The present migration is social and is characterized by the removal of the families from the country to the city. The economic life of the city to which the removal is made is not greatly advantaged by the new acquisition, nor is its political life improved. The serious interests and vital problems of the city are not participated in by the new residents. They receive their support from the farms which have been abandoned, and their chief reason for adopting a city residence is that they may expend their incomes for the greatest pleasurable return.

But while the experiences of the newly removed rural inhabitants to the town or city is an interesting phase of our social growth, it is rather to be studied as a phase of the development of civic life. The revolution in our agrarian life may be observed among those who have remained upon the farms, who have not yet migrated, and among the growing tenantry of our rural neighborhoods. The farmers of the Middle West for the first eighty years of the nineteenth century were the counterpart of the English yeomen of the preceding century. Strong, virile, opinionated, conscious of personal worth, with a keen interest in all questions of political and of practical religious import, withal treasuring the friendships of the neighborhood and loyal to the community life, the American in act and thought was a freeman. He was a home-builder, and his Saxon heritage impelled him constantly to make that home more winsome in its repose and more self-sufficing. Now, however, his interests have been com-

pletely changed. The country is no longer his home to be fostered in its neighborhood interests, nor is he deeply and vitally concerned in its social and political institutions. The farm is an investment and is to be tested, as every other investment, by its capacities for income production. The personnel of the country is no longer that of yeomen. A new personnel has developed, created by the new economic conditions. The thoughts, purposes, interests of the new personages, are distinct from those who preceded them. And the result will soon be an entirely new adjustment of social, political and economic life.

All unperceived has this vast change been inaugurated and even assumed large and menacing proportions. So deeply engrossed have we been in the growth of industrial institutions and in the increase of civic communities, and so confident have we been in the persistent integrity of the country, that few have awakened to the problems created by the agrarian revolution. And upon first thought it is difficult to observe any reason for disquietude. A drive through the country districts evidences that every farm is in a high state of cultivation. The fences are well kept, the produce is abundant, the highways are improved. It is only upon minute inquiry that one may discover the changes in the rural personnel which we have mentioned. But if one should take the trouble to canvass any well-appearing and prosperous rural community, he would find that entire neighborhoods of rural landowners had yielded to the attractions of the towns and cities, and that for miles the country is possessed of tenantry. Upon a further inquiry it would be found that many of the tenants have been occupying the lands which they are now cultivating but a brief time: from one to three years; that they are bound in many cases to pay a fixed rental in cash, and that most of them expect within a short time to leave their present leaseholds and remove to some place not far distant, where the terms of rental will be less severe. A searching analysis of rural conditions will reveal still further that this vast change of rural personnel is a matter which has occurred within the past fifteen years, and that the chief exodus of landowners has taken place since the beginning of the present century. Thus it would be found that from 1890 to 1898 the movement of the rural landowners from the country to the town decidedly increased over the previous period. With the year 1898, at the close of the financial

panic, the movement became more decidedly obvious, and from 1902 to 1909 entire neighborhoods have removed within a few months. It is difficult to determine precisely the extent of this social readjustment, but I believe it might be stated approximately that the removals from the country to the city from 1890 until 1898 were twice as numerous as during the preceding decade; that from 1898 until 1902 the removals exceeded the previous ten years, and that the rate of removal has again doubled within the past five years. These estimates have been made from a careful analysis of several representative rural communities and cannot be far from right.

And it must not be overlooked that it is the wealthier communities that are affected, and within these several communities it is the wealthier and more progressive families that are migrating from the rural neighborhoods. Within a county one township may be composed for the most part of small farms and have an almost exclusive landlord cultivation. Here the personnel is persistent and affords few suggestions of change. Yet not more than ten miles distant, where larger estates are common, the city migration is most evidently in full movement. The readjustment, then, is social in its causes; but it creates not only social, but important economic problems as consequences. And while the dangers are not immediately at hand, we cannot but think that within a short time the problem of the country will be as menacing to the national welfare as the problem of the city has become. Many of the dangers, however, can only be anticipated at the present time.

The most immediate effect of these changes in the rural personnel may be observed in the country churches. The church for many centuries has been almost the exclusive social centre of the rural communities. The lack of facilities for communication made small neighborhoods the rule, and each community of a few miles in extent had its preaching-place. Sometimes the religious services were held in church buildings, sometimes the rural schools were utilized, but in either case the attendance was always large. The churches had been established with the first settlement of the country; their exclusive position as centres of social interests had attached all hearts to them. Families had grown up with the strongest feelings of loyalty for this local ecclesiasticism, fathers and mothers had been buried in the church-

yard, children had been baptized at the altar of this local place of worship, and at each service-time the vehicles of every household were by the church door. The leading and well-established families took a prominent part in the church attendance and services and seldom yielded place to any newcomer. These leading families were the supporters of the church and the directors of the Sunday-school. Their deepest attachments in the neighborhood life, next to their personal welfare, were to the church. They found great satisfaction in the beauty of the church edifice and in the prosperous condition of the church's financial affairs. But it is such representative families as we have depicted that have removed to the towns and cities. For a time the old church fellowship is remembered and occasional visits are made to the rural home, that the family may again worship in the cherished sanctuary, but these visits become less frequent after a few years and finally cease. By these removals the churches have been deprived of their chief financial support, and the communities have lost the leading participators in their religious activities.

The new families who have moved into the neighborhood to cultivate the land do not in any degree fill these vacancies. Many reasons conjoin to make this impossible. The newcomers are landless and often very poor. Their only wealth consists of farming implements which are capable of easy removal from place to place. The country neighborhood is the most conservative type of community life and resents the intrusion of the strange face. And when the intruder is also landless, any attempt upon his part to assume neighborhood leadership by activity in the church is opposed. For the rural habitant has learned, through long experience, to associate personal worth with landed possessions and with staid and permanent residence in the community. Every element of personal worthiness, according to accustomed standards, is lacking in the newcomers, and while they are permitted to attend the house of worship, if they wish to live in even tolerable amity with their neighbors they must not be too assertive. Possibly a longer residence of the tenantry might modify this *régime,* but the commercial basis of the new agriculture makes this impossible, and after a few years the tenant removes elsewhere and a still newer face is seen. Meanwhile the duties of supporting the rural church weigh more and more heavily upon the diminishing number of landowners who

have not yet removed to the towns. Contributions for religious purposes never have been large, or in any degree proportioned to the wealth of the several communities, and the support of the church always has been a burden to the people. Now, however, the burden has become arduous. The tenants who have succeeded the old body of resident landowners contribute practically nothing toward the support of the church. At the beginning of their farming year they are without financial means and even obtain their supplies of groceries and of clothing upon credit until their harvest may permit of payment. Then when the grain is ready for marketing, the accounts which have been incurred for the family necessities must be paid, and after that little remains. And if the lease cannot be renewed for another year the small savings in the family exchequer is husbanded to pay the expenses incident to a removal to a new abode. Indeed, the tenants not only fail to contribute toward the support of the rural churches, but seldom attend religious services at all. And thus the churches are weakened in their financial support, and at the same time the attendance is considerably lessened. Finally the neighborhood becomes unable to support the church as formerly, and instead of regular preaching services pastors are discharged, the church joins with another in a contiguous neighborhood which is suffering in like manner, and the two congregations struggle to accomplish what had heretofore been an easy task for either.

This course has actually been pursued in many different places in the Middle West. Whether it will afford a satisfactory solution of the problem of the rural church remains to be seen. But that it is actually the experience through which the country church is passing needs only a casual examination of the statistics of any of our religious bodies to verify. The strongest religious denomination in the Middle West, both in numbers of communicants and in the wealth of its membership, is the Methodist Episcopal Church. The custom of this church in the country neighborhoods to which it ministers is to unite several weak local congregations into what are called circuits. If two churches form a circuit they are ministered to alternately: sometimes the ministrations are conducted at the one place Sunday morning and at the other Sunday evening, or the Sundays are alternated between the two places. When four churches are united, a single service is devoted to each of the congregations once in each fort-

night. The annual statistics published by the Methodist Episcopal Church abundantly verify the views expressed in this essay and are a most important commentary upon our present agrarian revolution. The general tendency of the churches of this denomination in the Middle West east of the Mississippi during what we have termed the second period of agricultural development was to begin on the large circuit plan with religious ministrations once a month or once a fortnight. The circuits would gradually decrease in extent and finally many rural neighborhoods were able alone to support a resident pastor and to have regular religious ministrations. From 1890 to 1895 the development of rural churches was most remarkable. Every year the conferences were called upon to readjust the circuits and stations, as the several preaching appointments were called, and more and more the rural neighborhoods were demanding resident pastors. But by the year 1898 all this was changed. And by 1900 the newly formed stations or single churches which were capable of supporting resident ministers unaided were joined into groups or circuits again. Instead of circuits being divided as heretofore, and each being made the gainer in larger ministrations to the neighborhood religious life, circuits were united. And a large surplus of clergymen were driven into secular life in order that they might obtain a livelihood.

Other denominations have had a like experience. Churches once strong and vigorous have been weakened and weaker churches have been abandoned. The religious conditions have not yet become universally desperate, but we are indicating tendencies, and one of the most marked in the rural life of the Middle West is that which is threatening the destruction of the rural church.

Not so evident as the effect of the agrarian revolution upon the rural religious life is its influence on the social and economic interests of these communities. The second and third periods through which the rural West has passed, or is passing, are both characterized by large improvements. In the second period the improvements were directed toward making the farm more comfortable and a fitter place of residence. It was an era for the building of large houses and barns. In the third period the improvements are made for more purely economic ends. They are intended to make the farms more productive. Smaller houses are erected and they have few conveniences. The chief expendi-

tures are now made for the draining of the land and for the erecting of adequate fences. The conception of the farm as a home has given way to that of the farm as an investment. In the second period rural social life was greatly enriched. The church was the chief social centre and its course we have already depicted. But in other ways social experience was becoming broader and more varied. Families began to subscribe for daily newspapers instead of the weekly and monthly sheets which they had taken before. Magazines also were found upon the tables of the well-to-do families in the country. Ladies formed literary and social clubs and met in turn at their several homes. Table appointments were marked by increasing wealth and culture. Cheap colored glass and plated ware was succeeded by cut glass and sterling silver. A trip to Florida or to California for the winter was of too frequent occurrence to occasion remark. There are many communities in the Middle West which have not as yet succumbed to the townward trend and in which the social life is varied and attractive. But in the neighborhoods which have already passed into the third stage of our agricultural development and which in every instance are the neighborhoods most progressive and wealthy—all of these marks of the growing intrinsic richness of social experience have passed or are passing. The rural home now is a tenement of a few rooms situated on a corner of the farm, or else a few rooms in the rear of the great mansion are devoted to the use of the tenant and his family. In the latter case, the greater part of the farm residence is locked so that the tenant cannot enter. In these homes magazines are never taken; newspapers are sometimes subscribed for, but more generally are begged at the neighboring town on market day. These tenants seldom make calls upon their neighbors and social gatherings are limited to occasions of sickness and death. Table appointments are meagre, and again the chief diversion of rural life is the weekly trip to the county-seat. The social experience in rural communities is fast recurring to a type which was prevalent from thirty to fifty years ago, with this great difference: that then it marked a stage of social advancement and was common throughout the country, while now it indicates social degeneration and is a consequence of tenant farming.

The educational institutions of our rural communities are likewise affected. Schoolhouses had been built in convenient locali-

ties and were well attended. This is still true in neighborhoods which have not been greatly affected by the agrarian changes we are emphasizing in this essay. There has been some tendency to unite schools, however, closing many and having two or three in a township to which all of the children are transported in wagons at the public expense. But we must not overlook important factors in this change of educational scheme. The movement toward centralization of rural schools is most advanced in our wealthier communities—that is, in the communities which are rapidly being given over to the tenantry. The present tenants of the great farms have fewer children than the landlord families which preceded them in occupancy of the farms, and the necessity of the rural schools has decidedly lessened. And while the desire for fewer schools and greater efficiency of the teaching force has had large influence, the movement toward centralization of schools has been accelerated by the present agrarian revolution.

Then, too, the end of the community existence has been changed. The rural community is following the lead of the city in losing the home feeling. The old home existed largely for the sake of the community and sought to render the community life more attractive. The family expected to remain in the neighborhood forever; the fathers and mothers chose plots in the churchyard in which to be buried; the sons and daughters looked forward to the establishment of homes as near their birthplace as possible. The succeeding tenant habitant has no such sentimental regard for the neighborhood. He has lived in the community for a year or two, but is willing to remove elsewhere upon the assurance of a better farm or a less stringent lease. His possession of his present leasehold is precarious, as his lease is generally for a single year and seldom for a greater term than three years. He is watching constantly for an opportunity to better his material circumstances, and this expectation is necessarily associated with the idea of removal from his present abode. So his attachment to the community is as precarious as his tenancy. It has no permanent interest in him, nor has he in the community. And the sole tie which holds them together even temporarily is their mutual financial profit.

The influence of the agrarian revolution upon political affairs is not yet felt. The revolutionary changes have scarcely proceeded far enough for these effects to become manifest. We can, there-

fore, only anticipate their probable consequences. The landlord yeomanry which gave so distinct and positive a character to rural life in the Middle West had strong political predilections. Like their prototypes in England, their chief interests, beyond their immediate necessities for a livelihood, were in governmental affairs. The leading men of the neighborhood sought the township offices and occasionally claimed local support in candidacy for a county office. In the commercial tenancy which is fast developing, we can see no promise that this splendid yeoman spirit will persist. The tenants themselves cannot become candidates for public office because of the uncertainty of their tenure, for they can give no guarantee that they will be permanent members of the local political life. The landlord cultivators are constantly and rapidly decreasing, and within a few years the men of strong and virile character will have given up farming as a personal occupation. The residue of landlord cultivators will be a class of small proprietors who have no decided opinions on any question, political, religious or economic.

From a present examination of rural conditions, it would appear that agricultural life in the Middle West is rapidly nearing a stage of development which has many resemblances to the factory life of the manufacturing towns. In the latter there is a large body comprising the entire manual toiling-class, who are held together by an economic bond. They live contiguously to one another, they are all dependent for their livelihoods upon precarious contracts of employment, they have no vital interest in the enterprises in which they are engaged beyond the wage which they receive, and upon their discharge from their present employment they expect to migrate to some distant place where they may again obtain wage-earning positions of the same kind they now have. Now all of these phenomena are appearing in the life of the rural tenant class which is rapidly developing. They do not migrate so far as do the wage-earners of the manufacturing towns, but the removal is quite as real. In every other regard their experiences suggest kindred phenomena to those which have developed to such menacing proportions in the manufacturing centres of the country.

The present crisis in rural life presents a most serious problem for solution. The safeguard of the country has always been its home life and its neighborhood attachments. Upon the recent

growth of large cities and the segregation of industrial enterprises in communities which have been called manufacturing towns the political, religious and social life of the nation was gravely menaced. The problem of the city has thus far failed to be even approximately solved. But in the face of increasing perplexities caused by the difficulties of municipal administration, by the weakening of churches and religious influences, by the sundering of social ties and the destruction of family and neighborhood restraints, the chief reliance of all serious thinkers has been upon the virile American of our rural communities. There was a supreme confidence that, however the larger aggregations of society in cities might complicate the problems of Government and jeopardize the social welfare there could be no serious danger because of the ameliorating tendencies of rural life. Now, however, this safeguard is dissipated. The agrarian revolution which is assuming alarming proportions in the more highly developed sections of the Middle West, and is rapidly spreading throughout the Mississippi Valley, is the rural phase of the tremendous social upheaval which for a third of a century has been revolutionizing our urban life. What the ultimate consequences of the agrarian revolution may be I do not venture to suggest. What will be the combined effect of the problem of the city as it has developed for thirty years, becoming more and more inexplicable as time has passed, and the problem of the country as it is developing at so accelerated a rate, demands the most serious thought of our public-minded citizens. And the combined problems constitute a dangerous menace to our New World civilization.

JOSEPH B. ROSS.

THE UNREST IN INDIA.

BY SIR HENRY COTTON, K.C.S.I., M.P.

THE cause of the unrest in India is well known and can be briefly stated. It is due, on the one hand, to the growing demand for greater power and influence in the control and management of their own affairs among the educated classes of the Indian community, and, on the other, to the systematic rejection of that demand by those who are responsible for the government of the country. The situation is a critical one, but there is nothing in it that need cause surprise. It was inevitable that, with the spread of education and Western civilization among the people, new ideas and new aspirations should spring into life; and it was also a matter of equally assured certainty—the limitations of human nature being what they are—that a handful of white men, accustomed to the exercise of autocratic rule over a colored population, would resist to the utmost any and every tendency to encroach on the privileges of their position.

In this deadlock we find the kernel of the unrest which, broadly speaking, expresses itself in two directions. One is in the growth of a popular passion towards a national and patriotic instinct manifested primarily on political lines aiming at Home Rule and self-government, but also affected by economic considerations put forward in favor of domestic industries and opposed to any form of foreign exploitation of the country. The other is the growth of a racial feeling—antagonistic, hostile, bitter—of which there is ample evidence on both sides, tending, not only to obstruct harmonious coöperation between the rulers and the ruled, but to present an insuperable barrier to friendly relations.

The spirit of discontent discloses itself in an infinite variety of developments; but underlying the grievance, which, while it may be one thing or another, is always the consciousness and

conviction that the control of public affairs by foreign hands is exercised in a manner differing from and contrary to the desires and wishes of the people affected by it.

Take the case of the Punjab, which has attracted considerable attention in Great Britain. The Punjab is comparatively a backward province from the educational point of view, and it would in ordinary circumstances afford a very barren field for the propagation of the new ideas and methods of thought which find more congenial encouragement elsewhere. But the barren soil has been fertilized by much discontent. The grievance in that province was occasioned by heavy increase in land taxation, and especially by arbitrary procedure in connection with the enforcement of water rates and the colonization of waste lands brought under cultivation by the extension of irrigation. The climax was reached by the introduction into the Legislative Council of a Colonization Bill which gave effect to a number of measures strongly resented by the colonists. Those colonists are for the most part an ignorant class of people, but it so happens that they furnish to the Indian army some of its most valuable soldiers. They had no mouthpiece among themselves to represent their grievances, but they speedily found spokesmen among the educated members of the community. The Colonization Bill was vehemently opposed in every constitutional way; but, in spite of all opposition, it passed into law, and with the more haste because, as the Lieutenant-Governor foolishly declared from his place in Council, any delay in legislation would only encourage the agitation. Public meetings were held in which the colonists were harangued by agitators; speeches more or less seditious in their character were made, and disturbances followed. Then the Government took action. Prosecutions were instituted, newspaper editors were sent to jail, and Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh, whose names are now well known in England, were arrested and deported without charge or trial under the provisions of an old Regulation of 1819. The province was in a ferment, and lively excitement naturally extended to all parts of India. But, at this stage, the Government took steps which should certainly have been adopted in the first instance. They proceeded to remove the causes of the discontent. Remissions of the land tax were allowed, water rates were reduced, and, above all, the Viceroy refused to allow the provisions of the Coloniza-

tion Bill to come into operation. The immediate result of these measures was to restore quiet to the country. It has been affirmed that this restoration of peace and order was due to the extraordinary measures taken for the punishment of offenders, and especially to the deportation of Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh. Those may believe this who will. The simplest application of common sense will attribute the effect produced to its obvious antecedent. That there is still any unrest in the Punjab is due to the protracted prosecutions which are still going on, and to arrests which are still being made. The Punjab is not free from racial bitterness or from that passion for nationality to which reference has been made, but it is not in this direction that there has been any popular movement in that province. There were specific and particular grievances of which the local leaders of the national movement skilfully availed themselves, and the importance of the agitation was entirely due to the alarm of the Government that the native troops were affected by it. In the action taken it is easy to recognize the powerful hand of Lord Kitchener as the dominating influence. The evil wrought lies in the high-handed, arbitrary and vindictive measures adopted, which have stimulated in an unprecedented degree the general unrest which is simmering in all parts of India.

In Bengal the circumstances are very different. There is no province in India which has hitherto been more docile and law-abiding than Bengal. But it is the province in which English education and Western ideas have been most largely disseminated, and where the strongest desire has naturally grown up among the people for representation in the Government and a wider and more practical share in the administration of their own affairs. It is also the province where the greatest contempt has been shown for public opinion and popular aspirations. It is in Bengal, therefore, that manifestations of popular discontent have found their most ample outlet. The causes of discontent there are innumerable, but it is not necessary to mention more than two or three of them. The dial of local self-government has been set back in Calcutta; a system of nomination to Government service has been substituted for competitive examinations; popular institutions have been discouraged; unaided schools have been hampered and fettered; and all branches of education, including the University, have been officialized. Above all, there is the

recent partition of Bengal, which was not only carried out in direct opposition to the wishes of the people and in spite of their most vigorous protests, but was enforced with every degree of harshness and want of sympathy.

The wide-reaching effect of this measure on the national movement in India calls for particular notice. It is not necessary to discuss the administrative reasons put forward for its justification. The scheme of partition naturally commended itself to the members of the Government service who saw before them an attractive vista of additional officers and emoluments. But it was repugnant in the extreme to the inhabitants of the country, in whom there is a sense of patriotic pride in their province, their ancestry and their future. The partition of Bengal cuts the Bengalee nation into two parts, according to a purely arbitrary line. It is based on no ethnical distinctions, and follows no ancient frontier. It divides a province which has been united from the earliest times known to history. It necessitates a decision on the part of two separate administrations, and of two separate legislatures, on every question concerning the Bengalee people — their land system, their municipal system, their taxation, their police, their communications and their education. It means the disruption of the nation politically and socially. It is small wonder that the people did not submit to it. The object of the measure was to shatter the unity and to disintegrate the feelings of solidarity which are established in the province. It was no administrative reason that lay at the root of the scheme. It was part and parcel of Lord Curzon's policy to enfeeble the growing power and destroy the political tendencies of a patriotic spirit. Bengalees are the leaders of political agitation in modern India. With all their faults, they are the principal section of the community which has inspired the future hope and destiny of their country. The consciousness and conviction that the partition was designed to weaken Bengalee influence added intensity to the popular irritation on the subject. The measure was carried through against the will of the people. They held more than a thousand meetings and demonstrations; their local press was unanimous; they made every variety of representation; they exhausted the resources of constitutional agitation. But all their protests were ignored and treated with contempt. At last they fell back on new methods, which resulted

in the organization of a movement for the encouragement of national manufactures and industries and the prevention, by every legitimate means, of the importation and consumption of foreign goods. It was hoped that this form of agitation would operate on Englishmen through their pockets, and so induce public opinion to influence the Government to pay some regard to local wishes in Bengal. This hope, it is needless to say, has not been fulfilled. But the movement has displayed remarkable vitality. In spite of official opposition of every kind, accompanied in many cases by persecution of individuals and attempts at forcible repression, it has held its own. It has spread to the other Presidencies. It is still in its infancy and has need of the application of capital to back it. It was inevitable that its supporters should bring themselves within the meshes of the law, but they have outlived persecution. It has led to intolerable friction between the officials and the people, but it is a permanent outcome of the partition. The movement is intensely national in character, and is the most practical and visible form in which the national tendencies of the country find their present expression.

Side by side with the official attitude of antagonism to this movement, is the sinister attempt, which has been made by the authorities in India, to fan the religious friction which is unfortunately an inherent element in a country where Hindoos and Mohammedans are mingled among one another in varying numbers. In India generally, the number of Hindoos vastly preponderates over that of Mohammedans, but in Eastern Bengal the followers of Islam constitute an actual majority of the population. In other parts of India, Mohammedans are more or less of foreign extraction, and there is a strain of Arab or Mogul blood in their veins. But in Eastern Bengal they are almost all comparatively recent converts from among the lower castes and poorer classes of the people. They are of the same race and blood as the Hindoos, and these have for many generations lived together on the most friendly terms. No trace of hostility was ever found there under normal conditions. But the element of strife was kindled by the unfortunate partition of the Bengal Province, one of the avowed objects of which was to strengthen and revive Mohammedan interests and aspirations—a legitimate and praiseworthy object in itself, but not at the cost of national

disunion. The consequence has been seen in an outbreak of fanaticism which resulted in riots and disorder in many portions of the province. During these troublous times the local authorities failed to display that impartiality which has hitherto been a distinguishing feature of Indian administration, and have incurred the just reprobation of the highest judicial court in Calcutta for the anti-Hindoo bias they have manifested. But the evil has been done. Dissensions have arisen where they never previously existed; and, although among the rising generation there are signs of a common feeling in favor of the brotherly coöperation of the two great communities, a sullen sense of distrust and resentment remains.

Such, then, have been the direct results of the partition of Bengal, which can only be described as one of the greatest administrative blunders ever perpetrated by the British Government in India. The unrest in Bengal has found an echo in every part of the country; and, aided by other causes on which there is no space to dwell, it has afforded an impetus to the national movement of incalculable force. But in Bengal, unlike the Punjab, no steps have been taken to remove the causes of discontent. The native army is not recruited from Bengal, and that single fact is sufficient to explain the difference of policy. The partition has not been modified, and no concession has been made to Bengalee unrest. The present condition of affairs in that province shows no symptom of improvement. The police have been strengthened and jail accommodation has been extended, but there has been a distinct loss of efficiency in every department. There has arisen a bitterness of feeling between the officials, on the one hand, and the educated classes, on the other, which has aggravated the situation almost to the breaking-point. Press prosecutions and the incarceration and flogging of individuals for political agitation are of every-day occurrence, and a persistent policy of repression and coercion is maintaining the popular excitement at fever pitch.

It is unnecessary to dwell on the position in the other Presidencies. In Bombay there is great discontent and irritation. Demonstrations of unparalleled magnitude have been held there. But there has been no violence as yet. Madras is disturbed and unsettled in sympathy with the feeling in other parts of India, and outbreaks have occurred which have been rigorously repressed.

The public press and opinion in all parts of India strike a unanimous note and reflect the feeling in Bengal.

The unsympathetic response which has been made to popular demands, and the official attitude of coercion and repression deliberately assumed are at the root of the discontent and unrest and impatience of the British connection with the country which is the most ominous cloud upon the horizon of Indian politics. There is now a party of Indian nationalists who despair of constitutional agitation, and openly advocate the establishment of an absolutely free and independent form of national government in India. Their aim is to sever the connection between England and India altogether and at the shortest notice. Their object is to propagate a violent anti-British agitation, and by any means in their power to make British rule impossible in India. These men are a shadow of danger which casts itself over the future. A few years ago, there was the possibility of the rise of such a party which has sprung into life as a consequence of a policy which, while concentrating itself on efficiency on purely bureaucratic lines, has proceeded in complete disregard of the wishes and feelings of the people affected. But the members of this party are still in a minority. Their powers are rapidly increasing and recent events have given an unprecedented stimulus to the cause they advocate. If the present policy of the Government continues, there is too much reason to fear that they will become a majority. But they are not yet in that position. The recognized leaders of Indian thought and the original pioneers of the national movement are still unaffected by any symptoms of alienation from the British Government. They are men of moderate views. Their ideal is not separation from Great Britain. They desire to obtain self-government and the detailed management of their own affairs. Their ideal is that India may ultimately be placed in a position corresponding to that of the self-governing colonies of the Empire. They look forward to the future of India as a federation of united states, cemented together under the authority of England. That is the ideal which they hold before them, knowing well that it can only be realized gradually and cautiously and as the result of time and experience.

The practical difficulty with which the Government of India is immediately confronted is the impatience of the extreme section of the community. The danger is that, by too tardy an acknowl-

edgment of the changes which are taking place in India, the British may drive the educated classes to force their opportunity before the country is ripe for such a consummation. At times of crisis, difficulties settle themselves roughly; and those who have not advanced beyond the transition period will always be apt to be borne away by the violence of the stream. At such a moment, true statesmanship will be evinced, not only by care and caution, but also by wise encouragement. The difficulty is one which may be overcome if the members of the Government of India associate themselves with the leaders of Indian thought. These leaders possess immense power and influence; and, if the Government act with them and through them and not against them, the disturbing tendencies of the extreme party will speedily subside. There is no danger in this course. The leaders of the Indian movement are not yet borne away by the enthusiasm of their followers. The formation of an extreme Left among their own party is as embarrassing to them as to the Government. Their faith in British honor and integrity is firm and strong, albeit it has been shaken by recent events. They are grateful for the education with which they have been endowed, for the liberties they enjoy, and for their immunity from foreign invasion. But their gratitude is tempered by a feeling that the pledges held out to them have not been fulfilled, and a sense of disappointment rapidly rising into bitterness has been kindled amongst them. It is because their claims have been disregarded, their prayers rejected, and their coöperation spurned, that the present difficulties have arisen.

Unfortunately, true statesmanship is rare; and at this crisis the Government of India, with the approval of Mr. Morley, the Secretary of State, have put forward certain schemes of administrative reform in the hope that they will tend to alleviate the popular unrest. Mr. Morley has himself appointed two natives of India to his own Council at the India Office. This would have been a wise measure if these gentlemen had been in any degree representatives of progressive Indian opinion. But they are not. The one is a retired Hindoo official who is saturated with officialism, and the other is a Mohammedan who has passed a long service in the employment of the Nizam of Hyderabad. Both are men of eminent respectability, but neither can ever become the mouthpiece in Council of modern Indian thought.

A Royal Commission has been appointed to inquire into the relations now existing between the Government of India and the various Provincial Governments, and between the Provincial Governments and the authorities subordinate to them, with a view of reporting whether by decentralizing authority their relations can be improved. But all authority in India is despotic, the Provincial Governments are petty despotisms, and every delegation of authority is calculated to deprive the people of that exercise of control and check and right of appeal which they regard as a great privilege and safeguard. Sanction has been accorded to the appointment of an Advisory Council of Notables in India. This is a good measure in itself, but it does not go very far, and its weakness lies in the fact that these territorial magnates of whom the Council is to consist represent neither the people nor the educated classes of the community. Lastly, it is in contemplation to enlarge the Legislative Councils, subject to the maintenance of an official majority. This, too, is a step in the right direction; but the proposals are vitiated by the constitution of the enlarged Council, which provides not only for a large increase in the number of official members and for the special representation of Mohammedans, of commerce, and of the landed interest, but raises the elective franchise and affords no addition to the number of elected members.

It need hardly be said that these measures are wholly inadequate to meet the exigencies of the existing situation. In many respects they are retrograde; for, relatively speaking, the representation of the educated community on the reformed Councils of Government will be even less than it is at present. They have been received with a chorus of disappointment from the Indian press. The acute and well-trained intellect of Indian publicists has showered upon them a flood of hostile criticism. Here is one specimen:

"In this scheme we find the usual official representation, that is the appointment or nomination of men whose duties will consist in the defence of official practice and procedure, of official blunders and misgovernment; there is the representation of the ruling chiefs, anxious for honors and salutes; of commercial interests anxious to levy countervailing duties on coarse cotton goods, to provide unlimited funds for railway construction and rolling stock, and exploit the country with foreign capital to the exclusion of our own countrymen; there is the representation of landholders and notabilities, anxious to support

proposals for personal aggrandizement at the expense of their tenants; there is the representation of Mohammedans, anxious to create a division between the two great sections of the Indian community; finally there is the representation of special interests and minorities who have hitherto remained unrepresented. But the greatest interest in the land—the interest of the masses—has been ignored."

Here is another from a somewhat different but equally effective point of view:

"The effect of the proposed reforms will be to set class against class and weaken the growing influence of the educated classes in the legislative councils. Their influence in the country is bound to grow and it cannot, indeed, be curtailed by any action that the Government may take. These reforms, therefore, when carried out will bring the Government into sharper conflict with the educated classes. Having little or no voice in the administration or in the making of the laws, their opposition to the Government will be keener than before, stimulated by the consciousness of a grave wrong done to their class."

And here is a third which briefly summarizes public opinion in its most contemptuous and decisive aspect:

"Until Mr. Morley frees India from the nightmare of executive tyranny, people are hardly disposed to attach even a featherweight of importance to his academic reforms."

Here we have the case stated in a nut-shell. While a policy of vigorous coercion is being pursued, the people of India are in no mood to listen to any schemes of this character. Every hour the party of discontent grows in strength, and the power and influence of the moderate section of Indian opinion perceptibly diminishes. It was Lord Randolph Churchill who once told us that remedial measures which we planted under the shadow of coercion must be, from their nature, poor and sickly plants of foreign origin, almost foredoomed to perish before they begin to grow. Truer words were never uttered; and it is a gloomy reflection and the bitter irony of fate that, with a Liberal Government in England in power, and with Mr. Morley, the champion of philosophic Liberalism, as Secretary of State, there should be, not only no improvement in the position or prospect of Indian affairs, but a positive aggravation of unrest and anxiety and no feature of encouragement in the outlook.

HENRY COTTON.

TO A GREEK HEAD CALLED APHRODITE.

(In the Museum of Fine Arts at Boston.)

BY MRS. SCHUYLER VAN RENSSELAER.

Cold is the day, a northern day and darkly cold,
The daylight drowned in snow.
The singer heeds not, for his eyes and heart behold
Beauty's high lamp aglow.

Thou lovely waif from mellower time and clime than ours,
Give ear to his low plea:
Grant him a breath from the one field that bore such flowers—
Thy prototype and thee.

Not Aphrodite, though they name thee so.
Thine eyes are misted crescent moons below
The white cloud of thy brow,
But hers are stars—clear and elate
Like the bright Twins that once were Leda's sons,
Or passionate
As Betelgeuze and Bellatrix of martial name
Who in his shoulders flame
Where the huge Hunter through the midnight runs.
Her lips are tools of destiny:
Forever newly they accord, refuse, invite
Deep dangers of delight;
Thine but imagine tremulously.
And, many though her moods, she knoweth not the one
That woos us to this stone
Wherein thou livest passionless,
Immortal in a vision-haunted wistfulness.

Not Aphrodite, nor of race divine
Another bidding worship such as mine

Come never nearer than the dust beneath her tread.
A girl from golden years long dead,
A maid unknown, unnamèd, here survives,
Rescued in this
Fair chrysalis
From a far ruined world whose shore
Shows dense with formless shadows of lost lives,
Lost and forevermore forgot, forevermore.

Thou, only, saved!—and yet not thou, not thou!
Only the line
Of cheek and brow,
The curves of eyelid, lip, and chin,
The delicate languor of the head's incline,
The rippling of the soft and heavy hair;
And, shrined their purity within,
Veiled and elusive yet imperishably there,
In reverence to be read as on some sacred scroll,
The signet-markings of the soul.

How shall we trace the clue to thy sweet mystery?
We fancy thee as one who grieves
For the soft stirring of gray olive leaves
And yellow jonquils underneath the olive tree,
And for the high clear lines of shaft and architrave,
For lifted walls serene in beauty won
From chiselled form and pattern, brave
With brazen shields where break the arrows of the sun.
A first quick fancy! But we know,
Shut here in arid walls beneath a cold
And alien sky,
Thou art not yearning for the land
Thy home. For even as we to-day behold
And worship, even so
His eyes beheld whose hand
From exquisite flesh that needs must die
To marble of immortality
Transferred thy spirit while were thine
Olive, acanthus, laurel, and the vine
In varying companionship accordant met,
Far hills' unchanging rhythm of undulate line

And changing rhapsodies of purple hue,
And shining fanes on bare and sunny headlands set
Between the darker and the paler blue.

Not these the loadstone of thy wishful gaze.
Now, even as when the sculptor sought in thee
A guide to beauty's verity,
Inward it turns always.
And who shall follow? Where the path
Into the sanctuary of a soul that hath
The walls of pilèd centuries for guard?
Long have I loved and pondered; keeping patient watch
Long have I waited, as though unawares to catch
A voice soft-whispering beneath
The impenetrable sheath
Marmorean. And I hear no word.
I only know that in thine own heart lay
The clouds that dimmed for thee the brilliance of the day.
Not throes of empire shadowed thus the joyousness
Of thy young years; not cities' leaguered long distress,
Lost armies, argosies a-wreck, or heroes' fate
Crushed to a splendid death by their own glory's weight.

The hurt we know not, but we know
Never it pierced, the shield of innocence below,
To the immaculate deep core of maidenhood.
Thy rosaries
Of fond remembering with but pearls are strung;
The roses of delight whereon thy longings brood
Thy virgin vision sees
Unsullied lily-fields among.
—Ay, but they budded once in crimson wealth to blow
And fervent fragrance, all ungarnered though they died.
Not thine a claustral chastity
That had denied
To answering love its happy seignory.
Not by thine own free choosing was withheld
The passionate whole
Of woman's dower; not thine own will but fate
Implacable thy feet compelled
To turn thee from the gate

Of motherhood, to the enkindled soul
Refused the body's mate,
And bade the stirred heart live—ah, how reluctantly!—
Betrothed forever to virginity.

How are we parted, thou and I! What miles of space,
What irretraceable far miles of time,
Dissever from thy face
The eyes that crave so to have seen its living prime!
Even the pole-star, to our sense
Symbol and proof of permanence,
Hath journeyed, so were multiplied the years,
Unto the pilot place
He held not for seafarers of thy race;
And on the scintillant highway of the zodiac
The sun hath tired and fallen back;
No longer he appears,
Punctual, in the appointed star-framed houses where,
When ancient wisdom sought him there
As solstice or as equinox returned,
His dazzling signal burned.

Thou art the elder by how much! Yet young, so young—
As though the birds of dawn had by thy cradle sung
When I long since had learned to bear
The burdens of the laboring day. So long,
Long dead! Yet still a woman-child among
The living generations, and alive
With such an animate flame as shall survive
When we who breathe to-day are in our turn
Tenants of perished graves; ay sure—
Voiceless and yet how eloquent!—
Ageless, unaltering, to endure
Till unborn centuries shall of thy witness learn
Not time but beauty is the arm plenipotent.

And now, to-day, leaning thine ear
So gently, it must be that thou canst hear
How I, wandering singer, plead to thee.
Quicken my timid minstrelsy:
Show me in dreams what memories hold thy long

And tender gazing,
That, woven in my song,
They thrill it to a tenderer phrasing;
Let visions of thy visions of young love
To purest cadences my passion move;
Interpret the sweet patience of such pain
As stirs to ardencies of love again;
Interpret innocence, and youth, and April's breath,
The powerlessness of time, the impotence of death.
To the high deities for my sake pray
Who choose and use us as they will: prevail that they
With joys and tears prepare the seed-beds of my heart,
Winnow with chastening winds the harvests of my soul,
Touch my chill lips with the white coal
Of truth, and clarify my sight
Upward to follow where the guiding light
Streams from the torch of art.

So shall I sing, albeit with muted notes, as sing
Celestial clear
The musical fair meanings of thy face;
So to the eye, the ear,
Of spirits straying in a dumb and darkened place
My melody shall bring
Echoes, if only faint and far,
Of brooks and birds and sun-rays of the spring;
So shall it lave them in a halcyon air,
Lead them with banners as of moon and morning star;
Lull them to rest;
In the numb breast
Unseal the fountains of emotion;
Soothe the tempestuous mood
And quell
The headstrong insurrection of the blood
With balm of poesy's ablution,
And the sure anodyne
Of harp-strings touched to chords that tell
What thou hast told this burning heart of mine,
Daughter of earth and voice of the divine!

M. G. Van Rensselaer.

NEW BOOKS REVIEWED.

ESSAYS.

We have been told by one of our critical weeklies that Francis Thompson's "Shelley"* is not criticism. Perhaps not; if one is willing to exclude all Pater's criticism of poetry and art and all Swinburne's prose and nearly all interpretative analysis of poets by kindred minds, all Lamb's notes on the Elizabethans and all Coleridge's, then we can exclude the wonderful, illuminating essay of the great poet, just deceased, upon his great predecessor. Otherwise we must admit it to be, as the Hon. George Wyndham says in the Preface, the most important contribution to pure letters written in English during the last twenty years. Arnold's "Essays in Criticism," he says, did not reach such heights, and the only work he finds for comparison is Myers's "Virgil." Perhaps Pater's "Renaissance" might have been compared with it, but that it stands outside the pale of the twenty years.

No poet more than Shelley needs another poet to stand between him and the gaping multitudes; his ways were not as their ways, nor were his thoughts their thoughts. He took no note of their limitations, but went singing along his seraph way, speaking as if all men were angels now and heaven had already descended to earth. This aloofness from the world and its affairs the late Francis Thompson understands as only a kindred soul can, and he sets forth the explanation in a prose as rich and colored, as luminous and finely wrought, as the highest poetry could be and yet without ever falling into the method or rhythm of poetry.

The essay, originally offered to the "Dublin Review" twenty years ago, was rejected by an editor whose name is wisely withheld and left to drift down the black hallways of oblivion and

* "Shelley." By Francis Thompson. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909.

ignominy with those of the densest of the Edinburgh reviewers. Had the wonderful essay been accepted, who can foretell how much lustrous and illuminative interpretation might have sprung from the same inexhaustible source? This exquisite bit was saved by Mr. Wilfred Meynell and Mr. Ward, and its publication swiftly sent the "Dublin Review" into a second edition, and the continued demand for the essay brought forth the present slim little volume. Together with the Swinburne essays on Shelley, it forms the most complete and perfect commentary on Shelley the poet and Shelley the man. But apart from its inestimable value as criticism and interpretation, it is an incomparable jewel of English prose, a veritable masterpiece.

There is but a modicum of valuable criticism in the world, and criticism which is at once constructive, minute and scholarly has hardly increased in England since the days of Arnold's "Essays in Criticism," Pater's "Appreciations" and Myers's "Virgil." Beside these classics one may, with perfect assurance, set Mr. Mackail's "Springs of Helicon,"* a volume which stands first in a projected cycle treating of the progress of English poetry, the subject which this poet and critic has chosen to deal with during his tenure of the chair of poetry in Oxford. The gain to all English readers will be incalculable if Mr. Mackail carries out his plan to the end, for he, of all men living, can, to adapt his own words, "make the office of criticism an interpretation of art in much the same way that art is an interpretation of life."

Those who from the beginning have followed Mr. Mackail's career know him the more able to enter into the poet's mind and art that he was, before he became a critic, a notable poet himself, and there are few students of poetry who have not learned to set his initials to the more exquisite poems in a rare and exquisite little volume called "Love in Idleness," which appeared in Oxford at the very beginning of the wonderful eighties of the last century. Perhaps the flow of poetic inspiration was too thin and intermittent, perhaps the age was not suited to the growth of poets; but, at any rate, those who watched and waited

* "The Springs of Helicon." By J. W. Mackail. Sometime Fellow of Balliol College, Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1909.

for a successor to Swinburne and Rossetti must herewith accept instead a successor to Matthew Arnold. And who can tell but that hidden away somewhere we may yet come at more of the author's poetry?

At any rate, we have in the present volume essays on Chaucer, Spenser and Milton which are not only penetrating and learned, but which give one the thrill and delight of work which has a universal quality; which compels assent, which has gone to the depths of significance and is more than fine and more than enthralling, it is simply *right*. If one disagrees in some minor points with Mr. Mackail's dicta, one at least knows that it is because one has lived too long in "a world which tends to be obtuse to poetry, to feel safe with dulness, and to take kindly to the second best." Otherwise one might have gone on believing that Milton's fame would ultimately rest upon the delightful and spontaneous products of youth, the "*Comus*," "*Lycidas*," "*Penseroso*" and "*L'Allegro*." But with a guide so great and an intelligence so trained to lead us the minor critic's whole task is that of expressing a profound gratitude and handing on the fame of the book to other readers. To know Robert Bridges's book on "Milton's Prosody" and Mr. Mackail's third essay in this volume is to have all the introduction necessary to the great poet, and, more, it is to have new inspiration to study and to grow.

Mr. Mackail explains that it was no part of his scheme of lectures from the chair to cope with contemporary poets, but the death of Swinburne placed him among the immortals, among those who, in the words of Simonides, οὐ τεθνᾶσι θανοντες being dead are yet alive. Mr. Swinburne, it will be remembered, although Mr. Mackail does not mention it, was one of the glories of Balliol College, and one well remembers the anecdote of the young and enthusiastic student who in the year '82, at his first breakfast with Jowett, asked the redoubtable head which had been Swinburne's rooms and received in the rasped and high-pitched voice of the master the irritated reply: "They were number ——, Mr. B——, so far as that can be of the slightest interest to any human being." Mr. Mackail describes, as he of all men living is best fitted to do, the blaze and crash of the fame of "Atalanta in Calydon," breaking in upon the poetic stagnation

which had preceded it. He tells us how the Olympians shook their heads. Tennyson offered one or two perfunctory and acid compliments, Browning declared it a "fuzz of words," and Matthew Arnold could not see why the world had broken out in loud applause when it had allowed his "Meropé" to be still-born. He explains very clearly how the obloquy heaped upon Swinburne after the publication of "Poems and Ballads" was, after all, but the recoil against the prodigious impact of a new art, in hands of immense genius upon a world in which the artistic sense had gone to sleep and could only be awakened by a shock which set all its nerves tingling. In the slight digression on Swinburne he reprints delightful extracts from Mr. H. D. Traill's parody, namely, that where the amazed world is represented as asking,

"Master, how is it done?"

And receives the lucid explanation,

"Let this thing serve you to know
When the river of rhymes should flow
I turn on the tap and they come."

And also that which shows the master telling how far short his imitators fall:

"They strut like jays in my lendings,
They chatter and screech; I sing:
They mimic my phrases and endings
And rum old Testament ring.
But the lyrical cry isn't in it
And the high gods know in a minute
It isn't the genuine thing."

"The genuine thing," writes Mr. Mackail,* "his own writing always was. It was always sincere and ever in a way curiously simple with the simplicity of an extraordinarily eloquent child who makes no reservations or compromises, who has no acquired tact, whose mind is quite transparent." He pays a beautiful tribute to the poet's personality, as it was known to those nearest to him, to his "transparent simplicity, unbounded affectionateness and steady loyalty."

Perhaps it is early yet to give his poetry the full meed of praise and at times Mr. Mackail seems over-cautious, but then it is

* "Swinburne." A lecture delivered before the University of Oxford April 30th, 1909, by J. W. Mackail. Sometime Fellow of Balliol College, Professor of Poetry in Oxford University. Oxford: The Clarendon Press.

the way of the world to hesitate before it lays the laurel wreath on the grave of mortality become immortal.

The truth is one thing, the truth in love is quite another; yet, whether it is of individuals or of nations, the truth to be really effective must be spoken in love. Mr. Collier's admittedly "acquired taste" for the English gives to almost every page of his very readable and suggestive book* a certain tartness not unlike too much lemon in the mayonnaise. Unconsciously he has borrowed something from his subject, perhaps, and is more austere than amiable, more advisory than persuasive. He takes the national manner and national gastronomics somewhat too seriously for cosmopolitan ease, and long as he has lived in England he still looks at the English rather than with them. This is, necessarily, to miss somewhat the collective meaning, however closely may be translated the individual word. Mr. Collier seems inclined to criticise the English more for what they are *not* than for what they are, and he recurringly blames them for falling below their avowed ideals. But can any people be judged thus and be judged fairly? England's supreme achievement is, by the example of her success, however partial, to have inspired in all peoples a love of freedom. And, however lamentable her shortcomings, just as all other birds are fabled to have learned nest-building from the magpie, so all modern governments have gone, consciously or unconsciously, to England for their political models. Politically, she has, at all events, taught even her conquered subjects their aspirations.

Nevertheless, Mr. Collier does see, perceive and understand a great deal, and sets down clearly and frankly his impressions and inferences. The chapter entitled "An English Country Town" is the most charming, perhaps, because the nearest to the author's heart; while that on "Sport" contains matter the least generally known and most suggestive.

It is the more serious portions of the book, however, which cause demur. To speak of the Japanese on one page as "varnished savages" and on another to place them scientifically beside Germany and the United States is surely a contradiction

* "England and the English. From an American Point of View." By Price Collier. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909.

in thought and in terms; while to suggest that an immediate war with Germany is the surest and quickest way to restore the toppling balance of England's commercial power—is much like advising a man to spend his principal in order to increase his income. These summary pronouncements and hasty conclusions cannot but cast doubt upon the capable author's own acumen and judgment—a doubt by no means deserved. For Mr. Collier's very noticeable book holds much just criticism with generous and appreciative admiration as well. It will appeal not only to those whose taste is acquired, but also to those whose love is inborn; and it offers more sagacious observation of a general kind than the American dwelling in England is usually able to give.

It remains only to speak a word in praise of Mr. Collier's lucid and fluent style—a style built upon the best English models and the outcome of trained craftsmanship.

"The people fancy they hate poetry, and they are all poets and mystics!" exclaimed Emerson. It is a pleasing affirmation, even if it does not compel unquestioning acceptance. A sufficiently deep probe would no doubt discover the potential mystic and poet in even those of us who are, as Jules Laforgue might say, most irreclaimably quotidian. Let us hug the thought to our bosoms for an ultimate solace. The detached observer of the literary show, in its contemporary processes, has need of some such solace. Certainly it is a rare experience to hear, among the clamorous and strident voices which to-day fill with noise the literary market-place, the voice of the writer who is both poet and mystic—rare enough in that enclosure which is set apart for the formal poet and almost never manifest in any less definitely consecrated region.

What is to be said of a writer who, in our immediate day, ventures to discourse, without the spice of paradox or the soothing balm of sentimentality, of such matters as Solitude, Detachment, the Service of Books, the Use of Symbols, Dreams and Visions, and who speaks of them gravely, profoundly, uncompromisingly: as, in short, a poet and mystic? It is an adventure to daunt the most implacable of philosophers, the most confirmed of visionaries: yet it has been undertaken and accomplished in a book which is as indisputably modern in impulse and quality

as it is in the moment of its appearance. This audacious writer is Louise Collier Willcox, and her book is "The Human Way,"* a sheaf of essays, meditative and discursive, upon life and art in their essential aspects.

Mrs. Willcox is not of the current type of pleasantly amiable and aimless essayists. Her Way is no by-path for sentimentalists or for intellectual and spiritual idlers. She is both poet and mystic; she has imagination, sensitiveness, plasticity. Yet she has also what the amiable philosopher of the peptonized school so seldom has—fortifying intellect and profound spiritual intuition. She is a writer who would have made glad the heart of Meredith, for she recognizes brain as "the station for the flight of soul." She is a weaver of dreams; yet she knows that "the laughter of reason refreshed is floriferous, like the magical great gale of the shifty spring deciding for summer." She can write of Friendship, Children, Out-of-doors, with an evident and delightful indifference to the sentimental lure. Wherever her discussions range there issues beauty or illumination. Her culture is mellow and comprehensive, her understanding is ripe and unbaffled; and, like the serene Transcendentalist, she is content to "leave hurry to slaves."

She has produced a book that is as winsome and noble as it is distinguished and exceptional: a book which, one likes to think, brings appreciably nearer that golden hour of fulfilment once seen by Jean Paul Richter—that time "when it shall be light; and when man shall awaken from his lofty dreams and find his dreams still there and that nothing has gone save his sleep."

TRAVEL.

The British officer in his finest flower is a spectacle to make glad the sun and to make strong the earth. Here† we have him in a sort of foot-note to Kipling, another story which should have been told at that great "Conference of the Powers" recorded in "Many Inventions." The tale of the two lions is itself stirring and epical; it is very fine, but the figure of Colonel Patterson

* "The Human Way." By Louise Collier Willcox. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1909.

† "The Man-Eaters of Tsavo and Other East-African Adventures." By Lieutenant-Colonel J. H. Patterson, D.S.O. London: Macmillan & Co., 1908.

is finer. It is rarely that the men who do things can tell of them, but he gives a straightaway vivid narrative that is irresistible. He is as much interested in the railway he built against all sorts of odds as in the big game that he killed by the way; yet every head of game has its own tale, and each that is told is told with Homeric exactitude. He seems to make as much of the lion he stalked, while another stalked him, as of the dangerous mutiny he put down without bloodshed. Always it is the adventure he cares for, always it is life that he wears so lightly. "I felt at once that this was a device to lure me into the narrow part of the ravine where, with gangs in front of me and behind me, there would be no escape; still, I thought I would see the adventure through, whatever came of it, so I accompanied the *jemadar* up the gully." Fiction could not do better than that; it is the very manner of Defoe and Dumas and Mr. Kipling. In the manner, too, of the great adventurers and their great biographers is the matter-of-course indifference to personal danger. "In the whole of my life I have never experienced anything more nerve-shaking than to hear the deep roars of those dreadful monsters growing gradually nearer and nearer. . . . But as something had to be done to keep up the men's spirits, I spent many a weary day crawling on my hands and knees through the dense undergrowth of the exasperating wilderness around us. As a matter of fact, if I had come up with the lions on any of these expeditions, it was much more likely that they would have added me to their list of victims than that I should have succeeded in killing either of them, as everything would have been in their favor." By sheer personality the author has given to his book something which is tantamount to style—by the strength of a complete courage and a trained mastery of men and materials, by the dignity of a great and honorable tradition.

Let it be said at the outset that the authors supply an uncalled-for but admirable map of Persia and Mesopotamia. Let it further be said that the map supplies more agreeable reading than the book*—more instructive, more romantic and very much more

* "Behind the Veil in Persia and Turkish Arabia." By M. E. Hume-Griffith. With narratives of experiences in both countries by A. Hume-Griffith, M.D. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. London: Seeley & Co., 1909.

exciting. The volume is made up of the gentle, ladylike talk of a middle-class Englishwoman, rather an invalid, who has a good deal of trouble with her servants. It all served, doubtless, at afternoon tea when she was at home again among her friends, with her husband coming in toward the end of the call to drink his cup of tea on the hearth rug and add his own reminiscences to the tepid flow. But the good pair serve to prove at their own expense that writing should be left strictly to those who have made a profession of it. Any reporter could have made a better job for them. All the reality has dropped out between the sentences here; all that must have been alive and human and pitiful and kindly or simply comic they have left unsaid. "It is not a very pleasant sensation to be lost in a desert. Only once did this experience befall us, and then we were glad when it was over," says Mrs. Hume-Griffith, as if she had been telling about getting caught in a shower at a garden-party or meeting bees a-swarming on the way home from church. The resolution not to talk of the religious side of their lives was grounded, doubtless, on a wholesome distaste of cant, but it is a pity that, if they did feel that all natives are liars, they should have set it down so nonchalantly. Not a few pages, which it were unkind to call peevish, help the reader to understand why Asiatics do not love even the best-intentioned Europeans; and there are other passages, which it were unkind to call unctuous, which help the reader to understand why such Europeans as strongly love the East, or, indeed, any strange lands at all, should be, in their own words, so "down on missionaries."

There are some books, as there are some people, so honest, so earnest, so on the right side about many vital matters, that one really wishes that if they cannot be better they would at least be worse. Of these is this "Simple Account of Japan as it Is, Was and Will [*sic*] Be." The author is very open-minded and admires Japan heartily; is sincere as well as candid, frankly stopping at the confines of present knowledge; and rather pleasant and sensible in disposition. The book* is comely. Light in the hand and illustrated with sixteen reproductions of classical Japanese prints. It is in good taste, as far as the eye can go. But

* "The Empire of the East." By H. B. Montgomery. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. London: Methuen & Co., 1909.

it is written by the younger brother of Browning's friend, "Mr. Gigadibs, the literary man," and written throughout in what is called "*journalese.*" If the point of view were only as good as the cover, and if the English were only as irreproachable as the press-work! Everywhere crops up the split infinitive, with the misrelated participle and the interminable clause between an article and its noun. Common words are abused till they do not know themselves. *Effete* is used repeatedly for *obsolete; perfunctory* for *superficial; jejune* for *naïve.* Everywhere there is a kind of trite shrewdness: among the rival missionaries "the Japanese conclude that as they cannot all be right they may possibly all be wrong"; of the public wash-houses common to the two sexes shocked travellers have felt "better the custom of the lower classes in England never to wash at all." This is all very well; it is fighting the devil with his own weapons. But the author, when it comes to art, is sadly to seek, and seems never to have heard of the great Chinese schools from which came all that is best in Japan; nor of the actual Chinese paintings stolen long ago which are the glory of Japan. The author seems, indeed, to have no real notion of China, except as the source of a coolie supply that may one day take to manufacturing for herself. The very title of the book belongs, of course, to China by rights. And when it comes to profounder matters, these are even worse. After quoting rather a fine bit on the Orient, without naming the source, our journalist goes on: "The fact, if it be a fact, that the Emperor of China never wears a sword, is in one sense interesting, but it proves nothing." But it proves everything! Whoever cannot see the significance of "that worship of feeling which casts around poverty the halo of greatness impresses his stern simplicity of apparel on the Indian prince, and sets up in China a throne whose imperial occupant, alone amongst the great secular rulers of the world, never wears a sword"—should not touch the East. Yet the book is withal too ingenuous for condemnation, and young Mr. Gigadibs, with his little liberalities, is rather engaging than otherwise.

WORLD-POLITICS.

LONDON: BERLIN: WASHINGTON.

LONDON, *August, 1909.*

ONE of the penalties of being an Englishman, of being, indeed, a member of any European community, is that you can never quite banish from your mind the possibility that your country may one day be successfully invaded. The nervousness, the sense of insecurity and the periodic "scares" that are thus generated form, perhaps, the most striking of the many differences between the atmosphere of America and of Europe. It never occurs to an American that the fabric of his national existence may at a moment be overthrown by a foreign foe; but such an apprehension is rarely for long absent from the consciousness of the peoples of the Old World. England, thanks to her insular position, is freer from it than most countries, but even England, once every fifty years or so, has qualms. A century ago she was momentarily expecting a Napoleonic invasion; fifty years ago she was keeping an anxious and wary eye on Louis Napoleon; to-day the sudden rise of German sea power has turned her thoughts once more to the old problem. Within the past few years it has been examined with great thoroughness by both the Liberals and the Conservatives. The views of the latter party were unfolded by Mr. Balfour in a memorable speech he delivered in May, 1905. The views of the present Government were set forth by Mr. Asquith a few days ago. They are practically identical. For the first time in the history of modern England the leaders of the two chief parties, backed by the best strategical brains in the country, are virtually in complete agreement on the essential points of the naval and military policy and position of the British Empire.

One of the few useful deeds of the Balfour Ministry, which came to a well-deserved end in 1905, was the creation of the Committee of Imperial Defence. The functions of this Committee are purely advisory. It has no executive authority whatever. It exists to advise the Prime Minister of the day who nominates its members and can add to or diminish their number as he pleases. Its business is to serve as a connecting-link between the Admiralty and the War Office. In a country situated as is Great Britain innumerable questions of home and Imperial defence crop up that involve both naval and military considerations. In the old days the Admiralty would work out the naval view of these problems and the War Office the military view; but there was no body in existence charged with the duty of co-ordinating the two views, of maintaining a due relation between naval and military requirements, and of studying the larger aspects of strategy in connection with the Empire as a whole. To fill the gap the Imperial Defence Committee was called into existence seven years ago. It serves as an addition to, not as a modification of, the normal administrative machinery. It in no way trenches on the authority and responsibility of the Admiralty, the War Office or the Cabinet. It has, of course, its permanent Secretary, who is a strategist of distinction, and a small and highly efficient office staff drawn, for a couple of years or so, from the best officers in the army and navy; but otherwise it is a body of unusual elasticity. At a full meeting of the Committee there are generally present, in addition to the Secretary and the members of his staff, the Prime Minister, the Secretary for War, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, the First Lord of the Admiralty, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Secretary for India and the Secretary for the Colonies. These represent the Cabinet. Besides them there are the Director of Naval Intelligence and the First Sea Lord representing the Admiralty, and the Director of Military Operations and the Chief of the General Staff representing the army. In addition, special officers who are experts in special problems may be attached to the Committee from time to time on the nomination of the Prime Minister.

It was to this committee that Mr. Balfour some five years ago referred the question of Great Britain's vulnerability to invasion. The conclusions it came to after a long and patient inquiry were adopted by him and explained to the House of

Commons in May, 1905. He described the method by which the committee had approached the problem and the hypothetical conditions, as unfavorable to England as they could with any reason be made, under which it had committed it. "We have not," he said, "gone into generalities about the command of the sea or the superiority of our fleet or this difficulty or that difficulty; we have endeavored to picture to ourselves a clear issue which is very unfavorable to this country, and we have shown, at least to our own satisfaction, that on that hypothesis, unfavorable as it is, *serious invasion of these islands is not an eventuality which we need seriously consider.*" He laid it down as an axiom of home defence that the landing of 70,000 hostile troops in Great Britain was "impossible." Taking France as the hypothetical enemy, Mr. Balfour demonstrated its impossibility on the ground that the transport of 70,000 men would require 210,000 tons of shipping, whereas it had been ascertained that there were, as a rule, only 100,000 tons in the French Channel and Atlantic ports; that even if the transport were available it would be a difficult matter to concentrate it all in one port; that the landing of the force would take forty-eight hours; and that the battleships, cruisers, torpedo craft and submarines attached to the British reserve would be amply sufficient, even in the absence of the sea-going fleets, to repel the attack. Practically the Prime Minister invited his countrymen to dismiss from their minds the possibility of invasion.

Even in 1905 Mr. Balfour's contentions were hotly disputed not only by experts in strategy, but by all who realized the danger of allowing a rich, plethoric, mercantile and unarmed nation to cherish the illusion that its security was unassailable. Since 1905, moreover, the conditions of warfare have considerably changed and the potential power of an attacking force has been largely increased. No one in Great Britain has insisted on the reality of these changes more powerfully than Lord Roberts, who, for the past three or four years, has been conducting a laborious campaign of popular education in an effort to arouse his countrymen to an appreciation of the menace which he is convinced confronts them. Last November, for instance, he returned to the subject in one of the most startling and impressive speeches to which the House of Lords has ever listened. Instead of imagining an invasion from France he imagined one from Germany.

He showed that vessels suitable for the transport of 200,000 men are at all times available in the northern ports of Germany; that the men could be collected without the fuss or publicity of mobilization arrangements; that they could be embarked in a much shorter time than Mr. Balfour had calculated; that instead of three tons of shipping per man being required, one and a half tons would be sufficient for all purposes; and that with the enormous boat accommodation of the big modern liners, with the frequent practice of the troops in embarking and disembarking, with the education given to the officers of the German merchant marine serving in the reserve, and with the various mechanical appliances that now exist, "the disembarkation of German troops could be carried out far more expeditiously than had been thought possible in the case of French troops." Remembering that the German Government owned the railroads and could operate with a secrecy and despatch unattainable in England, that the North Sea offered chances of escaping detection that were absent in the case of the English Channel, and that there were some 80,000 Germans, almost all of them trained soldiers, already resident in the United Kingdom, Lord Roberts expressed his deliberate conviction that 150,000 German troops could be landed in Great Britain, that in the absence of the regular army there was no force adequate to the task of repelling them, and that it was the bounden duty of the country to set about organizing a national citizen army of at least a million men.

These conclusions were startling not only in themselves, but because they showed the greatest British soldier of the age to be absolutely at variance with the considered judgment and policy of the Government on the most crucial question that any nation can be called upon to consider. With the Government declaring that an invasion by 70,000 men was impossible and Lord Roberts declaring that an invasion by 150,000 men was perfectly practicable, it was at least clear that the matter was not yet disposed of. When the present Government came into office Lord Roberts laid his case before them and asked for a fresh inquiry into the whole problem. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman assented, and in November, 1907, a subcommittee of the Committee of Imperial Defence, under the chairmanship of Mr. Asquith, was appointed to thresh the question out once more. The subcommittee sat for nearly a year. It listened to a full presenta-

tion of his case from Lord Roberts. It heard a great deal of independent evidence from other officers and from naval and military experts. It studied with great care all the changes in the strategical situation and in what one might call the potentialities of invasion. It went minutely, for instance, into such matters as the possible time and mobilization of foreign armies, their facilities for transport by land and sea, the organization and distribution of their forces, both naval and military, and the possibilities as regards embarkation, time of transit and means of disembarkation in England of a successful invasion on a large scale. It deliberately postulated circumstances that unreasonably favored a foreign descent upon the British shores and unreasonably weakened the means of repelling it. It imagined, for instance, the invasion occurring without any forewarning and at a time when the bulk of the British regular forces were out of the country. On this basis it conducted its inquiry and arrived unanimously at two conclusions which were expounded by Mr. Asquith in an admirably lucid speech on July 29th.

The first conclusion was that so long as British naval supremacy is adequately assured, invasion on a large scale is "an absolutely impracticable operation," and that if Great Britain once loses command of the sea no amount of military strength, not even an army as large as the German, will save her from invasion and from inevitable subjection by the enemy. It follows from this that supremacy at sea is the supreme and vital interest of the country. Is, then, an army for home defence unnecessary? By no means. An army for home defence is necessary—this is the second conclusion of the committee—for two purposes; in the first place to repel raids—that is to say, sporadic offensive expeditions which are so small in numbers that they can evade even the best and most vigilant fleet; and in the second place to compel an enemy who wishes to inflict serious damage on the country to come in such force, if he comes at all, that there can be no question of his slipping undetected through the net of the navy. The smallest force which an enemy would need to invade England with such effect as to influence the issue of the struggle has been put by nearly all the British authorities at 70,000 men. But if an invasion of this magnitude were to be attempted, then the Admiralty is confident that it could not reach British shores unperceived and that, once sighted, it could be satisfactorily dealt

with. To assume that 70,000 men could get through undetected, in the opinion of all naval experts, is to allow a generous margin for errors and accidents. In such matters, however, it is well to be amply and even unnecessarily on the safe side. The Government, therefore, lays it down as an axiom that the home defence forces of the country must be equal to repelling an invasion of 70,000 men. A navy capable of defeating any reasonably possible combination of Powers, and a home army capable of dealing with a hostile force of 70,000 men—on these conditions it is the opinion of the Defence Committee and of the Government that England will be safe from invasion.

BERLIN, *August, 1909.*

ON July 14th the German Emperor accepted Prince von Bülow's resignation, and for the fourth time in his reign exercised the right of appointment of an Imperial Chancellor. After the famous audience at Potsdam last November, when the Chancellor "described to His Majesty the feelings which had been excited among the German people" by the "Daily Telegraph" interview, Prince von Bülow's tenure of office became dependent upon ability to re-establish by positive successes a position which had lost its strongest support. Every fresh reiteration of the fact that he continued to enjoy his master's "confidence" bore witness to change in the old intimate relations. There was no question of dismissal, and there was no intrigue. But the atmosphere became more and more bleak and cheerless, and Prince von Bülow, at least as early as April, had begun to pave a way of retreat. Until Easter fortune seemed to smile. Although the German intervention in St. Petersburg at the end of March was prepared under the personal auspices of the Emperor, the Chancellor was given the credit of its brilliant success, and the "Austro-German triumph" sheds bright if to some extent artificial lustre upon memorial notices of Prince von Bülow's official career. When the Balkan crisis passed, Germany was for two excited months engrossed in the latest of many attempts to increase Imperial revenue. Experienced observers, remembering that the Chancellor had never exhibited more than a superficial interest in the financing of his policy, assumed that he would make the traditional appeals to national honor. But they listened in vain

for the sounds of the national drum. With only spasmodic attempts at conciliation, Prince von Bülow watched the crumbling away of the Liberal-Conservative *bloc* which he invented two and a half years ago. When its disruption was plain to all the world, and the Conservatives, unmoved by his threats of resignation, calmly went their way, he neither encouraged the Liberals to make further sacrifices to the *bloc* idea, nor seriously attempted to accommodate himself to any sort of co-operation with the restored Centre-Conservative majority. He seems to have believed almost to the last that the Conservatives might shrink before a decision which they knew would lead up to his resignation. But he knew that the Emperor would accept his resignation, and he was more anxious to depart with what dignity he might than to avert departure.

It is at least doubtful whether the *bloc,* an almost accidental and an essentially barren union of unequal and antagonistic political, social and economic forces, could in any event have survived the pressure of legislation which, under the ambitious name of Imperial Finance Reform, has ended in the imposition of a nominal £25,000,000 a year of fresh taxation of the kind to which the German Empire has been condemned since the exhaustion of the French War Indemnity. The Liberalism in whose defence Prince von Bülow would now have it supposed that he has been sacrificed never attempted more than to leaven the great lump of indirect taxation. The Conservatives, who have been deeply impressed by foreign experience, and especially by the course of British finance from the Death Duties of Sir W. Harcourt to the Budget of Mr. Lloyd George, never recognized the necessity to yield any tax upon property which might later on be screwed up in accordance with Imperial needs and Imperial deficits. In such circumstances the opportunity of the Centre, which is the strongest but at the same time the most enlightened and broadest based clerical party in the world, with no fear of losing seats at elections and with wide appeals to other than purely Catholic sympathies, was bound to come. The opportunity came and was taken, the Centre and the Conservatives composed their own scheme of indirect taxes, combined with taxes on dividend coupons, checks, and so on, which completed the rout of the financial and commercial interests of the Left, and Prince von Bülow, waiting only to fulfil the final duties of

a broker between the new majority which he would not accept and the Federal council which accepted its gifts, retired.

In October, 1900, Prince Hohenlohe, in farewell audience of the Emperor at Homburg, was "pleasantly surprised" that His Majesty "at once mentioned Bülow, who, at any rate, at the moment, is the best man." Prince von Bülow, in his last days in Berlin, has expressed much warmer approval of his successor, for whose nomination, indeed, he claims the initiative. Although Prince von Bülow is understood, in fact, to have "proposed" Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg to the Emperor at his own farewell audience in the garden of the Berlin Schloss, the proposal was an empty formality. The idea of appointing the Secretary of State for the Navy, Admiral von Tirpitz, had been rejected on prudential grounds. Count Wedel, sometime a cavalry general, later Ambassador in Rome and in Vienna, and now Statthalter of Alsace-Lorraine, could up to the last have been the successor. When it was finally known that Count Wedel would not venture upon a new career with more than a probability that the special relationships which it involves would be severely strained Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg stood alone.

The record of the new Chancellor is that of a thoroughly efficient and more than usually intelligent Prussian administrator who, after twenty years of very hard work in comparative obscurity, had the good fortune to attain to Ministerial rank at a moment of opportunity. He earned no special distinction as Prussian Minister of the Interior from 1905 to 1907. But he was invaluable to Prince von Bülow, who trusted implicitly both his soundness of judgment and his knowledge, and counted rightly upon his loyalty. When Prince von Bülow got rid, in 1907, of Count Posadowsky, one of the very few commanding figures in German Imperial politics, Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg succeeded in filling the office of Imperial Secretary of State for the Interior without attracting any lasting attention to the fact that Prince von Bülow had banished a great public servant. A master of details, which he has expounded in innumerable speeches as dull and decorous as they were able, he has stirred few prejudices and has earned in almost all quarters vague feelings of sympathy and respect rather than definite favor or disfavor. Totally lacking though he is in at least the superficial qualities which have for so long served to keep Prince von Bülow in favor, Herr

von Bethmann-Hollweg owes his appointment not least to the fact that the Emperor contemplates relations with his fifth Chancellor with complete satisfaction. In foreign politics, of which Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg has no technical knowledge—although he has some personal knowledge of the life and institutions of countries, England among them, of which Prince von Bülow's ignorance was almost boundless—he will, indeed, be pupil rather than adviser of the Emperor for some time to come. But, whoever the pilot be, the course is for the present clearly enough marked. In view of the recent demonstration of German solidarity in Europe, the wounds caused by Prince von Bülow's pin-pricks can be left to heal, and Germany can devote herself, with undiminished zeal, but with less demonstrativeness, to separate cultivation of the sympathies of Powers with whose alliances and friendships she disclaims any desire to interfere.

The new Imperial Chancellor has every reason to go slow. He would welcome a period of calm in international politics, not so much with a view to revising, in the course of mastering, the policy bequeathed to him as in order to disentangle the threads of domestic controversy before committing himself in regard to the next phase of German *Weltpolitik*. Although a good deal will depend upon Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg's period of initiation, there is no reason to suppose that it will end in any considerable departure from the steady pursuit of power by means of naval expansion and commercial penetration.

Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg has now to reshape Government relations with the political parties. There is little or no reality in current speculation as to whether he will be a "Liberal" or a "Conservative" Chancellor. Such talk is in Germany an abuse of language. Every Chancellor is, in the nature of things, compelled to take his majority where he can find it, or as best he can make it, and no Chancellor has lost sight of the fact without finding reason to regret it. Only two years ago Prince von Bülow hoped for the political epitaph, "He was an Agrarian Chancellor." Prince von Bülow now covers his retreat with imprecations upon the Conservatives, dismal forebodings of Socialist triumphs at the next elections, and the insinuation that the real cause of his fall is fidelity to Liberalism. The new Chancellor's record in administrative and departmental work suggests, indeed, that he has strong sympathies for a progressive social

policy, and even that he has a more genuine belief than any other German Minister, except Count Posadowsky, in the possibility of treating popular dissatisfaction at the burdens of Empire by frequent homœopathic doses of "social reform." For the main business of the next decade, however, no Chancellor can long be diverted by predispositions or ideals from the work of organizing and exploiting "national" sentiment and ambitions. If Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg finds the present Reichstag sufficiently "serviceable" for him to avoid a dissolution for one or even two more years—when dissolution would coincide with the climax in naval construction upon the scale at present provided by law—he will have abundant occasion to gauge prospects and test possibilities. The question of reform of the Prussian Franchise, in regard to which even the vague promises made by Prince von Bülow last year did much to stiffen the Conservative resolve to end alliance with the Left, will perhaps be the first test of the new *régime*. The deficiencies of the new scheme of taxation, which certainly will not yield £25,000,000 of new revenue, or anything like it, will be apparent next year, when the battle over "finance reform" may break out afresh. And the readjustment of commercial relations with America, as a sequel to the termination of the Commercial Agreement, will give new point to the antagonism between Agrarianism and industrial "Liberal" interests.

Meanwhile there is little evidence of Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg's own view of the internal problem. Presumably he hopes by virtue of being unprejudiced to be met without prejudice, and to erect a workable Parliamentary machine which shall neither be the old Conservative-Centre alliance as such nor the Conservative-Centre *bloc* which has just perished. If he succeeds his success will be due to two main causes. The first is the great revival of Socialist hopes, in consequence of the disillusions of the *bloc* period, and especially of the imposition of taxes which are not merely unpopular, but will be persistent irritants. The second is the fervent desire of the Centre, after two years of enforced exile, to strengthen the security of their tenure by becoming more and more a national party. The Chancellor may, then, hope to profit even more than his predecessor by the fear of Socialism, and to find in the Centre a more pliable instrument, capable, on reasonable terms, of affording

him help against excessive claims of the Right no less than against exaggerated pretensions of disorganized national Liberals and Radicals. Many people believe that political forces in Germany are rapidly gravitating and settling down in a fashion to leave little or no room for small and separate parties between Right and Left. Such prophecies are premature, and will be premature until Imperial enthusiasts have discovered at least a basis of agreement regarding Imperial Economics and Imperial Finance.

At least until then German policy, in whatever hands, must remain as opportunist at home as it is admittedly opportunist abroad. The nimble tread and tripping tongue of Prince von Bülow give place to the solemnity of Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg. But there is no essential change. Least of all can it be imagined that because Prince von Bülow chose to make a Parliamentary rebuff the occasion of retirement, Germany has moved far, or is about to move far, towards a Parliamentary *régime* or government by public opinion.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *August, 1909.*

AT 2.10 P.M. on August 5th the conference report on the Payne-Aldrich bill was passed in the Senate by a vote of 47 to 31. The last legislative step in the enactment of the measure was thus taken. Before the report was submitted to a vote speeches were made by several Senators both for and against it. Senator Dolliver of Iowa made a notable attack upon the measure; Senator Elkins of West Virginia criticised it after a fashion; Senators Warren and Heyburn supported it. Senator Bailey of Texas explained the Democratic position, and Senator Aldrich defended the bill.

Senator Dolliver, speaking against the cotton and wool rates reported by the conferees, told the Senate distinctly that the cotton rates had been raised as high in some instances as 113 per cent. over the Dingley rates, although the conference committee had no legal right to do so. He also charged that both the new cotton and woollen rates had been written by persons who were not members of Congress. In vigorous language he predicted the downfall of the policy of protection if the leaders of the Republican party continued to gather around any one

"citadel of protection," as they had gathered around the wool schedule in the Payne-Aldrich bill. He ended by saying that personally he "would not be a party to a swindle of the American people," and if retired from Congress would at least enjoy the "rest and dignity of private life with a clear conscience." Six other Republican Senators, representing the Middle West, namely, Beveridge of Indiana, Bristow of Kansas, Clapp of Minnesota, Cummins of Iowa, La Follette of Wisconsin, and Nelson of Minnesota, voted against the report. The politically important section of the country of which these seven "progressive" Senators were the spokesmen is, for the moment at all events, disaffected to the verge of mutiny. It remains to be seen whether, as is hoped by the Senators responsible for the present law, Mr. Taft can and will soothe and placate the disappointed voters, who had been led by the pledges made to them during the last Presidential campaign to believe that the new tariff law would be "a substantial revision downward." The phrase scarcely fits the bill which went to the President for his signature on August 5th.

The tariff bill which was to settle everything has settled nothing. This is evident from the vehement opposition shown to the last by Republicans in both chambers, from the statement made by the President when he attached his signature to the measure, and from the subsequent reception of the law by press and people. It is certain that no previous Republican tariff has been passed with such emphatic Republican disapproval stamped upon it. When the McKinley bill came up for final passage only one indisputably Republican Senator voted against it. For the Dingley bill in 1897 the solid Republican vote in the Senate was cast. Nothing so significant and so ominous as the unbending resistance now offered by seven Republican Senators from the Middle West has ever before attended the passage of a high tariff bill. Unless something is done to conciliate the Republicans of the Middle West, disaster to the Republican party seems sure to follow.

A recognition of the wide-spread dissatisfaction is discernible in President Taft's statement. He signs the bill for the sake of its good features, while frankly conceding that it is not "a complete compliance with the promises made." He intimates distinctly that the end is not yet. Speaking of the power conferred upon him to employ skilled agents to investigate the

actual working of the new tariff, he remarks that they will be enabled to acquire information "under circumstances favorable to its truth," plainly implying by the quoted words that many of the so-called facts laid before Congress were so many lies. The President also said that the exact facts, as these shall be furnished by the Tariff Commission, will provide a basis for "future Executive recommendations," by which can only be meant recommendations to Congress to change certain schedules. The President here strikes the right note if, as we believe, he really wants to make the best of a bad business. The only way, indeed, of soothing a man who feels that he has been cheated is to show that you propose to correct the injustice done him. Men in the Middle West are now convinced, as the speeches of the Iowa Senators show, that many parts of the Payne-Aldrich bill were designed to rob them, and when the President goes out to talk to them they will want to know what he is going to do about it. If he means to go to the root of their discontent, as we assume that he does, he will have to let it be seen that he is determined to use every weapon in his power to redress tariff wrongs. The result may be piecemeal revision, but as things are now that seems to be the only remedy for piecemeal stealing.

If there is any man in either branch of Congress who seems to have been irreparably damaged by the tariff debate and its legislative outcome it is Senator Nelson W. Aldrich, of Rhode Island. It certainly looks as if the day of his influence were done. His name is, to-day, throughout the land a synonym for grasping and corrupt legislation. For months he has been standing athwart reasonable tariff revision, antagonizing and disembowelling the best features of the House bill, rallying to his support the worst men in public life and repelling the best, driving one-sixth of his party in the Senate into open revolt, and throughout making himself the attorney for selfish and unscrupulous interests. It is not necessary to charge the Rhode Island Senator with personal corruption, for it is indisputable that he has been the willing servant of unscrupulous and corrupt men and corporations. The fact is known of all men, and if Mr. Aldrich comes forward next winter as the sponsor and framer of a bill for currency reform the effect will be unmistakable. Ask any intelligent and disinterested Congressman what chance there would be of passing an Aldrich currency measure and he will

answer, "None whatever." Currency reformers cannot afford to prejudice their great undertaking by intrusting it to the guidance of a Senator whose motives are hopelessly discredited, and whose latest public activity has been in contemptuous disregard of the needs and desires of the whole country.

While the public mind was preoccupied with the shaping of the tariff, it was natural that too little attention should be paid to the course adopted by our State Department with reference to our treaty right to share in the lending of the moneys needed by China for railways and other internal improvements. While our financiers seemed indifferent, the Peking Government agreed to borrow from German, British and French bankers $27,500,000, the sum requisite for beginning the construction of a railway from Hankow to Szechuen. No serious attempt to claim for the United States a share in the opportunity was made until Mr. Taft entered the White House. Soon thereafter China's attention was directed to the existence of the Conger agreement of 1904 by which the Peking Government promised that in case she needed funds for railway construction it would apply to Great Britain and the United States. The inevitable result was that a larger aggregate loan was fixed upon, and that one-quarter of it is to be forthcoming from the American Republic. We need not dwell on the importance of this achievement.

Fortunately, we now have a President who knows the Far East from prolonged personal observation, and who is fully alive to the reasons for expecting an enormous and a rapid development of China. The development of the resources of the Middle Kingdom, as the administration views it, will require her to contract a large foreign debt which she is abundantly able to support, and to expend hundreds of millions of dollars in the purchase of materials abroad and, ultimately, in the creation of industrial establishments at home. Shall the United States have at least a fair share of this vast expenditure, or shall it remain indifferent and see the profits monopolized by British, German and French capitalists? What answer Mr. Taft makes to this question is evident from our State Department's demand that American bankers shall be permitted to exercise their treaty right to supply part of the funds needed to start the Hankow-Szechuen Railway, which otherwise would be a transaction of no superlative importance.

THE EDITOR'S DIARY.

On the Burning up of Boys.

ARE our boy champions burning out too much energy in athletic games, wasting stamina that never can be replaced, wrecking instead of building up their constitutions? The doctors and the elderly athletes, informed by research and experience, answer yes to the question. The young athletes laugh and shout no. It is not enough for age to reply that the boys will know better some day and so pass sadly about their business. It ought to be possible for the ripe in years, remembering always the deference due to young hotheads, to persuade them to listen with some degree of patience to wise admonition. For there are abundant signs on every hand that if we do not manage somehow to check and restrain the overleaping ambition of our fiery youths we shall accumulate within the next score of years some tens of thousands of broken-down athletes who are of little use to themselves and a detriment to humanity.

But how to check the boy athletes? There's the rub. Stevenson, that perpetual youth, tells us that when crabbed age croaks reproachfully, "At your age I thought as you do now," youth will ever reply, "And when I reach your age I shall probably think as you do now." This is the dialogue that will go on as long as generation marches after generation. Yet the present case is urgent, and some means must be found to curb young irrepressible; for if we do not curb him we shall inevitably be burdened with a multitude of human cast-offs, who before they reach middle age are burned out physically and must, in consequence, be mentally affected as well.

Within the memory of men who have still to discover their first gray hair the schoolboy champion was a thing unknown. Growing boys played hard and grew strong. No need exists to point out the absolute need of play in the proper development of young humans. But the schoolboys of yesterday had no cham-

pion sprinters and distance-runners and hard-driven football gladiators willing to die in the last ditch if need be. The hardest strife was reserved until the youngster, prepared by years of vigorous play, reached college and a nearer approach to maturity.

But when we Americans, at last awakened to the benefits to be derived from athletic training, began to take games seriously we were not content to acquire reasonable results. With characteristic impetuousness we rushed to extremes, and to-day there is no school, public or private, so small or so obscure that it has not its champion "man" in some branch of sport. The boys, fired by ambition to excel, are throwing themselves into competitions with as great and unreasoning zeal as that which drives money-maddened speculators in the pursuit of wealth.

What are the results? Lads in the period of adolescence, when the vital energies should be expended quite as much in upbuilding and increasing the bony framework and its muscles, nerves and organs, as in the repair of tissues consumed by exertion, are exhausting themselves in strife that leaves them prostrated even when victorious. Heart, lung, muscular and nerve tissues are consumed to an extent abnormal in the period of early growth. The vital forces repair the loss and cause abnormal growth in these directions in order to meet the oft-repeated strain. The balance and harmony of forces in the individual are destroyed. The boy long before he attains his majority has developed in some respects the power of a man, but at the expense of a frightfully lowered vitality. Doctors tell us that broken-down athletes of the age of thirty are not uncommon nowadays. We cannot have our cake and eat it too. If we compel the sapling to bear the burden of the tree we cannot expect much from it when it reaches the tree period.

For years it has been notorious that most American race-horses have been trained and raced so hard in their two-year-old form that only the exceptionally vigorous animals are good for much as three-year-olds and upward. The cast-offs are sold for a song, and they eke out a miserable existence at labor for which they were not intended. But can we afford, under the guise of beneficial athletic culture, to burn up the energies of our human colts? If they become cast-offs, what future is there for them? And what must be the effect upon the nation which thus wastes its strongest, most ambitious and courageous individuals?

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CHRIST IN MODERN THOUGHT.

BY THE REV. PHILIP S. MOXOM.

In undertaking to discuss this subject within reasonable limits, one is confronted by several very considerable difficulties. The *first* is the difficulty of delimiting the territory over which the discussion properly may range. Modern thought suggests a very large field. It comprises Literary, Scientific, Philosophical and Ethical as well as Theological thought. If it be claimed that the implications of the theme naturally confine the discussion to the field of distinctively theological thought, it still must be said that the limitation is not precise, since in our day thought on the central elements and main questions of Christianity has diffused itself over the fields of literature and science and philosophy and ethics to such an extent that one who restricts his view to the precincts of technical theology will comprehend but a fraction of the field in which the person of Christ is a prominent if not always the pre-eminent subject of consideration. The scientific mind of our time, to some extent at least, is seeking to interpret Christ in the terms of evolution. The literary mind is more and more distinctly drawing the person and teachings of Christ within the sphere of literary expression and interpretation. A score of recent works of fiction might be named in a few minutes in which Christ more or less explicitly appears as the source of the

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writer's inspiration, while almost every day the press sends forth a volume of critical or sympathetically interpretative essays of which account must be taken by one who would form a judgment on the place which the person of Christ holds in modern thought.

If by a somewhat arbitrary and trenchant exercise of his judgment one excludes from view all parts of the general field save that which properly may be designated as theological, a very considerable territory remains in which there exists a confusing diversity of thought.

Theological thinkers of our time may be roughly divided into three classes or parties, each of which coheres in a dominant spirit and a main point of view.

There are (1) the *Conservatives,* who maintain in general the theological opinions of a past generation, such as are represented in the writings of Hodge and Shedd in this country, Liddon in England and Luthardt and Van Oosterzee on the Continent. (2) The *Progressives,* or *Radicals,* who accept the principles of the divine immanence and evolution as the interpretative and structural principles in theology and shrink from no legitimate consequences of literary and historical criticism applied to the Sacred Scriptures. These are numerous in America, England, Germany and Holland. In France the late distinguished Auguste Sabatier is, perhaps, the chief representative of this party. (3) The *Moderates,* who constitute a mediating party between the preceding. These seek to hold the substance of the older theology, but endeavor to restate it in the phrases and in accordance with the scientific methods of the new thought.

In point of numbers, the first party is diminishing mainly by the natural course of death; the second is rapidly growing; while the third, larger perhaps at present than either of the others, loses many more by the advance of its members into the progressive party than it gains by recruits from the conservatives.

In studying the thought of these three parties, one finds it difficult to discover more than two or three points at which there is any real unity of opinion between them. Of these the one that stands out most clearly and that most surely draws their belief to a common centre is the pre-eminence of Christ as the revealer of God and the teacher of truth concerning the moral life. Just here, where dogmatic difference is widest, essential moral *rapport* is closest.

A *second* difficulty by which one is confronted in discussing this theme is the difficulty of distinguishing between the main tendencies and characteristics of modern thought on the person of Christ and his own personal beliefs. It would be comparatively an easy task for him to set forth in detail his own views and convictions and thus make his statement a confession and defence of his own faith. This I say with deliberate caution would be only comparatively an easy task; positively it might be very difficult. In the present ferment of speculation on questions of religion not many of even the most studious and intelligent inquirers could readily and exactly define more than a few of the simplest elementary principles around which their religious thinking is organized or is in process of organization. Doubtless an exception should be made in the case of those thinkers who have held the Calvinistic scheme of thought unchanged through all the stages of the theological revolution in the midst of which we are living. In this respect the thoroughgoing conservative has the advantage over the progressive, for he simply shuts his eyes to the confusing entrance of new light and suffers no pulse of influence from science with its multiform revelations from Biology, Anthropology, Archæology, History and Criticism to reach and affect his theological system.

But if it would be a perplexing and arduous task for a man *en rapport* with the modern spirit to set forth in exact detail his own views and opinions on all the theological questions that cluster about the person of Christ it is a still more perplexing and arduous task to state at once with definiteness and adequate fulness the contents and characteristics of modern thought on the same general subject. The difficulty appears immediately when we reflect on the fact that modern theological thought from one point of view is a new product, while from another point of view it is a composite of almost all the elements and phases of Christian thinking that have arisen during the past three hundred and fifty years. Of this long period the century just closed has witnessed an increase in knowledge of the world, of the Bible and of the past life of humanity greater than was achieved in all the preceding centuries of the Christian era. This increase of knowledge has overturned or modified every theological theory and almost every theological principle that survived the intellectual convulsion of the Protestant Reformation; one need only men-

tion, for example, the doctrines of Creation, of the Fall, of Atonement, of Biblical Revelation, of the Trinity and of the Future life to realize how great has been the change.

In the general scheme of theology each of these doctrines, or groups of doctrines, has been intimately related to the doctrine of the person of Christ.

A prominent, perhaps we should say the prominent, feature of the present theological *Aufklärung-sucht* is the critico-historical work of bringing into clearer light and greater definiteness the historical bases and antecedents of Christianity. This is the work, on the one hand, *of Biblical critics* and archæologists, and on the other hand of Biblical exegetes. Already this work has profoundly affected our conception of the Hebrew and Christian scriptures, especially the former, and as an inevitable result is reshaping the structure of distinctly Biblical Theology.

But scarcely less important in its influence on general theological theory is the work already accomplished and now in progress in the related fields of biological and psychological investigation. The combined results of these two critical and constructive intellectual movements of our time it is still too early to state with definiteness, but already enough is apparent to show that they will be greater than any save the few as yet surmise.

Without attempting to trace in detail the effect of the modern movement on the historic doctrine of the person of Christ, I shall endeavor to indicate briefly certain features of the emerging view of Christ which seem to me most prominent and most characteristic of the religious thought of our time. In doing this I shall speak as representing men who, in the modest and impressive language of the late Dr. Dale: "While not relaxing their hold on the Divine revelation which has come to them through Christ are asking for some more satisfactory intellectual account of the great truths which are their joy and strength. There is hardly a theological definition which they can accept without qualification; there is hardly a theological phrase which is not colored by speculations which seem to them incredible. They have not lost sight of sun and stars; they will tell you that with their increasing years the glory of the sun is brighter to them than ever and that the stars are more mysterious and divine, but they want a new astronomical theory. The sun and stars are God's

handiwork; astronomical theories are the provisional human explanations of divine wonders."*

What I have to offer may be properly presented under two heads: 1, The Nature of Christ; 2, The Function of Christ. In this presentation I shall seek to interpret in general that thought of Christ which is already ascendant or is rapidly rising into ascendancy, and save with a very few exceptions I shall not pause to quote or even to designate specific authorities.

The Nature of Christ.—At the outset I may remark that the ancient phases of the controversy about Christ with which the history of doctrine has made us familiar have almost wholly passed out of sight. Docetism, Monophysitism and Monothelitism with their counter "isms" are now mainly, if not solely, of historical interest. No one to-day seriously disputes as to whether the Passion of Christ was a reality or only an appearance, and few give any consideration to the question as to whether Christ had one or two natures or one or two wills.

Nothing is more clear than the present recognition of the psychological as well as moral integrity of Christ. He is not two persons in one body, nor two consciousnesses in one person, nor two natures in one consciousness, nor two wills in one nature. From one point of view He is unequivocally human; from another point of view He is incontestably divine; from all points of view He is an ontological unity—all His faculties and affections having their centre in His undivided, uncomposite, self-conscious personality.

The traditions concerning the birth of Christ, which are not confined to the canonical gospels, but which have their most exquisite, though variant, expression in the first chapters of Matthew and Luke, evidently have little historical value; at least they afford too slight a basis for belief that Jesus was not born as other children are born. As a matter of fact, this belief, though still tenaciously held by the mass of Christians, has lost significance in the theological interpretation of the person of Christ. No word of Jesus's authentic teaching refers to it or is affected by it. No apostolic doctrine rests upon it. Moreover, its implications would seem to destroy the integrity of the apostolic Christology, since it would establish an anomalous relation, or rather a lack of perfect relation of Jesus to humanity. Be-

* Quoted in Fisher's "History of Christian Doctrine," page 556.

sides, a miraculous birth in the common sense of that term adds absolutely nothing to the revelation of spiritual truth mediated by the life and teachings of Christ.

Thus by the process of exclusion the true and integral humanity of Christ has received especial emphasis in modern thought. Jesus of Nazareth was a man. He had the normal human birth, the human nature, the human development and the human experience. He was not a shadow man, the simulacrum of a man. His difference from other men lay in the unique perfection of his human character and the directness and completeness of his intercourse with God.

But is not the Christ divine? Was the battle of Athanasius against the Arian world a vain contest? Is the Nicene creed a meaningless formula? I believe with President King* that the Christian thought of to-day affirms the true divinity of Christ more positively and more profoundly than ever. But the approach to the question of his divineness is different from what it was in the past. The old familiar question, "Is Christ a *mere* man?" and the equally familiar affirmation, "He is *more* than man," were based on the conception of man that assumed to delimit human nature and to connote the entirety of human powers and possibilities. God and man were conceived as essentially and eternally separate and dissimilar.

But the modern mind has entered a new atmosphere and attained a new point of view in its thought both of God and of man. The divine transcendence is seen to be incomplete, if not impossible, apart from the divine immanence. The true lesson which science teaches, says T. H. Green, is that God is to be sought "in man himself," and he affirms "that relation of the inner man to a higher form of itself of which the expression is to be found, not in the propositions of the theology, but in prayer and praise—the prayer which asks for nothing, the praise which thanks for nothing but God's fulfilment of Himself—and in that effort after an ideal perfection which is the spring of the moral life."†

The idea of incarnation—the great idea for the validity of which Athanasius fought—is now more broadly conceived and more firmly grasped than at any time since the Arian contro-

* In his recent "Reconstruction in Theology."
† "The Witness of God and Faith." T. H. Green, pages 78, 79.

versy; but it is no longer conceived as the union, in an anomalous person, of essentially discrete and dissimilar natures. Rather, it is apprehended as the immanence of God in the realm of human personality. God in His world is not perfectly manifested until He becomes God in the human soul.

Christ is at once human *and* divine—not man void of deity; not deity pure and simple, extensively as well as intensively identical with the infinite and absolute; not a *tertium quid,* a third order of being, neither purely human nor purely deific; but man in whom God is perfectly immanent, the God-filled man, and thus the type and ideal of man universally in the large purpose of God.

If we are perplexed by the difficulty of conceiving the human as interpenetrated by the divine without losing its true quality and integrity as human, we have only to consider that it is because of a defect in our idea of spirit or in our present experience. Indeed, there are human experiences which present the same problem while suggesting its solution by fact. Christ no more loses his integral humanity or becomes the subject of a double nature and consciousness by the perfect immanence of God in Him than any man will have lost his integral humanity and become the subject of a double nature and consciousness when the apostle's prayer shall be fulfilled and man shall have been "filled with all the fulness of God."

There is not space to press the discussion further in this paper, but it may be confidently affirmed that the reality of God in Christ, to a degree absolutely unique in the experience of humanity, is grasped by modern thought with a depth and fervor of conviction that gives it the force of revelation.

In a large part of their discussions Trinitarian and Unitarian alike have contended on the false basis of definitions, both of human nature and of the divine nature and their actual or possible modes of being, and of relation to each other, that were assumed to be exhaustive and final. In much of the discussion the use and the unconscious influence of materialistic terms have wrought confusion in the realm of spiritual ideas.

The historic doctrine of the Trinity is the historic witness to the Christian consciousness of the richness and manifoldness of the divine nature, but it is not a permanent and unchangeable formula of human thought about God. The truth in the doctrine

lies not in its affirmation simply of divine threeness, but in the horizons beyond the horizon which it suggests to the aspiring mind that reaches after God and in its affirmation that in God is the full and perfect realization of those spiritual relations and activities which are the eternal ideal of the soul.

"Jesus," says Frederic Palmer, "is by nature human. Through the perfect union of His will with the divine will He becomes one with God; so that He is the son, or typical representative, of man and He is the Son, or typical and unique representative, of God; He is God become man. The truth of the Incarnation is that humanity raised to its highest power becomes divinity."*

2. The Function of Christ.—In what light and under what forms does modern thought conceive the function of Christ? The full answer of this question requires more space than I have already taken and more than I can reasonably take at this time. It will be sufficient, however, if I suggest and sketch the views a proper elaboration of which would require a volume.

(1) The primitive Christian mind contemplated Jesus preeminently as Teacher and Lord. It was upon this aspect that Jesus himself put emphasis. At a time when by the very force of circumstances He made the most intimate and profound disclosures of His real relations to His disciples and therefore to mankind, He called Himself ὁ διδάσκαλος καὶ ὁ κύριος. The passage is John xiii, 12-16. The historical value of this gospel is, confessedly, the least of all; but the incident related seems by its character to be among the true memorabilia of Jesus; and, besides, on this point it is quite in accord with the representations of the Synoptists. Our English version of the New Testament obscures the Evangelic teaching by its perpetuation of the archaic term "master" as a translation of διδάσκαλος. Of the forty-nine times that this word occurs in the four gospels with reference to Jesus or as used by Him, it is rendered forty-six times by "master." In the earliest records and in the earliest Christian life the function of Jesus as teacher takes precedence of every other. Through the intrusion of sacerdotal and sacrificial ideas the Church soon almost entirely lost the conception of Christ as teacher. "From the time when the office of teacher disappeared from the ranks of the Christian ministry," says Professor Allen, "the function of Christ as the teacher also suffered

* "Studies in Theologic Definition," page 86.

an eclipse."* The damage to Christian thought and life wrought by this declension from the true and spiritual idea of Christ constitutes the larger part of the tragedy of Church history. Every real reform in the subsequent faith and life of the Church, whether local or general, has been marked and motived by at least a partial return to the earliest idea, or rather by a reperception of it, and by a consequent new devotion to the veritable teachings of Christ.

Our own time witnesses a return to the primitive and truer conception. Says Professor Allen: "In the lives of Christ put forth in such profusion, or in the modern pulpit finding in the personality of the Christ of the Gospels an exhaustless source of interest and power, it is the moral character of Christ and His spiritual teaching that constitute Him the leader and the head of the race of man."†

A large part of the change in present Christian life and thought is distinctly due to the new emphasis which is put on the teaching of Christ as at once adequate and authoritative in the moral realm. The Church that so long has interpreted Christ through the sacrificial system of the Hebrews, on the one hand, or through the theological portions of the Pauline epistles, on the other, is now discovering the nature of true sacrifice in the spirit and life of Christ rather than in the mere fact and form of His death, and is interpreting and judging the doctrines of St. Paul through the teaching and personality of Christ. The change is as great and the gain will prove to be as positive in the religious realm, as the change was great and the gain has been positive in the astronomical realm by the transition from the Ptolemaic to the Copernican astronomy.

What Christ taught as to God and the soul and righteousness and the future life begins at last to take its rightful preeminence. The sacerdotal and sacrificial elements, which were mainly, if not entirely, imported into Christianity from Judaism and heathenism, occupy an ever-diminishing place in constructive theology.

(2) Christ is *the Teacher* not only in His sayings and precepts, but also in His character and life. Thus through His function as Teacher emerges His function as *Revealer*. In relation to Christ

* "Christian Institutions," page 385.
† *Ibid.*, page 383.

and the totality of His expression of truth and of His impression on the mind of humanity Lessing's pregnant phrase is strictly accurate: "*Die Erziehung ist Offenbarung*" ("Education, or instruction, is revelation").

Christ is the revealer of God, especially in His nature as a moral personality and in His attitude and disposition toward man. In Him dwelt the moral fulness of God.

Upon this I need not dwell, since thinkers of all schools, however widely they may differ in conceiving and stating the function of Christ as the Revealer, agree in acknowledging the pre-eminence of His representation of the divine nature.

But He is also the Revealer of man—that is, He at once exhibits to us in Himself the ideal moral character and by His life illumines and reinforces His moral teaching. We must go even farther and say that He expresses in Himself the full spiritual content of the ideal human life.

In the exercise of His function as revealer Christ covers the entire field of experience as well as of intelligence. The self-sacrifice of love attains its fullest expression in His life and death. He discloses not merely truths, but also energies and capacities of moral being. All the elements of personality are engaged in the teaching and revealing process: the intellect, in immediate knowledge of God and righteousness and duty; the sensibility, in the entire range of moral perception and feeling—love, faith, pity, indignation, mercy, compassion; and the will, in the realization of perfect obedience to moral law not as mere acquiescence in authority, but as free response to spiritual attraction.

(3) Thus Christ addresses the heart as well as the reason and conscience. His personality fills and dominates the whole realm of human experience, so that through His function as Teacher and Revealer emerges His function as *Saviour*. He becomes the Saviour of men by communicating to them knowledge of God through personality, by awakening spiritual life in them through the engagement of their moral affections, and by leading them into the discipline of righteousness and love through the control and direction of their wills.

In each of His functions the totality of His nature, experience and power is engaged. As Saviour, He is also Teacher and Revealer; as Teacher and Revealer, He is also Saviour.

In other words, He is never the mere functionary and there is no part of His work that is separable from any other. In fulfilling His mission He makes a sacrifice of himself, yet He is never merely an objective sacrifice; He teaches, yet is never in a merely pedagogical relation to men; He reveals God, yet is never the spectacular theophany. His work has the integrity of His person and is always vital. Once theology magnified the formal aspect of His mission as chiefly, if not entirely, sacrificial; Christian thought to-day has little sense of anything merely formal in that mission and concentrates itself on the reality and significance of the truths which He taught, the character at once human and divine which He presented and the power which He exerted, and still exerts in increasing degree, for the moral quickening and the spiritualization of human life.

The older theologians looked at Christ through a metaphysical idea of God; the later thinkers on Christianity are looking at God and man through the actual, historical Christ. And the actual, historical Christ, the more He is disencumbered of tradition and *à priori* theories of His nature and office in the world, rises in more colossal proportions upon the intellectual and moral vision of men, with the result that many whom the metaphysical Christ of theology repels are drawn to the real Christ with a trust and a love that say:

"If Jesus Christ is a man,—
  And only a man,—I say
That of all mankind I cleave to Him
  And to Him will I cleave alway.

"If Jesus Christ is a God,—
  And the only God,—I swear
I will follow Him through heaven and hell,
  The earth, the sea and the air!"

PHILIP STAFFORD MOXOM.

WHY AMERICA HAS NOT SIX CARDINALS.

BY SALVATORE CORTESI.

May I be allowed to begin with a personal statement—that, during my long connection with American journalism and literary work, I have constantly supported the idea, endorsed even by prominent Protestants, that the Catholic Church has acquired in the United States such a position through its wonderful development in numbers, in the importance of its men and in the prestige and influence which it exercises in almost all the manifestations of the life of the country, especially in the education of the children, that only one Cardinal is an inadequate representation in the Sacred College for such an immense body of Catholics. In less than a century, the land of William Penn has become the fourth Catholic Power in the world from the point of view of numbers, being surpassed only by France, Austria and Italy, while it surpasses even these countries if we take into consideration the loyalty of the faithful, their generosity and their progressiveness. The Catholic Church in the United States, although remaining Roman, has a thoroughly American character of enterprise, of expansion and of grandeur, owing to the vastness of its institutions and the splendor of its buildings, which will soon rival in size and artistic beauty the historical cathedrals of the Old World, so that before long to the latter will only remain the superiority coming from centuries of tradition. Thus the balance will be maintained: the history in Europe; the vigor of modern genius in America.

If there were no figures to substantiate these affirmations they might seem exaggerations, but facts are undeniable. Let us take, for instance, New York, a diocese founded a century ago by the rescript of Pius VII appointing Father Luke Concannon, an Irish Dominican, as the first Bishop, who, however, never

reached his post, as he died suddenly after his consecration in Rome. Is it possible in our time to imagine New York's having, as its only Catholic Church, St. Peter's on Barclay Street? It was only in 1809 that the corner-stone was laid of St. Patrick's Cathedral on Mott Street, which cost one hundred thousand dollars, a sum then enormous, though it is a mere mite compared with the millions spent on the new cathedral of St. Patrick on Fifth Avenue, and on the over 300 churches which have since been erected in the archdiocese, besides about 200 chapels. New York is to-day the strongest Catholic city in the world, though Paris may have more people baptized into the Church, or there may be numerically more in Vienna; but neither Paris nor Vienna, nor Rome itself, can boast such a truly devout Catholic population at once so prosperous, so intelligent and so active. Besides being the metropolis of the western world, second only to London in population, New York, with its Catholics numbering about a million, almost as many as in the whole of England, and certainly more than in the whole of Australia, constitutes the most powerful centre the Papacy possesses in the Christian world. Statistics demonstrate that more than a million souls are added every year to the United States through immigration, three-fourths of whom are Catholics.

All this is more than sufficient to prove that the claims which for years have been put forward to have another American Cardinal are more than justified; but lately the Vatican authorities have been rather alarmed by the feeling which found expression in an article, published in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, demanding not one, but six Cardinals. Rome, therefore, prefers to demonstrate that the Catholic Church in the United States has no right to insist on the creation of American Cardinals. The supporters of the American demands set forth, as the strongest arguments in favor of their claims, that, firstly, the United States has now ceased to be a missionary country, having been removed from the jurisdiction of the Congregation of Propaganda, and is on the same footing as France, Austria, Italy and Spain; secondly, that the number of American Catholics may be safely estimated at 24,000,000, including, of course, those in the Philippines and Porto Rico; thirdly, that the contributions of Americans towards the Church are incomparably generous; and, fourthly, that the American prelates who are those pointed out as

worthy of the honor of the purple, are men of great distinction in churchmanship and otherwise.

The first argument has no special weight, for the reason that the whole of Latin America, which is entirely Catholic and has, therefore, never been a missionary country, had no Cardinal at all until the present Pope gave the Red Hat to Monsignor Cavalcanti, Archbishop of Rio Janeiro, in 1905—that is to say, thirty years after the United States had her first Prince of the Church, Archbishop McCloskey.

The second argument has not more weight in the eyes of the Holy See, since the creation of Cardinals is in no way proportioned to the Catholic population of the different countries. If it were so, as the United States had a Cardinal in 1875 when the Catholics there numbered about 5,000,000, Latin America should have had for several years nearly a dozen Cardinals—while, as we have seen, until 1905 she had none and now has only one. England not long ago, with less than a million faithful, had three Cardinals—Newman, Manning and Howard. If the arguments put forward with regard to America in connection with the number of Catholics had been then applied to the Catholic countries, France would have been entitled to over thirty Cardinals, Italy to twenty-five, Spain to eighteen, and so on. The same might be said about Australia or Canada, both of which had a Cardinal when their Catholic population had not yet reached one million. England, where also Catholicism, notwithstanding the unflinching opposition of Protestantism, has made such progress that in the last century the number of Catholics has risen in England and Wales alone from 60,000 to nearly 2,000,000 has been for six years, since the death of Cardinal Vaughn, without a single representative in the Sacred College, while instead there are three who are Irish or of Irish descent—Cardinal Logue, Archbishop of Armagh; Cardinal Moran, Archbishop of Sydney; and Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop of Baltimore. This disposes of the second argument.

The contributions of the American Catholics towards their Church at home and the Peter's Pence in Rome, besides direct offerings to the Pope, and until lately to propaganda, are certainly very considerable compared to those coming from other countries; but they will appear less so, if viewed in proportion to the riches of the United States and the less prosperous condition

of other parts of the world. There have been times, strange as it may now appear, in which France, then really acting as the eldest daughter of the Church, contributed to its clergy and to the Holy See more than all the other Catholic nations put together; but no one thought that this gave her a right to demand a larger number of Cardinals than she has had when her offerings became scarce. The United States have certainly also indirectly contributed to keep up the finances of the Vatican, since it was considered that, when the present Pope was raised to the Chair of St. Peter, the capital on the interest of which the Holy See had chiefly to depend, amounted to about $6,000,000, besides the Peter's Pence, bringing something like $500,000 yearly, and an average of $100,000 coming from the different ecclesiastical congregations as fees for briefs, matrimonial dispensations, annulment of marriages, conferment of titles of nobility, etc. These revenues, put together, made a total income of $800,000 a year, which, as Pius X said, after having introduced all possible economies, "are only sufficient for eight months of the year." For the other four months the Pope depended upon the direct offerings of the faithful, and the time is now long past when for about eight centuries each English family contributed annually one shilling towards the upkeep of the Holy See.

The settlement of the dispute about the land of the Friars in the Philippines, and of the other church questions in Cuba and Porto Rico, almost doubled the capital of the Vatican, so that their finances are now on a relatively solid basis; but such a transaction, which had, after all, a business character, cannot be taken as a reason for increasing the number of American Cardinals.

Finally, the last argument is, from the point of view of the Church dignitaries in Rome, the weakest of all. No one denies the great ability and learning of an ecclesiastic like Archbishop Farley, in the same way that it is impossible not to recognize the commanding influence and the universal respect which Archbishop Ireland enjoys among Catholics and Protestants alike, or the veneration called out by Archbishop Ryan of Philadelphia, the piety and administrative capacity of Archbishop Glennon of St. Louis, or the eloquence, tact and energy of Archbishop O'Connell of Boston; but these qualities, although they are generally among the coefficients required for the Cardinalate, are

not always sufficient, or even necessary, in order to secure entrance to the Sacred College. Many comparisons might be drawn between American and foreign prelates; but, besides being odious, they would be injudicious, as it would be impossible not to incur the suspicion of partiality. I will, therefore, give one example among the ecclesiastics of the United States. I do not think that there is any one acquainted with church history who does not admire the imposing figure of Monsignor John Hughes, the first Archbishop of New York, who, confessing, confirming, preaching, lecturing, ordaining, raising funds, building schools and colleges, founding charitable institutions, opening new churches, acting as apostle and as diplomatist, was one of the greatest personalities as man, as priest, as patriot. He was sent to Europe on a secret mission by President Lincoln to exercise his influence on the Pope and on the Catholic sovereigns in favor of the Northern States, as almost the whole of the old Continent, with the exception of the then small kingdom of Sardinia, sympathized with the Confederates. His services were extremely valuable, as through his strong individuality, convincing logic and attractive manners he succeeded in gaining over to his cause Pius IX and Louis Napoleon, thus preventing the Holy See and the French Empire first, and then the other European Powers, from recognizing the Confederate States as an independent nation. Still, Archbishop Hughes died without being created a Cardinal, and his successor, Archbishop McCloskey, although by general consent considered a less gifted man, received the Red Hat.

What I have said so far is merely to expound the considerations put forward by Rome in answer to the demands coming from America; but the real truth is that, according to Catholic doctrine, the Pope is the Vicar of Christ on earth; he represents divine authority; he is the intermediary between Heaven and the faithful; he fixes dogma; he is infallible because, interpreting Divinity, he cannot err; consequently, he cannot be subjected to control or receive advice as would befit a democratic chief. There is, therefore, no argument of any kind strong enough to influence the creation of the Cardinals, intrusted in an uncontrollable way to the will of the Pontiff, who is inspired by the Holy Ghost in choosing and creating the new wearers of the purple, as are the Cardinals when gathered in Conclave for the election of the Pope.

Still, this was not the origin of the Cardinals, it is rather in-

teresting to recall, for they were simple curates or titulars of the churches of Rome, which, being the principal places of worship, were called the "cardinals," a name which passed in time to those who served them. According to other writers, the word "*cardinalis*" was used to designate the fixed permanent clergy of any church, those who were so built into it, and necessary to its being, that it might be said to revolve round them, as a door round its pivot. The use of this metaphor dates from the most remote antiquity, so that, for instance, the five Princes of the Philistines were called "axles" or "hinges" of the people. While in the early days of the Church the Bishops were considered much more important than the Cardinals, the prestige of the latter grew when the right of electing the Pontiff was restricted to the members of the Sacred College alone, chiefly in order to prevent the terrible calamities which used to be the consequence of the great number of electors of the Head of the Church—which had caused thirty-two schisms. Nicolas II was the first Pope elected, in 1059, without any popular intervention, and it was he who published the Magna Charta which established the authority of the Sacred College, and decreed that the Pope should preferably be chosen from among the dignitaries of the Eternal City. With this, and with the choice of the Cardinals chiefly among the clergy of Rome, the Divine Selection of the ancient capital of the Latin world as the centre of Christendom was fulfilled. All the same, no one can affirm that the intentions of Nicolas II were carried out, as, after his death, sixty-nine years passed before a Roman sat in the Chair of St. Peter. Hadrian VI of Utrecht was the last foreign Pope and was so disliked by the Romans, because of his austerity and closeness with regard to money, that when he died, in 1523, the following inscription was found on his physician's door, "You are the savior of your country."

Sixtus V, with his famous Bull "*Postquam*" of 1585, prescribed the number of Cardinals which prevails to this day, ordering that they should never exceed seventy, thus composed: six of episcopal rank, holding the old Roman suburban sees; fifty described as priests, holding a corresponding number of titles or parishes in Rome; and fourteen described as deacons, corresponding to the fourteen "regions" into which the city was divided under Augustus. This again strengthened the opinion

that Pope and Cardinals, if not actually Romans and Italians, should at least reside in the Eternal City. The influences brought to bear on the Popes practically in all times for the augmentation of the number of Non-Italian Cardinals were many and most powerful, including strong pressure from kings and emperors, who thus obtained the privilege of nominating what was called the "Cardinals of the Crown." This privilege was enjoyed by the Emperor of Austria, the Kings of France, Spain, Poland and Portugal, and by the Republic of Venice. Clement XII granted it also, but only once, to James III of England, commonly called the "Old Pretender."

In 1458 the Sacred College implored Pius II not to augment the number of these "privileged" Cardinals and return to the wise habit of choosing Italian prelates, or at least ecclesiastics living in Rome, but the Pontiff did not accede to their request, saying that his honor did not allow him to neglect foreign countries. This view was ratified by the Council of Trent, which expressed the opinion that the Pope should choose the Cardinals, as far as possible, from the whole Christian world. Up to a century ago, one of the greatest objections to so doing was the difficulty of communication and the length of time required for the journey to Rome. There are, in fact, examples of dignitaries who were a long time without knowing that they had been created Cardinals, owing to the difficulty of transmitting the news to them. Indeed, William Macclesfield, the English Dominican professor at Oxford, was created Cardinal in 1303 by Benedict XI, when he was already dead in Louvain, this fact being still unknown in Rome. Another Englishman, William Petow, Bishop of Salisbury, Confessor of Queen Mary, was created Cardinal by Paul IV in 1557, but many believe that he never knew of his promotion, concealed from him by the Queen, because the pontifical brief announcing his exaltation also ordered that the Papal Legate, Cardinal Pole, should be replaced by Petow, which the Sovereign did not wish. Petow died ten months later without having ever worn the purple.

The difficulty of the distance is now almost entirely overcome; indeed, Pius X, in speaking last June to Archbishop Farley, remarked that, "New York, it may be said, is as near Rome as Naples." In fact, while Cardinal McCloskey, at the death of Pius IX, in coming to Rome—accompanied, it is interesting to

note, by the then young Father John Farley—arrived when Leo XIII had been already elected; at the death of the latter, Cardinal Gibbons reached Rome even before the first sitting of the Conclave, and the only member of the Sacred College who did not arrive in time was Cardinal Moran, Archbishop of Sydney. The constantly augmenting facilities for coming to Rome, even from the most distant parts of the globe, do not, however, alter the fact that by Divine Will Rome is the seat of the Catholic Church; in Rome evolves and revolves all the complicated machinery of its organization, and that is yet another reason why the greater number of Cardinals have been, are and must be Italian. When the headquarters of Catholicism were for nearly seventy years at Avignon, for the same reason the greater number of Cardinals were French. Should the prediction of Mr. Stead be fulfilled, and the Papacy to reconquer the empire of the world become Anglo-Saxon and transfer itself to America, then the greater number of Cardinals will be from the United States.

The preponderance of the Italian element in the Sacred College has not, however, prevented illustrious Cardinals of other countries from occupying prominent positions at the helm of the Church. To cite only the most recent examples, it will be sufficient to recall that Cardinal Ledochowski, a Pole, was for a lifetime Prefect of the Congregation of Propaganda under Leo XIII, being thus called the "Red Pope," as the head of that Congregation had then under his jurisdiction by far the larger part of the Catholic world; and Cardinal Merry del Val, a Spaniard, is, and very likely will remain throughout the pontificate of Pius X, his Secretary of State, the position which, if not hierarchically, is *de facto* the highest and most important of the Holy See.

This would not be complete without answering certain statements which might lead astray American readers not thoroughly acquainted with Roman affairs. It has been pointed out that an American Archbishop settled the Pious Fund controversy with Mexico at the Hague Tribunal; that an American Bishop went to Rome as a member of the Taft Commission, contributing to the result achieved; that another American Bishop acted as arbitrator in the great anthracite coal strike of 1902; and that another illustrious American prelate tried to prevent the Spanish-American war, without any of them being made Cardinal. Had these

ecclesiastics been Italians, it is added, they would have received the Red Hat, as happens when an Italian Bishop persuades the Prince of Monaco not to visit King Victor Emmanuel in Rome, or when another displays great heroism during the cholera epidemic. As the American examples will be generally recognized, it will undoubtedly be thought that the Italian examples also refer to prelates who have really been raised to the purple under the alleged circumstances. It will, therefore, be well to have it known that the Prince of Monaco was to come to Rome as a guest of the King last year, to which the Vatican objected, as, since the loss of the Temporal Power, the Popes have prohibited all Catholic sovereigns and rulers from visiting the King of Italy in his capital. The Prince of Monaco, alleging indisposition, abandoned the idea of going to the Eternal City, but no one has ever known that any prelate had any share in his decision, and even if it were so the asserted reward of the Red Hat has never been given, as, since that time, no Consistory has been held and no Cardinal created.

As to the cholera epidemic, the most important one was that in 1884 in Naples, when the deaths amounted to a thousand a day, and King Humbert and the Archbishop of the city met side by side to tend and comfort the dying, giving one of the most sublime examples of civic heroism. That Archbishop was Sanfelice di Acquavella, a Benedictine and a Cardinal; but the Red Hat had already been conferred upon him in the Consistory of March, 1884, several months before the cholera broke out. No other prelate, either then or on similar occasions, has entered the Sacred College for services rendered on the occasion of an epidemic. During the last earthquake disaster in Sicily and Calabria, few men distinguished themselves as did Monsignor d'Arrigo, Archbishop of Messina, or Monsignor Morabito, Bishop of Mileto, in the province of Reggio, but it has not been hinted that there is the least probability of their being rewarded for their labors with the supreme dignity of the Catholic hierarchy. It would be considered here almost the same as though it were said that all the naval and military officers who distinguished themselves there would be promoted admirals and generals. In conclusion, it would be absurd to expect that an institution, the central seat of which is so important as that of the Holy See, should not recruit the larger number of the members of its Senate from among Italians when Rome is its inevitable headquarters,

and there is no justifiable claim as to the appointment of Cardinals, either in Italy or elsewhere, while certain insistencies are only liable to produce the contrary effect. It is reported that the chances of certain American prelates to receive the much-coveted honor were spoiled by some of their too zealous friends, one of whom, for instance, an official of the Government, and, which aggravated his action, a Catholic, went to Rome and positively declared to the Vatican that, interpreting the desire of the then President of the United States, he would not leave the Eternal City until he had in his hands the Red Hat to carry himself to the American candidate, whose position, character and elevation of mind were worthy of a wiser advocate, and who might well have quoted the proverb, "From my enemies I can deliver myself, but may Providence protect me from my friends."

The Papacy, through traditions and conventions, has pledged herself to the appointment of certain Cardinals in Europe, but has no desire to commit herself to this inconvenient practice in new countries, and that is why a Cardinal in New York was followed by one in Baltimore.

It must finally be considered that, with the exception of a few Cardinals intrusted in Rome with certain important offices like the Secretaryship of State, the Prefecture of Propaganda, the six suburban episcopal sees, the Chancellorship of the Church, etc., most of the other Cardinals, beyond being electors in the case of the vacant pontifical see, are much less important in power, prestige, influence and economic position than several Archbishops and some Bishops of the United States. While the Cardinalate would practically add nothing, except the satisfaction of some ambitious feeling, to some powerful Archbishops, like those of New York and Chicago, what the United States really needs is a Cardinal of theirs residing in Rome to interpret American opinions, methods and aims to the head of the Church. Of course if any of the American Archbishops were ordered to such a post, their admirable sense of duty and unflinching spirit of discipline would lead them to accept it, but no one of them would willingly leave their position in America to become a secondary member of the Sacred College in Rome. There could be no better demonstration of the superiority of an American Archbishop to an ordinary wearer of the purple in the Eternal City.

SALVATORE CORTESI.

THE STARTLING GROWTH OF STATE POWER.

BY HANNIS TAYLOR.

In the light of the revelations made during the last fifty years by the historical school of jurisprudence, it is now possible for jurists and statesmen to review the entire growth of the State from its advent as a city commonwealth on the shores of the Mediterranean Sea down to its latest and most complex development as embodied in the Federal Republic of the United States. After an examination of the entire panorama of growth intervening between those extremes, it is now practicable to mark at certain well-defined turning-points the ebb and flow of the tide which has either narrowed or enlarged the legal rights of the citizen as to the sovereign during that interval. Only after the mental horizon has been thus widened can we understand how the limits of State power, on the one hand, and the limits of individual legal rights on the other, have contracted or expanded with the movements from collectivism to individualism and from individualism back to collectivism.

When, with the wreck of the Roman Empire, the ancient conception of the state as a city commonwealth was superseded by the modern conception of the state as a nation, we see members of the common Aryan household moving in family groups out of whose union the larger aggregates arose. The new family group, in its Teutonic form, while still recognizing collectivism to some extent in the ownership of property and paternalism to some extent in domestic Government, rested in the main upon a new and higher conception of political liberty out of which representative Government was born. The political systems of all the Teutonic nations contained the germs of the representative principle, and in every one of the settlements made by the Teutonic nations on Roman soil, a serious attempt has at some time been made in

the direction of representative Government. But with the close of the Middle Ages every effort that had been made in that direction on the Continent of Europe was brought to an end. There pure monarchy prevailed during an epoch that extends from the sixteenth century down to the French Revolution. During that midnight period of monarchy the legal rights of the individual were so narrowed and fettered by the paternal power of the state that in France, with its *banalités* and *seigneurs justiciers,* "the prying eye of the Government followed the butcher to the shambles and the baker to the oven." There "the peasant could not cross the river without paying to some nobleman a toll, nor take the produce which he raised to market until he had bought leave to do so, nor consume what remained of his grain till he had sent it to the lord's mill to be ground, nor full his cloths on his own works, nor sharpen his tools at his grindstone, nor make wine, oil or cider at his own press." Out of the explosion caused by that terrible system of repression came what may be called the orgy of individualism, immortalized by the broad generalizations of the French philosophers as to the inherent and inalienable rights of man. The French constitution of 1793 declared that Government is instituted to secure to man the free use of his natural and inalienable rights of equality, liberty, security, property.

To those who witnessed the political earthquake, whose centre was in France, the state appeared to be a monster as dangerous as that of Frankenstein—a monster whose hands were to be tied by written constitutions defining what the citizen regarded as his inalienable rights. And yet the fact remains that while the French by thus defining the "rights of man" brought written contitutions into being and made them popular, they failed to conceive of an avenging angel with a drawn sword ever ready to strike down all acts of the state performed in violation of them. For the creation of that avenging angel the world is indebted to the United States—it is the outcome of the American invention whereby the judicial power can annul all acts of the state forbidden, expressly or impliedly, by the terms of written constitutions. In the declarations of rights by which American State Constitutions are usually prefaced, such rights are generally defined as they existed in English constitutional law as it stood at the time of the separation from the mother country, with only

a very thin veneer of the philosophy of the French Revolution as interpreted by such typical men as John Adams and Thomas Jefferson. Such was the process through which the political pre-eminence once accorded the family was finally transferred, in the typical English state in America, to the individual who, as an indestructible and favored unit, the State is bound to protect in life, liberty and property. Upon that basis American individualism was founded; upon that basis it reposed down to the Civil War.

Recently, in a notable paper, one of the profoundest of American jurists and one of the ripest of our historical scholars has confronted us with the proposition that, since that time, a revolution has taken place that has changed, and is changing, the whole face of American society. Reference is made to an address, entitled "The Narrowing Circle of Individual Rights," delivered last December before the West Virginia Bar Association by Chief-Justice Simeon E. Baldwin, of Connecticut. In explaining the causes of the change in question he says:

"The first of these was the Civil War; the second was the Philosophy of Evolution. The Civil War had shown what men massed together in compact organizations could do; and how little, in comparison, could be effected by individual exertion. It had shown how, in every State a political majority could be scattered, suppressed, annihilated. It had shown that munitions and supplies such as armies demanded could only be furnished by great combinations of capital and labor. It had shown that these combinations could be easily perverted to mischief—that in the train of a Pacific railroad, and a *Crédit Mobilier*, corruption came, and came even to the steps of the Capitol. It had shown that in the opinion of the great leaders in civil government in the United States and in the Confederate States alike, individual liberty must be often and harshly curtailed for the public good. It had shown that there was a certain grandeur in a vast territory, united under a single government, that appealed to a just civic pride, out of which came a new spirit of nationality.

"As the Civil War was drawing near, Darwin and Wallace brought before the world the philosophy of evolution. It put man in a new light. It put the Creator of man in a new light. The process of evolution, we were told, had been a slow and gradual one. It had been a progress from animalism to intellectuality—an ascent from what was low to what was high. The American people, in character always a religious people, saw that this theory must lead either to an unyielding materialism, or to a new aspect of that power which we call divine. . . . The fear of God was the motive to which the churches had especially appealed. His wrath was the attribute on which they had particularly

dwelt. The love of God and His love for man, is that on which they now have long been insisting most. Some such change of view-point, nearly corresponding in point of time, is to be remarked on the part of man, not only here, but throughout the world, in relation to human government. Down to and beyond the era of the American and French Revolution he had everywhere distrusted the state. He feared and sought to reduce its power. He did reduce it, wherever the community was strong enough to make an effectual resistance. He had succeeded in his efforts, by the middle of the nineteenth century, in the greater part of the civilized world. He tied the hands of government by written constitutions, when he could, and was careful to declare in these constitutions what he deemed to be his own fundamental inviolable rights. . . . Herbert Spencer had been widely read in the United States. He had lent the weight of his authority to support those theories of individualism which our fathers had adopted in sympathy with the statesmen of France. It was the fundamental principle of his philosophy of society, from his first statement of it in 1842, that the action of every government upon its citizens should be confined, and strictly, to the maintenance of equitable relations among them. Strong governments, he declared, make weak men. Down to the era of the Civil War and of the recognition of the evolutionary hypothesis, this had been accepted as axiomatic by our leading thinkers. Then arose this new school of political opinion. The lessons that armies can teach; the greater freedom of incorporation; the trend of modern European thought; the simplicity as well as boldness of the new philosophy; all led away from that of Bentham and Spencer and Mill. . . . It is no longer the preservation of a strong and independent individualism that is the object of solicitude. It is the creation of a state of dependence of the individual for his safety on the state. . . . Here, as fully as in Europe, in the view of the optimist, at least, orderly co-operation is the rule of social life which modern legislation is seeking to enforce. It has not waited for a change in our constitutions. It is content to reinterpret them."

After thus stating his thesis, Judge Baldwin undertakes to maintain it by reminding us that the manufacturer, who finds his field of activity contracting, cannot distill or brew in one State and cannot make a cigarette in another; that the employer, who could once discharge those who did not vote for his candidate is now punished by the State if he dares to do so; that the public official who was once free to take an active part in politics is subject to removal for such activity; that a man's house, once subject to seizure, after just compensation, for the strict purposes of Government, may now be appropriated for a bandstand, a memorial site, a hospital, a college, a free library; that a farmer who once could plant and till his land as he would is now liable to have it invaded by an official who may uproot the

trees in his orchard and leave him without remedy if the State deems such action necessary for the public welfare; that the owner of a wood lot who was formerly free to cut it when he pleased and as he pleased may now be ordered by the Legislature to refrain from cutting the whole or part of the natural growth for a period of years, whenever such a course is deemed to be for the greatest good of the greatest number; that the owner of land from which comes oil or natural gas or artesian water may be compelled, on the one hand, to guard against waste and on the other to refrain from increasing the natural flow to the prejudice of his neighbors; that the riparian proprietor on streams not navigable may be compelled in many States to submit to the flooding of his lands by others to create water power for them to put to milling or manufacturing purposes, while his fishing rights may be curtailed or perhaps denied for years, in order to replenish the stream with more fish for others to catch and eat; that a grazier or butcher who could formerly use his meat products as he saw fit, may now be punished as a criminal should he use his tallow to make a cheap substitute for butter; that the man who could once educate his children as he pleased, or not at all, may now be compelled by the State to educate them in a certain way; in obedience to the State's command he sends them to a public school where it may refuse to receive them unless they are submitted to vaccination, although he may regard it as unnecessary and dangerous; that the man who could once contemplate marriage, with his free choice untrammelled by considerations of personal health, may now be forbidden by the State, under heavy penalties, from marrying an epileptic or one of feeble mind; that the man who could once dispose of his estate by will, with few limitations, provided he was not grossly unfair to his next of kin, must now submit when the State demands a share for itself, and one that is to be increased progressively with the magnitude of the inheritance. Judge Baldwin then adds:

"The artificial person has lost more, even, than the natural person. Its field of action is continually being circumscribed; its manner of action continually subjected to new limitations. . . . The individual laborer has also been often treated by our legislators like a ward incapable of protecting his own interests. The number of hours for which he can agree to work in a day have been cut down, and his liberty of contract in many other directions circumscribed. On the other hand, the power of the State has often been exerted to depress that of organized

labor. It has regulated and, under some circumstances, forbidden strikes. It has forbidden boycotts. It has forbidden (though it knew it not) combinations of labor in different States in restraint of commerce between those States. But this is no time to multiply references to a kind of legislation with which every man before me is familiar, and in shaping which many of whom have had a part. *It is the age of Collectivism. The functions of the State multiply. Its circle of activities expands, and the circle of activities around each private individual is correspondingly reduced.*"

From the foregoing catalogue, imposing as it is, Judge Baldwin has omitted items that prove, as no others can, the fact of the mighty change which he says has taken place. Washington and Jefferson regarded the right to carry on a lottery as one of the "rights of man." Only the death of the latter prevented the sale of Monticello by that process, while the building of the cathedral at Baltimore was made possible by a lottery scheme in which the archbishop won the grand prize donated by him to the undertaking. When in 1836, in the midst of the slavery agitation, President Jackson recommended the passage of an Act prohibiting the circulation of incendiary papers through the mails a storm arose in the Senate, where the proposal was trampled underfoot. Clay said that Congress could "not pass any law interfering with the subject in any shape or form whatever," while Webster "contended that the bill conflicted with that provision in the Constitution which prohibited Congress from passing any law to abridge the freedom of speech or of the press. What was the liberty of the press? he asked. It was the liberty of printing as well as the liberty of publishing in all the ordinary modes of publication. And was not the circulation of papers through the mails an ordinary mode of publication? He was afraid that they were in some danger of taking a step in that matter that they might hereafter have cause to regret, by its being contended that whatever in this bill applies to publications touching slavery, applies to other publications that the States might think proper to prohibit; and Congress might, under this example, be called upon to pass laws to suppress the circulation of political, religious or any other description of publications which produced excitement in the States. It would be admitted, that if a newspaper came directed to him, he had a property in it; and how could any man, then, take that property and burn it without due form of law? and he did not know how this newspaper could

be pronounced an unlawful publication and, having no property in it, without a legal trial." Such views as to the lack of state power in Congress to regulate and control the intellectual contents of the mails and to purge them of any matter put by it on its *index expurgatorius* had entirely vanished prior to 1891 when the Supreme Court of the United States was called upon to uphold the constitutionality of an Act of Congress vesting in administrative officers, without trial by jury, the right to exclude from the mails any newspaper containing a lottery advertisement. The court in its opinion said:

> "The circulation of newspapers is not prohibited, but the government declines itself to become an agent in the circulation of printed matter *which it regards as injurious to the people.*"

In other words, public opinion had changed. The ideas of Washington, Jefferson and the archbishop of Baltimore as to lotteries were repudiated; the ideas of Clay and Webster as to the right of Congress to regulate the intellectual contents of the mails were repudiated. In 1905 Mr. Dicey, the Vinerian professor of English law at Oxford, published a book, entitled "Law and Opinion in England," in which he maintains that: "In England, however, the beliefs or sentiments which, during the nineteenth century, have governed the development of the law have in strictness been public opinion." Later on he adds: "Does not the advance of democracy afford the clue to the development of English law since 1800?" Doubly true is that statement when applied to the development of law in the United States since the end of the Civil War. As Judge Baldwin eloquently contends, there has been since that time a transformation. We have passed from the age of individualism to "the age of collectivism." "The functions of the State multiply. Its circle of activities expands, and the circle of activities around each private individual is correspondingly reduced." The directing power is public opinion—its agents are Congress, the State Legislatures and the courts. It cannot be denied that the action of the Supreme Court in the Freedom-of-the-Press Cases, by which lotteries were crushed out in this country, was sustained by an overwhelming public opinion. Nearly everybody believes that the end attained was an excellent one, and no doubt it was. But let us not deceive ourselves as to the cost of the victory. It is now settled that Congress, so far

as the contents of the mails is concerned, has as much constitutional power to make an *index expurgatorius* as was ever vested in the Roman Curia or in the Star Chamber. In the language of the Supreme Court, Congress can exclude by the hand of an administrative officer, and without trial of any kind, any newspaper from the mails that contains any "matter which it regards as injurious to the people." In the mighty conflicts yet to come that Censorial power over the press thus vested in Congress by judge-made law must be taken into account.

In the April number of this REVIEW a very strong and impressive appeal was made by the president of the New York Life Insurance Company for Congressional supervision of interstate insurance. The writer bases his hope of success mainly on the following:

> "In 1902, the Supreme Court of the United States, in its interpretation of the powers of Congress under the commerce clause of the Constitution, went farther than ever it had gone before. The case before the Court was that of Champion *vs.* Ames, and it is known as the 'Lottery Case.' By this decision the validity of an act of Congress for the suppression of lottery traffic through international and interstate commerce and the postal service was sustained. As I read the entire case, the previous declarations of the Court that insurance is not commerce are therein substantially overruled; and, under the doctrine laid down, it seems reasonably clear that, if Congress should now pass an act providing for Federal supervision and regulation of interstate insurance, the Supreme Court would be bound to sustain it."

When we look the facts in the face, when we measure by standards that do not deceive the startling growth of State power, local and national, that has taken place in the last fifty years, and then couple with it the manifest tendency to carry it further still, we cannot deceive ourselves as to the actual conditions that confront the nation as a whole. We have returned to a time when "the prying eye of the Government follows the butcher to the shambles and the baker to the oven"—a time of collectivism in which the dependent individual looks to the State for protection through the methods of orderly co-operation which modern legislation is seeking to enforce. During the period that divides Jefferson from Lincoln a transformation has taken place in our internal economic conditions, whose results have reversed the fundamental proposition upon which Jefferson's political theories were founded. Just as he and his followers demanded that gov-

ernmental power should be limited to the greatest possible extent, and that the circle of individual rights surrounding the citizen should be widened to the greatest possible extent, a majority of the American people, *including those who still profess to follow Jefferson,* are now demanding that governmental power, State and Federal, shall be so widened, even at the sacrifice of individual rights, as to protect them against the incorporated battalions the new collectivism is hurling against them. Will proof of that assertion be demanded by any one familiar with the recent records of Congress, of the State Legislatures and of the courts wherein the people are striving, through the exercise of extraordinary state power, to restore the equilibrium of American society?

The ultimate arbitrating power in this country is the judicial which throws all statutory legislation into its crucible, where it is tested and refined. Only the finished product is the law. Public opinion working through the judicial power determines its final form. It is, therefore, of supreme importance that our judiciary, which has an honorable past, should be maintained at a high standard as to character, learning and worldly experience. Chief-Justice Baldwin, thoroughly equipped as he is on the historical and scientific side of law as well as on the practical, is a fine example of what an American judge should be. With such arbitrators standing between the individual and the State we have nothing to fear. The solution of mighty and delicate problems still await them. In extending national supervision over corporations engaged in interstate traffic such discrimination must be made as will preserve legitimate corporate enterprise from destruction. Public opinion now clearly recognizes the fact that the advance of the country cannot go on without the further development of the railroad system which will require the fresh investment of hundreds of millions in that direction. Unless State regulation guarantees security and a fair return on such investments, capitalists will not take the risk. On the other hand, there is a determined purpose, upon the part of the nation, to subject the earnings of corporations, in some instances so vast, to their just proportion of Federal taxation. The importance of this measure depends not so much upon the rate at the outset as upon the fact that a new subject-matter is to be subjected to a new kind of Federal control. The state

power that can impose such a tax can open every corporation record, so far as it should be opened, to inspection to the end that the exact amount which any corporation earns may be ascertained by law. The comparatively small opposition manifested to the measure recently passed by Congress is a sure indication that the corporate wealth of the country is willing to bear its just quota of the public burdens. The almost unanimous declaration by Congress that a constitutional amendment should put forever at rest its power to impose an income tax may be accepted as the beginning of the end, so far as the prolonged conflict on that account is concerned. As a part of the same scheme will inevitably follow a progressive inheritance tax, as a partial solution, at least, of the menacing problem that deepens as the concentration of vast wealth in a comparatively few hands increases. So long as we are menaced by the irritating contrast, in the midst of republican institutions, of great poverty and great riches side by side, the socialist and the anarchist will point eternally to the fact that there is an ultimate power that can eliminate it all by the destruction of the institutions that make such inequalities possible. The most effective answer the constitutionalist can make to such suggestions is the proposal by the State itself to accomplish the desired end through the legitimate exercise of its own machinery. A plutocracy that will be blind enough to endanger its own interests by resisting such a policy upon the part of the State must place itself ultimately in the same position as that assumed by the *ancien régime* upon the eve of the French Revolution.

HANNIS TAYLOR.

THE CONFLICTING DUTIES OF THE INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION.

BY H. T. NEWCOMB.

JAMES MADISON, writing in the forty-seventh number of "The Federalist," in defence of the proposed Federal Constitution against the objection, made by its "more respectable adversaries,"* that it failed sufficiently to separate the legislative, executive and judicial powers of Government, said:

"The accumulation of all powers, legislative, executive and judiciary, in the same hands, whether of one, a few or many, and whether hereditary, self-appointed or elective, may justly be pronounced the very definition of tyranny."

Continuing the discussion in the succeeding number, which, however, was published in the same issue of the "New York Packet," Madison, in the final paragraph, gave utterance to the following warning:

"The conclusion which I am warranted in drawing from these observations is, that a mere demarcation on parchment of the constitutional limits of the several departments, is not a sufficient guard against those encroachments which lead to a tyrannical concentration of all the powers of Government in the same hands."

In other words, it appeared to the learned, patriotic and practical commentator that the wisest and most skilfully drawn constitutional provision might be subverted in substance should the people relax their vigilance or waver in their fidelity to the principle of separation of powers. There is abundant evidence that the warning was not unnecessary.

The Interstate Commerce law, adopted on February 4th, 1887; amended on March 2nd, 1889, February 10th, 1891, February 11th, 1893, February 8th, 1895, February 11th, 1903, and February 19th, 1903, and revised on June 29th, 1906, has frequent-

* "The Federalist," No. XLVII. Originally published in the "New York Packet," Friday, February 1st, 1788.

ly been used as an illustration of the confusion of different kinds of power in the same hands. Indeed, if statements that have seemingly emanated from authoritative sources are to be regarded as trustworthy, the great constitutionalist and lawyer who now occupies the White House is so far convinced of the validity of this criticism that he has set before himself the task of obtaining a distribution of the inharmonious and conflicting powers. Evidently President Taft intends that there shall be no diminution of the safeguards against excessive and unjustly discriminatory charges for interstate railway services, but he proposes to place in separate hands the different means provided for the protection of the public against those undoubted evils, to the end that each agency may be able to use its own sort of power in the most impartial, satisfactory and effective manner.

The Interstate Commerce Commission consists of seven members, appointed by the President, subject to confirmation by the Senate, for terms of seven years' duration and expiring at intervals of one year, who are paid for their services at the rate of ten thousand dollars per annum. Its principal office is in Washington, D. C., but it pursues its investigations wherever it will facilitate the prompt and efficacious performance of its functions. It expends upwards of $700,000 yearly, and its salary-list and other expenses are rapidly increasing.

The principal powers and duties conferred upon the Commission by the different sections of the law in its present form are enumerated below:*

"Section 1. A. (1). To order the construction, maintenance and operation upon reasonable terms of switch connections between any railway and any lateral branch line of railroad or private sidetrack where safe, reasonably practicable, and there is sufficient business.

"Section 6. A. (2). To modify the requirements of the law as to length of notice of changes in rates or as to publishing, posting and filing rate schedules or tariffs.

B. (3). To execute and enforce the law.

C. (4). To apply to district attorneys of the United States to institute and prosecute proceedings for the enforcement of the law.

* For convenience in referring to them hereinafter, each separate power has been given a serial number which appears in parenthesis.

D. (5). To issue subpœnas and subpœnas *duces tecum*.

E. (6). To order testimony taken by deposition for use before itself.

F. (7). To appoint persons to take depositions in foreign countries for use before itself.

" Section 13. A. (8). To receive complaints and to investigate matters made the subject of complaint.

B. (9). To institute inquiries 'on its own motion' and 'to the same effect as though complaint had been made.'

" Section 14. A. (10). To make written reports of its investigations.

B. (11). To include in its reports of investigations its 'decision, order or requirement in the premises,' and, if it awards damages, its 'findings of fact.'

" Section 15. A. (12). 'To determine and prescribe,' after 'full hearing,' 'what will be the just and reasonable rate or rates, charge or charges, to be thereafter observed as the maximum to be charged; and what regulation or practice in respect to such transportation is just, fair and reasonable to be thereafter followed; and to make an order that the carrier shall cease and desist from such violation, to the extent to which the Commission find the same to exist, and shall not thereafter publish, demand or collect any rate or charge for such transportation in excess of the maximum rate or charge so prescribed and shall conform to the regulation or practice so prescribed.'

B. (13). To prescribe, within certain limits, when its orders shall take effect and how long they shall remain in force.

C. (14). To prescribe divisions of joint rates.

D. (15). To establish through routes and fix joint maximum rates and divisions of rates on such routes.

E. (16). To prescribe maximum allowances for services connected with transportation performed by owners of the goods transported.

" Sections 16 and 16*a*. A. (17). To make orders directing the payment of money damages.

B. (18). To suspend, reverse or modify its own orders.

C. (19). To employ special counsel 'in any proceeding' under the law.

D. (20). To apply to the Federal courts to compel obedience to its orders.

E. (21). To defend suits brought 'to enjoin, set aside, annul or suspend' any of its orders.

"Section 17. A. (22). To make and alter its own rules of practice.

"Section 19. A. (23). To prosecute anywhere, by one or any number of its members, 'any inquiry necessary to its duties.'

"Section 20. A. (24). To require annual reports from carriers subject to the law.

B. (25). To prescribe the form of such reports, and to require specific answers in them to 'all questions' on which it 'may need information.'

C. (26). To fix a date after which all carriers subject to the law must have 'as near as may be' a uniform system of accounts and the manner in which such accounts shall be kept.

D. (27). To require special monthly reports of earnings and expenses.

E. (28). To prescribe the forms of 'all accounts, records and memoranda' of traffic movement and receipts and expenditures of money permitted to be kept by the carriers.

F. (29). To have constant access to and to inspect the accounts of carriers.

"Section 21. A. (30). To report annually to Congress and to make 'recommendations as to additional legislation.'"

By certain supplementary Acts the Commission is also given extensive powers for the enforcement of the safety-appliance and hours-of-service laws, collects data covering accidents and has a degree of supervision over some telegraph companies.

Here is certainly a curious hodgepodge of conflicting, incongruous and irreconcilable functions. The bare enumeration should suffice to establish the truth that the Commission has been directed to perform many duties which it cannot execute with proper zeal without, at the same time by an inevitable reaction, depriving itself of that just equipoise which ought to characterize the exercise of legislative functions and, *a fortiori,* of that cold impartiality that constitutes the only judicial temper which is proper and safe. The impropriety of this union in the same agency of inconsistent powers is vouched for by no less an authority than Hon. Charles A. Prouty, since the year 1896 one of the most active and prominent members of the Commission. Addressing the American Bar Association at its annual

convention, held during August, 1907, fourteen months after the passage of the Hepburn law, Mr. Prouty said:

"I have said that the Act to regulate Commerce at once instructs the Commission to enforce its provisions, and constitutes that body a tribunal to pass upon complaints brought against railways. It has been in the past one of the most serious reproaches against that Act that the Commission was made by its terms at once a prosecuting officer and judge . . . the objection to combining in the same person the duties of prosecutor and a trier is a wise one, which should seldom be contravened. . . . The jurisdiction of the Commission has been enormously increased. . . . I feel, therefore, that *the time has come when the duties of this body should be separated. If it is to continue to hear and determine cases, it should be relieved of its other work.* . . .

"The conclusion of the whole matter is this: If the Interstate Commerce Commission is vested with a jurisdiction so tremendous in extent, and of such finality, every effort should be made to provide a body adequate to the trust. That Commission under the present law is charged with two sets of duties requiring diverse qualifications for their discharge. It stands, first, as representative of the Government to see that these highways are in fact public. It is commanded to enforce the provisions of the Act to regulate commerce. It must see that rates are reasonable and just; that the practices and regulations of railways are not oppressive; that the penalties provided by the Act are enforced. In the near future the powers must be extended to the operation of the railroad as well. *These duties are largely executive. They can best be discharged by a single head, responsible to the executive and answerable to the spur of popular criticism.*

"Second, this Commission is in essence a judicial tribunal which hears and decides complaints. *The qualifications of such a body are the exact opposite of the other.* . . .

"I very much doubt whether the same body can properly discharge both these functions. In the end it will either become remiss in its executive duties or will, in the zeal of those, become unfit for the dispassionate performance of its judicial functions. *Whatever may have been true in the past, the time has come when the Commission should be relieved of all its duties, except the hearing and deciding of complaints.*"*

Portions of the foregoing, expressing important conclusions, have been italicized by the writer of the present paper. It is difficult to see any escape from acquiescence in these conclusions. The public is plainly entitled to an impartial forum in which the

* Commissioner Prouty's paper, which is entitled "A Fundamental Defect in the Act to Regulate Commerce," is printed in full in the Transactions of the Thirtieth (1907) Annual Meeting of the American Bar Association and has been privately printed in pamphlet form by its author.

relative rights of the buyers and sellers of interstate railway services may be determined, and it is only too plain that perfect impartiality cannot long survive in the unfavorable atmosphere of prosecution. When a member of the Commission who has had such long experience in its work comes forward publicly to declare in unequivocal terms that it cannot continue to exercise its executive duties and remain "a body adequate to the trust" of its "tremendous jurisdiction" to hear complaints and redress transportation wrongs, it is clear that the necessity for a change is imperative.

The characteristic functions of the Commission are those of hearing complaints and redressing wrongs by means of orders requiring changes in rates or in transportation practices. It was created primarily for these purposes and the form of its organization was adapted, in the opinion of those who framed the statute, especially for the performance of these functions. Subject to the single qualification that, with duties so strongly partaking of the judicial nature, there ought to go the constitutional judicial tenure of office—that is to say, that appointments to the Commission ought to continue "during good behavior"—there could be little objection to the statement that, deprived of inconsistent duties, the performance of which must necessarily warp its judgment and create a bias toward one of the parties to each proceeding, the Commission is well constituted to arbitrate between the carriers' patrons and the carriers. Therefore, whatever duties are to be subtracted from those now performed by the Commission, those of hearing and deciding complaints ought to remain. Commissioner Prouty thinks that no other duties ought to be left to the Commission, and it may be admitted that he is unmistakably right in this conclusion. The powers and duties which would probably be retained by the Commission, if Commissioner Prouty's recommendation should be followed, are those numbered 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18 and 22. All these powers and duties relate to the receipt and adjudication of complaints, to the procurement of testimony necessary therefor or to the redress of wrongs complained against and shown by testimony to exist. For the proper performance of such duties an unbiased and impartial tribunal is necessary, and with the curtailment of its duties the Commission can be expected to become such a tribunal.

There is, however, another reason for the adoption of Commissioner Prouty's suggestion which ought to have controlling influence, even though there were no other serious objections to the Commission continuing to perform its supplementary duties as a prosecuting agency. The number of complaints formally presented for adjudication has enormously increased since the enactment of the Hepburn law. Promptness in handling these cases is a primary requisite of sound and helpful regulation, and care and thoroughness in consideration are among the chief essentials. How difficult it must be invariably to comply with these requirements, even were the Commission wholly free from its multitudinous and exacting executive duties, may be gathered from the following quotation from the latest (1908) annual report of that body:

"The number of formal cases and investigations instituted during the year was 554, relating directly to the rates and practices of 3,080 defendants. This shows an increase of thirty-three and one-half per cent. over the previous year, as the number of such complaints filed in 1907 was 415, relating directly to the rates and practices of 2,236 defendants. . . .

"Five hundred and seventy-three hearings and investigations of alleged violations of the Act to regulate commerce, including one investigation under joint resolution of the Congress, have been had at general sessions of the Commission at its office in Washington and at special sessions held at various places throughout the country at which more than 67,000 pages of testimony were taken or something over 134,000 folios."*

From the organization of the Commission to the date of the passage of the Hepburn law—that is, from early in 1887 to June 29th, 1906, a period of more than nineteen years,—the number of formal complaints received was less than 874, that number representing all proceedings begun, including some that were instituted by the Commission "on its own motion," without any formal complaint. From June 30th, 1906, to November 24th, 1908, formal proceedings were begun in 1,031 cases, nearly all by the receipt of complaints. Thus during twenty-nine months, under the new law the Commission received substantially 157, or about eighteen per cent., more complaints than it did in over nineteen years under the old law, the average number received under the new law being over thirty-five cases per

* Twenty-second (1908) Annual Report of the Interstate Commerce Commission, pp. 6, 7.

month as compared with less than four cases per month under the old law.

Now as to the rapidity with which it has proved practicable to handle these cases. On June 28th, 1909, the Interstate Commerce Commission decided case No. 1,597 which appears to have been filed on June 12th, 1908, substantially one year before. The opinion is the one-thousandth and sixtieth promulgated and the last issued during the fiscal year that ended with June 30th, 1909. The first opinion rendered during that year was No. 699, so that it appears that in twelve months the Commission issued 362 opinions. Some of these opinions covered more than one case, a fact that must be taken into consideration before comparing the total just given with the number of complaints received. There were two instances of the consolidation of seven cases; one opinion covered six complaints, three covered five, one covered four, six covered three and twenty covered two; the others covered one each. Allowing for these, the total number of complaints decided during the fiscal year was 426, which may no doubt be fairly compared with 554 complaints received during the calendar year 1908. Among the cases decided during May and June of this year, months of quite unprecedented activity in the promulgation of decisions, there were forty-five at least (the examination may not have been complete) which had been pending over nine months, thirty-eight over ten months, thirty-four over eleven months, thirty-two over twelve months, nineteen over fifteen months, thirteen over eighteen months, twelve over twenty-one months and six over two years. The average time which elapsed between the filing of these complaints and their decision was one year, three months and twelve days.

The record just summarized contrasts, almost inexplicably, in its evidence of expedition in disposing of cases with the much slower progress of the years immediately preceding. For example, the annual report for 1907 states that:

"Between August 28th, 1906, and November 4th, 1907, the Commission rendered decisions, after full hearing upon complaint and answer, in 107 contested cases."*

As the annual reports show that the number of formal com-

* Twenty-first Annual Report of the Interstate Commerce Commission, p. 7. The average for the period was 7.5 cases per month; cases filed in the same period averaged thirty-one per month.

plaints filed between the dates named in the foregoing was 441, it is clear that the relatively small number decided (less than one-fourth of the number received) cannot be explained as due to any lack of cases to be decided. There was no change in the personnel of the Commission during the periods under comparison, and of course it is impossible to suggest that there has at any time been anything except the most diligent devotion to duty on the part of every member of that body. The only possible conclusion, therefore, from the contrast between 107 cases decided in one period of fourteen months and 426 cases decided in a later period of twelve months is that the Commission has altered its view as to the quantity of effort necessary or desirable in the consideration of separate cases. Whether the reduced consideration which such an altered attitude would imply is sufficient to safeguard the reciprocal interests of railway patrons and railway investors is a question of great importance.

Whatever conclusion may be warranted as to the adequacy of the inquiry made in each particular case under current conditions, there can be no doubt that the capacity of a board of seven of the most intellectually active and physically able men who could be obtained might well be severely taxed if it performed no duties beyond hearing and deciding interstate commerce cases at the average rate of three for every two days, including Sundays and holidays and with no allowance for vacations from one year's end to another. And that is the rate at which these cases were placed upon the docket of the Commission during 1908.

The duties now superimposed upon those properly belonging to the Commission are varied, extensive and important. Some idea of their nature has already been afforded by an analysis of the law. It is worth while to ascertain from the Commission itself what they amount to in actual practice. The annual report for 1908 gives a hurried synopsis of one very useful activity as follows:

"During the present year 4,640 informal complaints were filed with the Commission in which correspondence has been had with the carriers, resulting in the adjustment of 3,515 of these complaints; 37 were transferred to the formal complaint docket, leaving 1,288 unadjusted in which further correspondence is necessary. During the previous year 4,382 complaints of this character were filed. . . . Many of these complaints are important and allege violations of every phase of the law, such as overcharges, excessive rates, discrimination, reconsignment rules, de-

murrage rules, validation of tickets, train service, car shortage, undercharge, Pullman rates, embargo, etc."*

The extent of the correspondence relating to safety-appliance matters, the hours-of-service law, cases pending in the courts, contested cases and general topics indicates another phase of the non-judicial labor of which the Commission might well be relieved. The report for 1908 states that 102,759 such letters were prepared and mailed by the Commission's "operating division" during that year as against 66,070 the year before, while the number of such letters received was 104,034, an increase from 66,933 in the former year.

The Commission has a "Division of Claims" charged with the duty of investigating claims for reparation on account of alleged overcharges for railway services. In the twelve months covered by the report, this division approved "informal" claims of this sort in 1,012 instances, representing refunds by carriers aggregating $154,703, and rejected or refused to approve 864 such claims.†

The tariff files maintained by the Commission since 1887 are extensive and require a considerable force of experts and clerks in order that they may be readily available. The Commission is also compelled to prescribe rules to govern the form in which the tariffs or rate schedules are to be prepared. The latest annual report says:

"All schedules offered for filing are scrutinized as to certain features, and gradually more and more are being subjected to careful examination and criticism by the Commission. . . .

"In the twelve months ended November 30th, 1908, there were filed with the Commission 228,490 tariff publications all containing changes in rates and rules governing transportation. A very extensive correspondence has been necessary in connection with this tariff work, which, it is hoped, will in the future become less voluminous."‡

The statistical work in charge of the Commission requires the services of a large force of employees and must make heavy demands upon the energies of some of the commissioners. The scope of this work is only suggested by the following extract from the report:

* Twenty-second (1908) Annual Report of the Interstate Commerce Commission, p. 7.

† *Ibid.*, p. 10.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

"The financial accounts for all agencies of transportation have been brought to a point at which general questions of public policy, as well as technical questions of accounting, claim consideration. . . .

"In the matter of annual reports, also, many changes have been made during the past year. Such reports are now required from express companies, from electric railways and from sleeping-car companies. The forms for reports of steam railways have been arranged so as to require a less extended report from the small railways than from the large railways. A special form of report has been devised for switching and terminal companies, as well as for lesser companies, which maintain financial accounts only. A special form of report has been provided also for the use of carriers engaged in operations other than rail transportation."*

Possibly the duties in addition to hearing and determining complaints that have so far been discussed in this article have little, if any, tendency to create that attitude toward the carriers which, as so aptly and forcibly stated by Commissioner Prouty, tends to impair the judicial quality and temper of the Commission. If so, the only, though sufficient, reasons for transferring these duties are that, as Mr. Prouty says, they can be better performed under a single executive head, and that their transfer will allow the Commission to devote all of its time and abilities to the determination of the many grave and far-reaching questions presented by the complaints it receives.

There are other duties, however, which cannot be described as harmless in their tendencies to react upon the feeling of the Commission toward the corporate parties who must defend their rates and practices when they are attacked by complaints. In enforcing by prosecutions the hours-of-service and safety-appliance laws, in participating in the defence of suits brought in the Federal Circuit Courts to annul or suspend its orders, in inspiring and assisting the prosecution of persons and corporations accused of violating the law, the Commission is no longer an impartial body, it has become an active agent in a process openly adverse to some of the very parties over whom it may the next day sit as judge. If this situation had not too long existed, it might well be characterized as intolerable.

Five pages of the 1908 report are devoted to a synopsis of suits brought to annul or suspend the Commission's orders, and it appears that from July 1st, 1908, to December 24th, 1908, the

* Twenty-second Annual Report of the Interstate Commerce Commission, p. 82.

date of the report, sixteen suits of that character were begun in the Federal courts. The questions presented by these cases include: (*a*) the constitutionality of the Hepburn law, (*b*) the limits upon Congressional authority to delegate power to the executive branch of the Federal Government and (*c*) the extent of the power of judicial review of the Commission's orders and proceedings under the new law. The position of the Commission in assuming a part of the burden of defending these suits is much like that of a Federal circuit judge who should appear in the Supreme Court (without compensation) as the advocate of the party to whose advantage he had decided the same case in his own court. Nevertheless, this strange duty is imposed by the present law upon the Commission.

As to criminal prosecutions initiated by the Commission the report will be briefly quoted:

"The enforcement of the Act by means of criminal prosecution still continues to be necessary. This work has gone forward satisfactorily during the past year. Since December 1st, 1907, forty-six indictments for giving or receiving rebates were returned in the various judicial districts of the country. In the same period forty-one prosecutions were concluded—twenty-four by convictions or pleas of guilty in the trial courts, seven by affirmances of convictions upon appeal, three by acquittal, one by quashing of indictment by the Court of Appeals after conviction in the trial court, and six by entry of *nolle prosequi* before trial.

"The Division of Prosecutions has also investigated many practices of carriers during the year which have been held not to be of sufficient gravity for prosecutions, but which, being of doubtful propriety, have been required to be corrected or discontinued."*

Concerning its energetic pursuit of possible offenders against the safety-appliance laws, the Commission has much to say.

"Prosecutions under the safety-appliance Act are being vigorously pursued, and each decision tends the more strongly to fortify the efforts of the Commission in its enforcement."†

Some measure of the activity for which the Commission commends itself is found in the fact, recited on the same page, that since the enactment of the law it has sent to the several district attorneys no less than 597 of these cases, representing 2,395 separate violations or alleged violations of the laws, and that on

* Twenty-second Annual Report of the Interstate Commerce Commission, p. 25.

† *Ibid.*, p. 44.

account of these offences penalties amounting to more than $100,000 have been recovered. At the date of the report criminal prosecutions in connection with 675 alleged violations were pending. For the detection of offences under this law the Commission employs a large force of "inspectors," although it seems to have held that to ascertain whether the hours-of-service law was properly observed "through secret investigations of Government inspectors" would not have been "in consonance with American ideas and institutions."* Otherwise the relation of the Commission to the enforcement of the latter statute is the same as toward the safety-appliance law.

That Commissioner Prouty did not overstate the danger when he expressed his fear that "in the zeal" of its executive duties the Commission might "become unfit for the dispassionate performance of its judicial functions" must be plain when we find that body grouping all the possible respondents to the complaints it may receive and applying to them one sweeping and general condemnation. Thus, in discussing controversies that have arisen over the application of the safety-appliance law, the report already quoted says:

> "The railroads, however, are inclined to lay much stress upon the sanctity of property interests. They contend that the safety-appliance Act is penal in its nature, and that it should for that reason be strictly construed. They seek to justify their violations of the law by pleading ignorance as to the condition of their equipment or want of intention on their part to disobey the statute."†

It will be noted that the foregoing allegation is confined to no particular railway or group of railways; it characterizes all of them together as lawbreakers and as engaged in an attempt to prevent the successful and complete enforcement of a statute which the Commission very clearly would like to have most broadly construed.

Those who agree that the non-judicial functions of the Commission ought to be transferred need have no very great difficulty over their distribution. An expansion of the force and work of two of the great executive departments of the Federal Government, which would leave all their duties still strictly within the

* Twenty-second Annual Report of the Interstate Commerce Commission, p. 50.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 38, 39.

scope of the purposes for which they exist, would provide properly for the execution of every such duty.

An excessive or an unjustly discriminatory charge for an interstate railway service amounts, in fact and in law, to an offence against the American public, and the Federal Government ought to provide for the prosecution of this class of wilful infractions of the law of the land, as it provides for the prosecution of other classes. Prosecutions looking toward the exaction of penalties for such violations of law, and the future enforcement of just and reasonable rates and rates not unfairly discriminatory among themselves ought to be instituted by the proper Federal authorities whenever there is reasonable ground for belief that unjust exactions or unjustly discriminatory rates are being enforced for any interstate railway service. Private prosecution should be necessary only when the purpose of the suit is to obtain an award of pecuniary damages for an infraction of the statute. The Department of Justice, with its complete and far-reaching organization under the control of the Attorney-General of the United States and represented in every section of the country by experienced and able attorneys, is obviously the proper department to initiate and prosecute both civil and criminal suits to prevent and punish offences against the laws of the United States. It might very properly be authorized to prosecute before the Interstate Commerce Commission complaints for which probable cause seemed to exist, whenever the private interest was inadequate to lead to complete presentation. Of course this department is that which ought to have the entire burden of prosecuting those charged with rebating or with violating the safety-appliance or hours-of-service laws. The duties and powers numbered 3, 4, 19, 20, 21 and possibly number 30 would thus be transferred to the Department of Justice as well as all duties in the enforcement of the supplementary laws referred to.

Whether the Bureau of Corporations shall remain a part of the Department of Commerce and Labor, as at present, or more consistently, perhaps, with the organization of both departments, shall be made a bureau in the Department of Justice, the propriety of utilizing it as the agency for performing the statistical work, for conducting the non-judicial investigations concerning interstate railway commerce and for exercising the actually administrative powers incident to their necessary regulation, is ap-

parent. The Bureau of Corporations exists to collect data relating to the operations of corporations engaged in interstate commerce and to supply the executive and legislative branches of Government with information believed to illuminate the great problems which have arisen, and will hereafter arise, in the development of modern business methods. It has collected and compiled a great deal of information that has been used, during recent years, as the basis of prosecutions under the Sherman anti-trust law and the Cullom and Hepburn laws for the regulation of railways. But it has never reached its highest potential utility, because its normal and proper field was originally restricted, so as to avoid curtailing the functions of the Interstate Commerce Commission, by excluding from its field of activity the most important of all interstate corporations—that is to say, those owning and operating interstate railways. To add to the functions of the Bureau of Corporations those powers herein designated by numbers 2, 10, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29 and 30 would improve the work both of the agency from which those duties were taken and of that to which they were transferred. The field of the Bureau of Corporations would then, for the first time in its history, be complete and symmetrical; the functions of the Commission would be harmonious and its temper would eventually become judicial.

Such is, in outline, the simple and effective plan which it is hoped will appeal to the good sense and practical judgment of Congress as forcibly as it has evidently appealed to Commissioner Prouty, to the President's most qualified advisers and to the President. It involves no impairment at any point of the proper work of railway or corporate regulation; it proposes no reduction in effectiveness; but, on the contrary, it would strengthen the whole scheme of regulation by making consistent with itself the work of every agency utilized, and by removing the potential or positive bias which has always weakened the confidence of the general public in the judicial impartiality of the Commission.

H. T. Newcomb.

THE DECLARATION OF LONDON.

BY PAUL S. REINSCH.

DURING the last winter a work was accomplished which will stand as one of the great landmarks in international progress. Quietly, without any appeal to public attention, the London Naval Conference held its meetings and elaborated its convention. Not heralded with popular acclaim, nor surrounded with brilliant festivities, the council of expert representatives of the great powers accomplished results which constitute indeed a new departure in international life. A code of international law relating to the rights and duties of belligerents with respect to neutral commerce was accepted—a body of world law to be interpreted and applied by a standing international tribunal. Thus a true international judicature is at last to come into being.

The most important achievement of the Second Hague Conference (1907) was the adoption of a plan for an international court of appeals in prize cases. Hitherto all such cases have been tried by the courts of the state whose forces had made the respective capture. As these courts were bound by the instructions of their government great differences in principles and interpretation of the prize law arose and were perpetuated. National traditions had grown up based upon considerations of policy and of national necessity. But these divergent interpretations as to what objects could be captured as contraband, how a blockade was to be rendered effective, and similar questions, have caused great difficulties during every war of modern history. Never have the neutrals agreed that the law as enforced by the belligerents was in all its parts truly recognized and accepted as international law. During and after a war there have been recriminations and claims for indemnification which have sometimes overclouded the friendly relations between different

Powers for decades before they could be satisfactorily settled. The institution of a court of appeals composed of judges representing all the Powers, a body of juristic experts in whose character and knowledge the world has confidence, would therefore remove one of the chief causes by which war is complicated and encumbered with incidental conflicts. The convention adopted by the Second Hague Conference provided for a standing court of fifteen judges. Certain contracting powers—Germany, the United States, Austria-Hungary, Great Britain, Italy, Japan and Russia—are always to have a representative. The other states are to participate in rotation. It is provided that in the decision of a judicial question "the court is to be guided by the treaties existing between the two parties involved. In the absence of treaty provisions the court shall apply the principles of international law, and if no generally recognized rule exists the court is to give judgment in accordance with the general principles of justice and equity." As the interpretation of the principles of international law by the different nations has been notoriously divergent and conflicting, it was thought advisable that a conference of the leading naval Powers should be summoned for the purpose of arriving at a harmonious and consistent formulation of the principles involved.

The Naval Conference was called by the British Government in 1908. Besides the inviting Government, there were represented the five great Continental powers of Europe—Germany, Austria-Hungary, France, Italy and Russia, as well as the United States and Japan. Spain was invited on account of her historic importance in the family of nations and her interest in maritime questions, and the Netherlands because the International Prize Court is to have its seat in that country. The composition of the London Conference, therefore, differed from that of the Hague Conference in that the nations there represented were those which actually have the determining power in the creation of international maritime law on account of their present naval strength. Among the personnel of the conference there were many noted authorities on maritime law. The principal delegate of Germany, M. Kriege, a member of the Hague Court, had taken a notable part in the Second Hague Conference. France was ably represented by M. Louis Renault, one of the leading spirits in both the Hague Conferences, a man whose learning

and personality have been of the greatest influence in the present international movement. The British delegates were Lord Desart and Admiral Ottley. The principal delegate of Russia was Baron Taube of the University of St. Petersburg. The other Powers were similarly well represented. The delegates of the United States were Rear-Admiral Charles H. Stockton and Professor George G. Wilson, who had both taken part in the excellent work in the codification of international law undertaken of late by the Naval War College of Newport. The conference was in session from December 2nd, 1908, to February 26th, 1909. During this period it elaborated a convention of seventy-one articles.

The programme submitted by the British Government included the following matters:

"A. Contraband;
"B. Blockade;
"C. The doctrine of continuous voyages;
"D. The destruction of neutral prizes before condemnation by a court;
"E. Rules concerning unneutral services or hostile assistance;
"F. The transformation of merchantmen into war-vessels on the high seas;
"G. The transfer of a vessel from the flag of one nation to that of another during war;
"H. The question whether nationality or domicile is to determine the character of enemy property."

This comprehensive programme, including the entire field of belligerent rights as far as the law of prize is concerned, was carefully worked over by the conference; and, although they did not succeed in arriving at an agreement upon all the points suggested in the programme, nevertheless upon the far larger part they determined generally acceptable principles. It was, indeed, not to be expected that every point could be settled at this time. On the contrary, the achievement of the conference has transcended all expectations.

The most distinctive achievement of the conference would seem to lie in the articles of the convention dealing with contraband. Not only has the vexed question of the classification of contraband found a satisfactory settlement, but many other incidental problems, such as the proper test in making conditional contraband subject to confiscation, and the application of the doctrine of continuous voyage to contraband, have been settled in a manner so simple, lucid and just that the acceptance of the prin-

ciples announced will certainly commend itself to the authoritative opinion of the world. Criticism of details will, indeed, be necessary as these conventions are applied in the course of time, but this cannot detract from the achievement of having laid down such clear and rational rules of adjudication. Material objects are divided into four classes in the Declaration of London—those which are absolutely contraband in time of war, those which are conditionally contraband, and those which shall under no circumstances become contraband. A fourth class—objects not embraced in any of the preceding—may be made contraband by special declaration of a belligerent Power. Articles absolutely contraband are those which are solely or principally utilizable in warfare, but to these there are added the following: draft animals, pack animals and saddle-horses, provided they are useful for military operations. Thus a matter about which there has been much controversy is settled by declaring for the absolute contraband quality of army horses and similar animals.

The principal objects contained in the list of conditional contraband are the following; provisions, articles of clothing proper for military use, gold and silver, vehicles and ships, materials for railways and telegraphs, flying-machines, fuel—in short, objects which are susceptible to military uses. Other objects that may be used for this purpose—*e. g.*, timber—may be added to the list of contraband by special declaration of the belligerent. Things which cannot be declared contraband comprise the raw materials of industry, such as cotton, wool, silk, minerals and crude drugs, as well as paper, soap, agricultural and industrial machinery, objects of furniture, etc.

Articles absolutely contraband may be seized if they are being transported to the territory of the enemy. They are not protected from seizure by the fact that before arrival at their final destination they are to be transshipped or carried overland. The principle of continuous voyage by which the entire traject of the contraband article is taken as one continuous route has thus been adopted with respect to articles absolutely contraband. Articles of conditional contraband may be seized if it is established that they are to be delivered to the armed forces or administration of the enemy state—*i. e.*, if they are being sent directly to the enemy authorities, or to a merchant who acts as furnishing agent, or to a place serving as a base of hostilities. Such articles, con-

ditionally contraband, can be seized only if on a ship which is at the time engaged in a voyage to enemy territory. The doctrine of continuous voyage does not apply in this case, with the exception, however, that if the enemy territory does not have a maritime frontier articles of conditional contraband may be seized on the sea, though they are to be transported over neutral territory to the enemy country. The vessel carrying contraband is confiscable if the forbidden articles transported amount to one-half of the cargo, either on account of their value, or their weight, or the volume, or the freight charge paid upon them. The system thus elaborated contains a number of original elements, such as the last provision cited and the distinction between conditional and absolute contraband with respect to the doctrine of continuous voyage. However, in the main the work of the conference has been rather to strike a just mean between conflicting national policies of prize law and to arrive at a simple and just basis upon which the intercourse of nations can be founded in time of war. Considered as a system, the arrangement provided by the conference is admirably lucid and logical, each part bearing a carefully considered relation to the whole.

With respect to the law of blockade, the principle of the Declaration of Paris (1856) is reiterated and emphasized—that a blockade must be maintained by a naval force sufficiently large to make it effective. It is further provided that a blockade will not be considered effective unless due notice is given of the exact date of its commencement and of the geographical limits of the blockaded area. The most far-reaching provision is that the seizure of neutral vessels for violation of a blockade can only be effected in the radius of action of the war-vessels charged with making the blockade effective, nor can a vessel be taken after its pursuit has been given up by the ships of the blockading squadron. This provision strictly identifies the area within which seizures may be made for blockade-running with the area within which an effective blockade is being maintained. In considering the validity of a seizure for blockade-running, the court will therefore determine in the first place whether the ship was seized by a vessel of the blockading squadron and, secondly, whether the vessels of this squadron were so stationed and were present in such strength as to make the blockade effective. It will be seen that should the declaration be adopted by the Powers, it will

henceforth not be possible to seize a vessel at a distance from the blockading squadron on account of its alleged purpose of breaking through a blockade. The seizure must, on the contrary, be a direct and integral part of the blockading operations. The question of notice of the blockade is so regulated that the neutrals will be assured of definite notification, so that hereafter no doubts may be entertained as to the validity of the seizure on account of a question of sufficient notice.

Many other matters of importance were settled by the conference. It was determined that a neutral ship carrying troops or despatches for the enemy may be confiscated. While the right of destroying prizes on account of military necessity was admitted, the exercise of the right was guarded in such a manner as to protect neutrals against losses due to arbitrary action. The captor in such cases must prove the presence of an exceptional necessity for the destruction of the prize, otherwise he will be liable for damages; if merchandise not subject to confiscation has been destroyed with the ship, or if the ship itself is not liable to seizure, the proprietors are to be indemnified. When neutral merchantmen are convoyed by a neutral war-vessel the word of the commandant of the latter as to the character of the merchantmen and their cargoes is to be accepted, and the vessels convoyed are to be exempt from visit and search. Should it be believed that the commander of the convoying vessel has been mistaken or deceived, his attention may be called to the suspicious facts. He is then himself to make an examination of the suspected vessel. His finding in this matter is, however, to be accepted by the belligerent, who is thus restrained from direct interference with convoyed merchantmen.

Upon two points of the programme no agreement was arrived at. The important question as to whether the nationality or the actual domicile of the proprietor of merchandise is to be the determining factor with respect to the enemy character of the latter could not be brought to a satisfactory conclusion, as none of the solutions suggested commended itself to the delegates of all the Powers. The attempt to determine such questions primarily on the basis of the nationality of the proprietor, and only in cases where that test should fail by his domicile, did also not receive unanimous support. Similarly the question of the legality of the transformation upon the high seas of a merchantman into

a war-vessel could not be settled. The same views which had already been expressed at the Hague Conference of 1907 were again propounded and a union of opinion was not feasible.

With the results of the conference before us, it is possible to appreciate the great advance in international relations which their full acceptance will assure. Through making the rights of neutrals definite, the cause of many conflicts disappears. The belligerent still retains the power to protect himself fully against efforts to supply his opponent with war materials, but he can no longer proceed in an arbitrary manner. His action must be taken in accordance with certain definite rules and he must give due notice of his intentions. He is no longer permitted to give his rights an arbitrary and irrational extension. The science of international law is thus provided with a definite basis upon which there may be constructed a system of rules and precedents which will normalize commercial intercourse in times of war, which will make neutral merchants aware of their risks and duties, and will present the restrictions upon their trade not in the light of the national policy of a powerful belligerent, but, as a rule, supported by the public opinion of the world. The spirit of compromise shown at the conference was most commendable. Fortunately, the traditional policy of the United States is so much in accord with the principles laid down by the conference that it was not necessary for our Government to make many concessions. It enjoys the satisfaction of seeing its strong backing of these well-considered principles of its international jurisprudence crowned with the success which their inherent reasonableness entitles them to. The attitude of the British Government in this matter has been highly interesting. It was to be feared that the conflict between the interests of British maritime power and of Continental European militarism would stand in the way of fruitful results in the deliberations of the conference. But the British Government had realized that the time has passed when the policy of Great Britain is to be determined entirely from the point of view of belligerency. During the Russo-Japanese war the British Government learned by experience as a neutral the value of a more definite understanding concerning the principles of prize law. In his instructions to the British delegates, Sir Edward Grey therefore goes so far as to say that "His Majesty's Government are now desirous of limiting as far as pos-

sible the right to seize for contraband, if not eliminating it altogether," and he pledges the support of his Government "to any proposal tending in the direction of freeing neutral Powers from undue interference by belligerents." He states, "The maintenance of these belligerent rights in their integrity, and the widest possible freedom for neutrals in the unhindered navigation of the seas, are the principles which should remain before your eyes as the double object to be pursued." The two principles here laid down by him are, indeed, apparently contradictory in their nature. Yet the conference solved this contradiction by making definite the rights of belligerents and thereby protecting neutrals against arbitrary interference and unreasonable regulation.

While the Declaration of London has generally commended itself to publicists and international-law experts, yet it has been bitterly attacked from the point of view of Great Britain. Thus a writer in the "Nineteenth Century" (Mr. Th. G. Bowles) is so carried away by indignation that he asserts that Great Britain has yielded upon all vital points. He looks back with regret to the British statesmen "who knew what war is." But the British Government is wiser than such criticism. Both the character of war and the relative position of the British Government have changed since the Napoleonic wars, and even since 1856. If we were to have an arbiter of the seas we should, indeed, just as gladly see Great Britain in that position as any other Power; but the times have passed when any one nation can exercise an absolutely controlling authority upon the sea. The arrogant policy of the British statesmen "who knew what war is" could not be continued to-day without arraying against Great Britain the public opinion of the world and eventually the public force of other great naval Powers that have grown up within the last two decades. The unreasonable character of such criticism is apparent when we remember that no real power of belligerency has been given up, but that the rules adopted are directed almost entirely against arbitrariness. It is, indeed, not a thing to be regretted that, under the present conditions of the world, no power will be permitted to pursue an utterly arbitrary policy in matters of international law. The recognition of this fact by the British Government is far more statesmanlike than would have been a policy of obstructing the growth of a definite law upon these important matters.

The reception of the declaration has, in general, been so favorable that its ratification and adoption by the great Powers may be looked forward to with confidence. Constitutional lawyers of the United States have been confronted with the problem as to whether the Constitution would permit the creation by treaty of a court to which appeals would lie from our Supreme Court. It was feared that such an arrangement might be declared unconstitutional by that tribunal. In order to obviate such doubts and difficulties, which might oppose themselves to the ratification of the London Convention, there was passed a special resolution setting forth that as certain states experience difficulties in harmonizing the acceptance of the London Declaration with their system of constitutional law, it is to be left open to such states to regard the right of invoking the International Prize Court as a direct action for indemnity, rather than an appeal from the national tribunals. In the experience of the past there have, indeed, frequently been negotiations for indemnity for seizures which had been pronounced legal by the prize court of the belligerent, as notably in the Civil War claims cases. The institution of the International Court of Prizes may be looked upon as making the procedure in such cases regular. The procedure in the International Prize Court may be regarded either as an appeal from the Prize Courts of the belligerent, or as a direct action for indemnity for losses inflicted with the sanction of the national Prize Courts. The latter interpretation would obviate all constitutional difficulties. Our Government may give its accord to a regular form of determining international indemnities without thereby infringing the constitutional rights of the Supreme Court. As this difficulty in the way of the acceptance of the Declaration by our Government has thus disappeared, it is to be hoped that the Declaration of London may receive the ratification of the American Executive and Senate. In it are embodied many of the results of American diplomatic experience and of the best reasoning in our State Papers. The part which our State Department has taken in bringing about the creation of an International Prize Court and the formation of this admirable code of prize law should be crowned by a speedy adoption of both conventions by the American Government.

PAUL S. REINSCH.

THE SOCIAL HEGEMONY OF ENGLAND.

BY SIDNEY WHITMAN.

I.

THE story of the influence which the social customs of dominant nationalities have exercised, from time to time, over the imagination of their contemporaries forms an interesting chapter in the history of civilization, and is indeed a valuable contribution to the study of the evolution of national character. This is certainly so in the most pregnant instances of fashion dominance in ancient and modern times—those of Greece and Rome, Italy, Spain and France. For, strange to say, the political systems which loom largest beside our own on the map of the world—Germany, Russia and the United States—have never exercised this peculiar fascination over other nations.

The political preponderance of France, and with it the exuberance of French national conceit, were so marked under Louis XIV that the Major-Domo of a distinguished German soldier of fortune serving in France, Marshal Duke von Schomberg, having committed some act of folly, could venture to address his master to his face: "*Parbleu! on me prendra pour un Allemand,*" implying thereby something coarse and stupid. "*On a tort,*" dryly replied the Marshal. "*On devrait vous prendre pour un sot.*"

The French nation enjoyed a good long innings in the European playground of human Vanity; for French fashions and fancies—taking the terms in their widest application—ruled more or less on the Continent of Europe down to within the memory of men now scarcely past middle age, who remember in their youth how the shape of our nether garments still came to us from Paris in the well-known "peg-top" trouser. But within the present generation England may be said to have usurped and finally taken over the part of Mentor of Fashion,

played almost uninterruptedly by France for nearly two hundred and fifty years. For there were interruptions, as, for instance, the survival of the word "*redingote*" of English derivation tends to show. But French ideas generally, and with them the French language as a medium of social intercourse in polite society, dominated Europe more particularly throughout the eighteenth century.

During his residence in London (1726-8) Voltaire published a folio *édition de luxe* of "*La Henriade,*" to which half the English aristocracy paid homage as subscribers, because it was at that time "the thing" for society to recognize in Voltaire the supremacy of the French intellect. Later on Voltaire was the guest of Frederick the Great, and counted among his regular correspondents the King's own sister, the Margravine of Bayreuth, as also the Empress Catherine the Second of Russia. The Academy of Berlin had M. de Maupertuis as its president, who accompanied Frederick the Great into the field. In our day Englishmen have taken the place of Frenchmen in the personal favor of northern Royalty. Some years ago Lord Tennyson recited his poems to an admiring group of English, Danish and Russian Royalties near Copenhagen. A Continental Sovereign who is said to ignore the most distinguished authors of his own country sends telegrams in solicitous inquiry after the health of the apostle of British Imperialism, and leads the applause of theatrical audiences in his capital over the buffooneries of English farcical comedy. Voltaire's volumes lie worm-eaten on the bookshelves of French châteaux; and, in the very drawing-rooms in which Jean Jacques Rousseau was once hugged by admiring Duchesses, popular editions of Kipling's and Conan Doyle's works are to be seen on the table; although the weightier contributions to English literature and thought enjoy, perhaps, less vogue abroad than at any time since the eighteenth century.

Foreign activity in science is forcing our educators to take up Continental languages. At the University of Cambridge, for instance, the acquisition of German has become indispensable for those studying science or philosophy; whereas the English language is extending its boundaries abroad in social and commercial directions. English has long been compulsory in Norwegian schools, and is about to become so in German gymnasia. Innumerable English words, particularly those bearing on the re-

lations of social life—such as "garden-party rout," "ladylike," "lady's man," "gentlemanlike," "fair play," "fair," and "unfair," etc.—have become Continental idioms. Baron Tauchnitz's Continental edition of British authors, consisting mostly of novels, has been another powerful means of spreading the vogue of the English language as a social influence right across the Continent. Finally, the English tongue is in daily use in more than half the Royal families of Europe, and English nurses are the earliest teachers of their offspring.

II.

Long before England's colonial Empire absorbed her more adventurous spirits, the Continent of Europe was overrun with English soldiers of fortune. In Italy, as far back as the fourteenth century, from the redoubtable Hawkwood to the Admirable Crichton—who, although a civilian, slew the most notorious bully of his day in single combat—individual Englishmen were renowned, and feared for their prowess in arms. The history of the Thirty Years' War, the Spanish War of Succession, the Seven Years' War could not be written unless due reference were made to the many English, Scotch and Irishmen, who joined in the fray and rose to eminence in their respective positions: daring pugnacity being their common characteristic. Thackeray has described such a worthy, though one of shady proclivities, in "The Memoirs of Barry Lyndon, Esq." To-day these fiery elements have disappeared, at least from the Continent of Europe; and where they fought once their descendants now play games, excel in the cut of their clothes—and give tone and laws to polite society. A highly respectable English Colony is usually in evidence in foreign petty capitals, of which the British diplomatic representative—staunchly supported by the English Chaplain—is the recognized head. Its more obtrusive members are adepts in the courtly art of ingratiating themselves with the reigning family. They are often admitted on terms of intimacy rarely accorded to the native nobility or the diplomatic representatives of other countries, and thus go to swell the social prestige of England on the Continent. It was the English minister at Darmstadt, Sir Robert Morier, who first suggested Dr. Hinzpeter as tutor for the present German Emperor to his parents.

Englishmen and Englishwomen enjoy a somewhat exceptional position at foreign courts. Presentation in England, which has long been regulated on more liberal lines than in European autocratic countries, gives them in actual practice the right of being presented abroad. But, whereas persons of small note may be presented in England once and never subsequently heard of, much less invited to a Court function, it has been etiquette at some foreign courts for a stranger once presented to be regularly invited to Court as long as he remains in the capital even if his residence should last for years. I have known an English Captain of Militia and his wife to become *habitués* at a foreign court, regularly taking part in Court festivities for years: he a blameless gentleman, but one whose limited means would have bidden him be content in London with residence in Brompton furnished apartments, where, indeed, I met him and his ambitious spouse in after life.

The prestige which England and Englishmen in general have long enjoyed on the Continent is sufficiently accounted for by the dominant position England has occupied for generations in the world of politics and intellectual prowess, as well as by the independent status maintained by the free-born English commoner of ample means, long before a similar class had risen on the Continent of Europe. It is, however, only in comparatively recent years that the present form of English Social Hegemony has become accentuated: strange to say, at a time when the superiority of our institutions and even our intellectual pre-eminence are here and there called into question.*

Until quite lately, when batches of English unemployed were first exported to the Continent as strike-breakers, Englishmen were seldom seen abroad, unless travelling as men of leisure, spending money. There is scarcely a harbor in Europe in which, at some time of the year, a sumptuous English private yacht, with its spick and span crew, is not to be seen and admired. But no evidence is forthcoming to show the foreigner the squalid aspect of our seaport towns—the grimy squalor of the human refuse they contain. These factors have not been without their bearing in conferring upon the English-speaking race the social consideration it has so long uncontestedly enjoyed abroad.

* A German writer recently asserted that Hume is, perhaps, the first of English empiric philosophers; this, however, was not saying much.

We send deputations of experts to the Continent to study foreign municipal, educational, industrial, scientific methods and institutions, whilst the foreigner is more eager than ever to copy the cut of our clothes and to assimilate our "stage properties" all round. The worst performance of "The Merchant of Venice" it has ever been my misfortune to witness I saw recently in Berlin. Its whole trend and interpretation were slavishly adapted from the latest fancies of the London actor-manager, without a trace left of the dignity and distinction which marked the German classic stage forty years ago. The eroticism of Oscar Wilde has also become fashionable abroad, and Germany is producing extravagant imitation of this man's wildest eccentricities. London is the only great city of the world which does not possess a permanent representative Opera Company; yet, so thoroughly does England dictate popular fashion in these matters, that a middle-aged Italian lady singer, after appearing in Europe for years without attracting any particular attention, leaped suddenly overnight into world-wide fame after singing at the Covent Garden Opera House.

III.

The cultivation of sport on the Continent is an effective promoter of that deference to social England which is so marked a feature of our time, inasmuch as English methods are the ones invariably accepted and imitated. The slang of the English race-course has become part and parcel of almost every European language, at least in the newspapers. Horse-racing and betting have spread in every direction, and yachting is to the fore wherever a patch of water can serve to float a keel. The Germans have instituted a so-called "*Kieler-Woche*" in literal imitation of the Cowes week. It is somewhat significant that these most costly forms of sport are spreading abroad at a time when impecuniosity is affecting a large proportion of those who were once solely responsible for their vogue: the English aristocracy.

Continental watering-places are overrun with English amateur athletes, in the same way as they used to be patronized by French, Spanish, Greek and South-American "punters" in the good old gambling days. There are the champion golf, croquet and tennis players, strutting about in their flannels and "knickers," which

only a few years ago were considered highly improper among strait-laced natives. The podgy German *Commerzienrath* looks on perspiring in envy, whilst Russian Grand Dukes and German transparencies galore join English nobodies of both sexes in knocking a ball across a net. The new King of Sweden is the most enthusiastic of tennis-players, and has had special courts built at which he has entertained and played against English champions.

Whenever Englishmen gather together on the Continent a Golf Club or a Lawn Tennis Club is started in the same matter-of-fact, businesslike spirit in which the foundation of an English church abroad is laid. And as it has generally been understood that the local authorities should make a present of the site of the building, so also now in the matter of games some surrender is expected from them. The Emperor Francis Joseph places a large piece of ground in the centre of the Prater at the disposal of the Vienna Golf Club, rent free. Anybody conversant with the game of golf knows what a princely gift this is, inasmuch as a set of golf-links may cover between one and two miles of ground. However, it is all taken as a matter of course. The idea would never occur to anybody to ask whether the King of England might be willing or, indeed, able to place a similar site at the free disposal of a French or German Club in London. It may be accepted as a further proof of the firm hold of English Social Hegemony in Austria-Hungary that, although the Dual Monarchy has received some hard knocks from English politicians in days gone by, the Emperor himself, as well as his subjects, harbors sentiments of sincere admiration for England and the English. The Austrian or the Hungarian aristocrat is never happier than when he is dressed up like an Englishman, looks like an Englishman and is mistaken for one. If of high degree, he and his family in all probability speak English and read English novels. Their trainers, coachmen and valets are often Englishmen. I have known a Hungarian magnate of exalted lineage to occupy a box in a Vienna theatre whilst his English valet sat in evening dress in the stalls.

The subaltern of crack regiments in Berlin, Paris or Vienna, however much he may savor of his own nationality as long as he is in uniform, no sooner dons civilian attire than he imitates the Englishman in dress and manner. More particularly is this

the case if he belongs to the upper crust of society which lives in touch with the diplomatic world. He shakes hands in that unaccountable fashion of lifting the elbow at an impossible angle away from the body which has as its birthplace the flagstones of Piccadilly. His clothes are English in cut; many of his class have their garments made in London, as an inspection of the leading West End tailors' cutting-rooms plainly shows: for within a stone's throw of Bond Street are to be seen the patterns of half the Almanach de Gotha. All that is left of the Crusaders as regards "measurements" may be inspected here. Yet, strange to say, the artists who carry out the ideas upon which all this Culture of Clothes is based are mostly foreigners. The Academy of Tailors in Berlin alone is said to have thrown 28,000 skilled cutters upon the world. Thus it occasionally happens that a foreign Prince, trying on a pair of "unmentionables," which he fondly fancies embodies the latest English "cut," is disenchanted, if not disgusted, to find his questions answered in his own native tongue. And a similar unpleasant experience is apt to befall his womankind in the purchase of female attire in the West End of London.

The paramount influence wielded by a relatively small number of Englishmen, in all matters connected with dress throughout the world, was recently markedly illustrated by a trivial incident. An American publication had asserted that a certain article of dress—to wit, a lounge coat—owed its inception to New York. Thereupon, the editor of a London periodical devoted to the interests of the trade, "The London Tailor," retorted, denying that America had invented any new style of garment or that any article of male attire worn in England or Europe had ever originated in the States. The sartorial blast of defiance concluded as follows: "I venture to add that every garment worn by men at the present time throughout civilized Europe, as well as in the States, had in some form or other its origin in Britain." In other words, London is to-day the Mecca of clothes, the centre of the fashionable tailoring of the world from which the knights-errant of scissors and needle, of tape and of pressing-irons, are continually on the road between New York, Washington, Paris and St. Petersburg, taking the measures and booking the orders of their clients.

Some foreign enthusiasts have their shirts regularly sent over

to London and washed in the slums of Soho, vowing that the far-famed Parisian *blanchisseuse* has lost the secret of her art. So slavish is the imitation of English fashions, down to minute details, that the shape of a collar, of a cravat, yes, even the harmless English eccentricity of wearing a white collar with a colored shirt are slavishly imitated by foreigners of high degree. A powerful Continental sovereign has recently been photographed in civilian dress with hands in trouser pockets, and with the bottom of these garments turned up in English fashion as naturally as if to the manner born; though both these eccentricities of manner, as well as the fashionable slouching gait, are rank heresy among nations trained by the drill sergeant.

IV.

Court costumes in Berlin have been modified in accordance with English ideas. Powerful influences are at work to make evening dress obligatory for hotel diners and theatregoers, though the stolid Teuton still "kicks" at this latest Pagodaism, as well as at the introduction of the so-called English Sunday. The effeminate custom of men wearing bangles on their wrist, which originated in subaltern military circles in England only to be severely reprobated by commanding officers, is imitated by officers of fashionable Prussian regiments for whom the old standards of high thinking and plain living have apparently ceased to possess much attraction. English and American standards of luxury and extravagance have effectually made inroads here.

English cheap teas, the inferior qualities of which are not even admitted to the ports of Hamburg or New York, are eagerly consumed, together with our cheap jams and biscuits. I have seen the well-known Bath Oliver biscuits handed round as a delicacy at select social functions abroad. A Russian Grand Duke of bibulous propensities takes to drink—Scotch whiskey. His English friends are said to have recommended it to him in lieu of "vodka" or beer and champagne mixed, as more wholesome and, like a certain kind of cocoa, as "going farthest." But, perhaps, the most amusing example of staunch belief in our superiority—at least, for those who have eyes to see, and to note the unwashed appearance of a London crowd—is the prestige we enjoy abroad as regards our national cleanliness. Big sponges are to be seen in Paris shop windows—not a stone's throw from

the French Academy—inscribed *"Eponge pour le Tub,"* and this although, as recently as a couple of generations ago, there was scarcely a house or a hotel in London in which a bath-room was to be found.

My neighbor at a select dinner-table, an officer in high command, informed me that, after consulting in vain the most eminent physicians in Berlin, he had been successfully treated for his deafness by a London specialist. I subsequently learned that he had got into the hands of a notorious advertising quack. The same august personage blandly assured me that there was no school on the Continent deserving comparison with — Eton!

London has displaced Paris as the centre of luxury and fashion to which come during the season the rank and wealth of the whole world. Nearly forty years ago, the late Earl Dudley, about to wed the beautiful daughter of Sir Thomas Moncrieff, could not find diamonds in London worthy to offer to his bride. He crossed over to Calais on a stormy night and ransacked the jewellers' shops of the Rue de la Paix to the tune of £50,000. To-day the leading Paris jewellers as well as the fashionable Paris dressmaker, both of which once monopolized the patronage of the world, are obliged to start branches of their businesses in London. And when the customers of the former, among whom are various crowned heads, are unable to pay their bills, or when they go out of business altogether, as Kings nowadays are apt to do, and die in exile, leaving a lot of jewelry and little cash to their heirs, it is to London again that their "properties" are sent, to be finally disposed of under the hammer at Christie's.

The fascination which London has exercised of recent years upon foreigners of rank and wealth is one of the most striking features of the social dominion of England. The courts of Berlin, St. Petersburg or Madrid may be more brilliant than that of St. James's, but to the cosmopolitan world of fashion the attractions of the social life of London are supreme. Year by year, more foreigners throng to the King's levees and drawing-rooms. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that, since Napoleon the First gathered a pitful of Royalties to do him homage at the Congress of Erfurt in 1808, there has never been such a galaxy of Kings seen together as of late in London.

The stranger of high degree who comes to England, be he a Monarch, a great noble or a millionaire, in all probability

hails from a country in which the bulk of the people, whatever be their political disabilities, live a social life of their own, based upon standards of their own,—the key-note of which is daily becoming more and more that of Thomas Carlyle's gospel of strenuous work. The leading newspapers scarcely notice the existence of fashionable society, whereas the Socialistic press which appeals to many millions of readers does not even refer to the births and marriages in the reigning families. There is little of the reverence of other days left among the masses or, for the matter of that, among the educated classes on the Continent of Europe. Even the millionaire—the real hard-cash Crœsus—has by no means got things all his own way either in Paris, Berlin, Vienna, St. Petersburg or New York. We read of wealthy men in the United States being pursued by a fierce raucous publicity. A Russian Emperor, an Austrian Empress, a King of Italy, a King and Queen of Servia, a President of the French Republic and two Presidents of the United States have all fallen by the hand of assassins within one generation. Even Princes of the Roman Catholic Church have been subject to persecution, imprisonment and violent death in our time. Important institutions, such as the Army and the Church, are continually being held up to ridicule, if not to hatred and contempt, in the so-called comic papers, which circulate throughout the Continent and exercise a potent political influence. Indeed, the task of governing the people is becoming more onerous year by year. It is as if the distant rumbling of a storm could be heard, threatening those in exalted position in almost every country but happy England, where the utmost degree of liberty exists together with a security of person and property unique in the whole world; the latter made eloquently evident by the enormous investments of foreign notabilities in British securities. Here is still to be found genuine homage paid by the great mass of the population to the wealthy money-spender, whatever be his other qualifications. A distinguished foreign statesman assures me that he was surprised to note the deferential effect which a well turned-out carriage seems to produce on these walking on foot in London, and more particularly in the country. The sentiment of worship of their "betters" has not yet died out among the English people. The popularity of an English Duke of sporting proclivities is a thing unparalleled all the world

over, whilst the spread of democracy has apparently strengthened the monarchical feeling of the nation inasmuch as English royalty is at times in a quandary how to deal with the exuberant manifestations of popular curiosity and affection. These features of English social life strike the high-born foreigner with wonder and admiration, and tend to make England (or, to be exact, the West End of London, the race-course, the Isle of Wight in the yachting season, and the country-seats of the English aristocracy, for this is about all that interests him or that he ever gets to see of England) an ideal resort for him and his class. He meets everywhere with a deference to rank and wealth, on the part of the community at large, with which he has not been surfeited in his own country. The exalted personage whose daily doings at home are either scarcely noted outside Court circles—or whose slightest deviation from the conventionalities of public life encounters carping criticism—is delighted to find himself the object of the enthusiastic cheers of a London crowd. If his motor-car meets with an accident, which in his own country would probably lead to his being covertly railed at by a bitter Socialist Press, he is praised for his coolness and his consideration for others. His attendance at public functions is followed up by elaborate pictures in the illustrated papers, coupled with eulogistic descriptions of his dignified appearance, the charm, grace and condescension of his womankind. If he is called upon to reply to Municipal Addresses of almost Byzantine amiability, his utterances are extolled next morning, again for the delectation of millions of readers, as the product of supreme tact and wisdom. In due course he becomes a lavish subscriber to English press-cutting agencies, and revels in the homage paid to him by an enterprising press and an unsophisticated public. In fact, a regular portion of the daily hard work which he is gratuitously credited with is really devoted to the intoxicating occupation of perusing whole sheafs of English press cuttings of an adulatory nature.*

No wonder that the foreigner, gratified in his vanity and

* The following may be taken as a typical example of the matter referred to above, copied from a newspaper with over a million readers: "A charming scene took place at Asprey's, Bond Street, show-rooms yesterday, when Queen Amélie of Portugal and the King of Spain, who were both there buying presents, happened to meet. Both their Majesties had spent a considerable time in the building before becoming aware of each other's presence."

observing only the surface of things, remaining throughout superbly ignorant of their real deeper significance, is delighted, and in his delight is not backward in extolling the institution and conditions of life of a country, the press and people of which have shown so extravagant an interest in and appreciation of himself and his kind. Indeed, it is becoming customary of late for foreign royalties, on quitting England's hospitable shores, to return formal thanks to the press for favors received. Thus does English journalism play a not unimportant part in contributing its share to the Social Hegemony of England.

V.

An Ambassadorship in London which was once looked upon more or less as a penance by distinguished diplomatists, if only on account of the English climate, is now the great prize of the diplomatic service. And if it brings in its train a fair share of invitations to the Royal dinner-parties and Ducal country houses, then, indeed, the goal of earthly ambition, social success in England, is won. Has not a foreign monarch recently declared that he was in uncertainty whether he would not rather be an English country gentleman than a monarch in his own country?

Minor diplomatic stars are charmed by the reception Social England accords to them as such. Once acclimatized to English life—and in course of time placed on the Retired List—they find that they can no longer be happy without the social incense to which they have become accustomed in England. They thus often make London their lasting home, and in their retirement live upon the connections which they have acquired during their residence there as full-blown "Ministers Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary," whereas, in their own country, once ousted from official life, they are nobodies. In the world of aristocratic sport, yachting and racing, similar phenomena are to be observed. A Russian Prince has only to run horses for our great races in order to leap into popularity at a bound. He reads with delight the news conveyed by the press that he possesses all the best characteristics of an Englishman; whereas, in sober truth, the only touch he may ever get with the people of England during a residence of years is the mud which his carriage, in driving through the streets, splashes upon the unwashed crowd.

Under such conditions, the foreigner gets to like England

and to bow down to the social code prevailing among us, sometimes with queer results. If of flabby fibre, the temptations of English high life, pleasure-hunting and reckless extravagance are apt to prove too much for him, as witness a few notorious cases in which "distinguished" foreigners have cut undignified figures of late in the English Law Courts. The Don Juan who in his own country seduces the wife of his brother officer and, by means of the queer code of honor prevailing there, is allowed to add to his record of villainy by becoming the licensed assassin of the wronged husband, finds that no such thing is tolerated or indeed possible in England, unless he cares to face the felon's doom as a common murderer. The Bobadil who breathes fire and slaughter in his own country, and to whom foul slander and intrigue are as the breath of his nostrils, is very soon made to feel the taming effect of English Social Conventions, and "coos" as gently as any sucking dove on admission to an English drawing-room. These worthies fear the cold terrors of social ostracism from English society more than sword or pistol, and are thus generally on their good behavior, at all events as far as outward appearances go whilst within our shores.

Here at least the Social Hegemony of England has had a beneficial effect by enforcing a certain discipline and self-repression all round; whereas unbridled self-indulgence on the lines indicated has for some time past been one of the festering sores of society on the Continent of Europe. In this it may be confidently asserted that England by her code of manners and her rigid enforcement thereof has added to the decency and decorum of nations.

VI.

England is apparently Americanizing her methods, if not her institutions, one after the other: American managers run our "shows" and American slang has entered into our daily vocabulary to an extent scarcely realized; but the wealth and fashion of the United States still render homage to English royalty and the social life of English aristocracy. Quite a colony of American millionaires have taken up their abode permanently among us. The parents of lovely American women who have chosen titled Englishmen for their husbands have been known unable to withstand the attractions of English fashionable life, and have come over bag and baggage after their married daughters to

make England their home. One of America's most distinguished diplomatists—a man noted for his strong partiality for Continental life—confessed to me some years ago that, since he and his family had passed a season in London, he was unable to get his wife to see anything except through English spectacles. Our powers of assimilation are, indeed, for the moment stupendous; and it is perhaps not surprising if our self-esteem sometimes is more marked than our discretion.

King Leopold in writing to his niece, Queen Victoria, told her that the French and English are the two nations which possess the most exaggerated sense of their own importance. If this be so, then in view of the homage paid to us from every side in the form of imitation—that sincerest and thus most dangerous form of flattery—we might well plead extenuating circumstances in our favor. Surely, there is some excuse for the weaker-headed among us who occasionally betray an affinity with Marshal von Schomberg's Major-Domo already referred to, and proudly resent the imputation of belonging to any other nation. But England's Social Hegemony might also suggest more serious reflections. Does it, as in the parallel cases of Rome, Italy and Spain, herald the sunset of a nation's greatness? Or does it only point to a superficiality of interests, a softening of the fibre, among an aristocracy in the term's broadest, best meaning, which, in the course of a pre-eminence of centuries, has given to the world the British conception of loyalty, veracity and personal freedom, a class which has evolved as its best product the English gentleman and his complement the English lady, as she still speaks to us in the female characters of Shakespeare, and gazes down upon us in her peerless beauty from the frames of Sir Joshua Reynolds's pictures?

To this momentous question only the future can supply an answer. In the mean time it might be as well we should realize that, though the foreigner may admire our extravagances and ape the cut of our clothes, it is only by a maintenance of those sterling qualities to which in the first instance we owe our national greatness and its latest adumbration, our Social Hegemony, that England can hope to maintain her dominant position in the world.

SIDNEY WHITMAN.

THE NOVELS OF THOMAS HARDY.

BY WILLIAM LYON PHELPS, LAMPSON PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH LITERATURE AT YALE.

THE father of Thomas Hardy wished his son to enter the church, and this object was the remote goal of his early education. At just what period in the boy's mental development Christianity took on the form of a meaningless fable we shall perhaps never know; but after a time he ceased to have even the faith of a grain of mustard seed. This absence of religious belief has proved no obstacle to many another candidate for the Christian ministry, as every habitual churchgoer knows; or as any son of Belial may discover for himself by merely reading the prospectus of summer schools of theology. There has, however, always been a certain cold, mathematical precision in Mr. Hardy's way of thought that would have made him as uncomfortable in the pulpit as he would have been in an editor's chair, writing for salary persuasive articles containing the exact opposite of his individual convictions. But, although the beauty of holiness failed to impress his mind, the beauty of the sanctuary was sufficiently obvious to his sense of art. He became an ecclesiastical architect, and for some years his delight was in the courts of the Lord. Instead of composing sermons in ink, he made sermons in stones, restoring to many a decaying edifice the outlines that the original builder had seen in his vision centuries ago. For no one has ever regarded ancient churches with more sympathy and reverence than Mr. Hardy. No man to-day has less respect for God and more devotion to His house.

Mr. Hardy's professional career as an architect extended over a period of about thirteen years, from the day when the seventeen-year-old boy became articled, to about 1870, when he forsook the pencil for the pen. His strict training as an architect has been

of enormous service to him in the construction of his novels, for skill in constructive drawing has repeatedly proved its value in literature. Rossetti achieved positive greatness as an artist and as a poet. Stevenson's studies in engineering were not lost time, and Mr. De Morgan affords another good illustration of the same fact. Thackeray was unconsciously learning the art of the novelist while he was making caricatures, and the lesser Thackeray of a later day—George du Maurier—found the transition from one art to the other a natural progression. Hopkinson Smith and Frederick Remington, on a lower but dignified plane, bear witness to the same truth. Indeed, when one studies carefully the beginnings of the work of imaginative writers, one is surprised at the great number who have handled an artist's or a draughtsman's pencil. A prominent and successful playwright of to-day has said that if he were not writing plays he should not dream of writing books; he would be building bridges.

Mr. Hardy's work as an ecclesiastical architect laid the real foundations of his success as a novelist; for it gave him an intimate familiarity with the old monuments and rural life of Wessex, and at the same time that eye for precision of form that is so noticeable in all his books. He has really never ceased to be an architect. Architecture has contributed largely to the matter and to the style of his stories. Two architects appear in his first novel. In "A Pair of Blue Eyes" Stephen Smith is a professional architect, and in coming to restore the old Western Church he was simply repeating the experience of his creator. No one of Mr. Hardy's novels contains more of the facts of his own life than "A Laodicean," which by the way was composed on what the author then believed to be his death-bed; it was mainly dictated, which I think partly accounts for its difference in style from the other tales. The hero, Somerset, is an architect whose first meeting with his future wife occurs through his professional curiosity concerning the castle; and a considerable portion of the early chapters is taken up with architectural detail, and of his enforced rivalry with a competitor in the scheme for restoration. Not only does Mr. Hardy's scientific profession speak through the mouths of his characters, but old and beautiful buildings adorn his pages as they do the landscape he loves. In "Two on a Tower" the ancient structure appears here and there in the story as naturally and incidentally as it would to a pedestri-

an in the neighborhood; in "A Pair of Blue Eyes" the church tower plays an important part in a thrilling episode, and its fall emphasizes a Scripture text in a diabolical manner. The old church at Weatherbury is so closely associated with the life history of the men and women in "Far From the Madding Crowd" that as one stands in front of it to-day the people seem to gather again about its portal.

But while Mr. Hardy has drawn freely on his knowledge of architecture in furnishing animate and inanimate material for his novels, the great results of his youthful training are seen in a more subtle and profounder influence. The intellectual delight that we receive in the perusal of his books—a delight that sometimes makes us impatient with the work of feebler authors—comes largely from the architectonics of his literary structures. One never loses sight of Hardy the architect. In purely constructive skill he has surpassed all his contemporaries. His novels—with the exception of "Desperate Remedies" and "Jude the Obscure"—are as complete and as beautiful to contemplate as a sculptor's masterpiece. They are finished and noble works of art and give the same kind of pleasure to the mind as any superbly perfect outline. Mr. Hardy himself firmly believes that the novel should first of all be a story: that it should not be a thesis, nor a collection of reminiscences or *obiter dicta*. He insists that a novel should be as much of a whole as a living organism, where all the parts—plot, dialogue, character and scenery—should be fitly framed together, giving the single impression of a completely harmonious building. One simply cannot imagine him writing in the manner of a German novelist with absolutely no sense of proportion; nor like the mighty Tolstoi, who steadily sacrifices art on the altar of Reality; nor like the great English school represented by Thackeray, Dickens, Trollope and De Morgan, whose charm consists in their intimacy with the reader; they will interrupt the narrative constantly to talk it over with the merest bystander, thus gaining his affection while destroying the illusion. Mr. Hardy's work shows a sad sincerity, the noble austerity of the true artist, who feels the dignity of his art and is quite willing to let it speak for itself.

His earliest novel, "Desperate Remedies" (1871), is more like an architect's first crude sketch than a complete and detailed drawing. Strength, originality and a thoroughly intelligent de-

sign are perfectly clear; one feels the impelling mind behind the product. But it resembles the *plan* of a good novel rather than a novel itself. The lines are hard; there is a curious rigidity about the movement of the plot which proceeds in jerks, like a machine that requires frequent winding-up. The manuscript was submitted to a publishing firm, who, it is interesting to remember, handed it over to their professional reader, George Meredith. Mr. Meredith told the young author that his work was promising; and he said it in such a way that the two men became lifelong friends, there being no more jealousy between them than existed between Tennyson and Browning. Years later Mr. Meredith said that he regarded Mr. Hardy as the real leader of contemporary English novelists; and the younger man always maintained toward his literary adviser an attitude of sincere reverence, of which his poem on the octogenarian's death was a beautiful expression. There is something fine in the honest friendship and mutual admiration of two giants, who cordially recognize each other above the heads of the crowd, and who are themselves placidly unmoved by the fierce jealousy of their partisans. In this instance, despite a total unlikeness in literary style, there was genuine intellectual kinship. Mr. Meredith and Mr. Hardy were both Pagans and regarded the world and men and women from the Pagan standpoint, though the deduction in one case was optimism and in the other pessimism. Given the premises, the younger writer's conclusions seem more logical; and the processes of his mind were always more orderly than those of his brilliant and irregular senior. There is little doubt (I think) as to which of the two should rank higher in the history of English fiction, where fineness of art surely counts for something. Mr. Hardy is a great novelist; whereas to adapt a phrase that Arnold applied to Emerson, I should say that Mr. Meredith was not a great novelist; he was a great man who wrote novels.

Immediately after the publication of "Desperate Remedies," which seemed to teach him, as "Endymion" taught Keats, the highest mysteries of his art, Mr. Hardy entered upon a period of brilliant and splendid production. In three successive years, 1872, 1873 and 1874, he produced three masterpieces—"Under the Greenwood Tree," "A Pair of Blue Eyes" and "Far From the Madding Crowd"; followed four years later by what is, perhaps, his greatest contribution to literature, "The Return of the

Native." Even in literary careers that last a long time, there seem to be golden days when the inspiration is unbalked by obstacles. It is interesting to contemplate the lengthy row of Scott's novels, and then to remember that "The Heart of Midlothian," "The Bride of Lammermoor" and "Ivanhoe" were published in three successive years; to recall that the same brief span covered in George Eliot's work the production of "Scenes of Clerical Life," "Adam Bede" and "The Mill on the Floss"; and one has only to compare what Mr. Kipling accomplished in 1888, 1889 and 1890, with any other triennial, to discover when he had what the Methodists call "liberty." Mr. Hardy's career as a writer has covered about forty years; omitting his collections of short tales, he has written fourteen novels; from 1870 to 1880, inclusive, seven appeared; from 1881 to 1891, five; from 1892 to 1902, two; since 1897 he has published no novels at all. With that singular and unfortunate perversity which makes authors proudest of their lamest offspring, Mr. Hardy has apparently abandoned the novel for poetry and the poetic drama. I suspect that praise of his verse is sweeter to him than praise of his fiction; but, although his poems are interesting for their ideas, and although we all like the huge "Dynasts" better than we did when we first saw it, it is a great pity from the economic point of view that the one man who can write novels better than anybody else in the same language should deliberately choose to write something else in which he is at his very best only second rate. The world suffers the same kind of economic loss (less only in degree) that it suffered when Milton spent twenty years of his life in writing prose; and when Tolstoi forsook novels for theology.

It is probable that one reason why Mr. Hardy quit novel-writing was the hostile reception that greeted "Jude the Obscure" (1895). Every great author, except Tennyson, has been able to endure adverse criticism, whether he hits back, like Pope and Byron, or whether he proceeds on his way in silence. But no one has ever enjoyed or ever will enjoy misrepresentation; and there is no doubt that the writer of "Jude" felt that he had been cruelly misunderstood. It is, I think, the worst novel he has ever written, both from the moral and from the artistic point of view; but the novelist was just as sincere in his intention as when he wrote the earlier books. The difficulty is

that something of the same change had taken place in his work that is so noticeable in that of Björnson; he had ceased to be a pure artist and had become a propagandist. The fault that marred the splendid novel, "Tess of the D'Urbervilles," ruined "Jude the Obscure." When Mr. Hardy wrote on the title-page of "Tess" the words, "A Pure Woman Faithfully Presented," he issued defiantly the name of a thesis which the story (great, in spite of this) was intended to defend. To a certain extent, his interest in the argument blinded his artistic sense; otherwise he would never have committed the error of hanging his heroine. The mere hanging of a heroine may not be in itself an artistic blunder, for Shakespeare hanged Cordelia. But Mr. Hardy executed Tess because he was bound to see his thesis through. In the prefaces to subsequent editions the author turned on his critics, calling them "sworn discouragers of effort," a phrase that no doubt some of them deserved; and then, like many another man who believes in himself, he punished both critics and the public in the Rehoboam method by issuing "Jude the Obscure." Instead of being a masterpiece of despair, like "The Return of the Native," this book is a shriek of rage. Pessimism, which had been a noble ground quality of his earlier writings, is in "Jude" merely hysterical and wholly unconvincing. The author takes obvious pains to make things come out wrong; as in melodramas and childish romances the law of causation is suspended in the interest of the hero's welfare. Animalism, which had partially disfigured "Tess," became gross and revolting in "Jude"; and the representation of marriage and the relations between men and women, instead of being a picture of life resembled a bad dream. It is a matter of sincere regret that Mr. Hardy has stopped novel-writing, but we want no more "Judes." Didactic pessimism is not good for the novel.

"The Well-Beloved," published in 1897, but really a revision of an earlier tale, is in a way a triumph of art. The plot is simply absurd, almost as whimsical as anything in "Alice in Wonderland." A man proposes to a young girl and is rejected; when her daughter is grown, he proposes to the representative of the second generation and with the same ill fortune. When *her* daughter reaches maturity, he tries the third woman in line and without success. His perseverance was equalled only by his bad luck, as so often happens in Mr. Hardy's stories. And yet, with

a plot that would wreck any other novelist, the author constructed a powerful and beautifully written novel. It is as though the architect had taken a wretched plan and yet somehow contrived to erect on its false lines a handsome building. The book has naturally added nothing to his reputation, but as a *tour de force* it is hard to surpass.

It is pleasant to remember that a man's opinion of his own work has nothing to do with its final success and that his best creations cannot be injured by his worst. Tolstoi may be ashamed of having written "Anna Karenina" and may insist that his sociological tracts are superior productions, but we know better and rejoice in his powerlessness to efface his own masterpieces. We may honestly think that we should be ashamed to put our own names to such stuff as "Little Dorrit," but that does not prevent us from admiring the splendid genius that produced "David Copperfield" and "Great Expectations." Mr. Hardy may believe that "Jude the Obscure" represents his zenith as a novelist and that his poems are still greater literature; but one reading of "Jude" suffices, while we never tire of re-reading "Far From the Madding Crowd" and "The Return of the Native." Probably no publisher's announcement in the world to-day would cause more pleasure to English-speaking people than the announcement that Thomas Hardy was at work on a Wessex novel with characters of the familiar kind.

For "The Dynasts," which covers the map of Europe, transcends the sky, and deals with world-conquerors, is not nearly so great a world-drama as "A Pair of Blue Eyes," that is circumscribed in a small corner of a small island, and treats exclusively of a little group of commonplace persons. Literature deals with a constant human nature, which is the same in Wessex as in Vienna. As the late Mr. Clyde Fitch used to say, it is not the great writers that have great things happen to them; the great things happen to the ordinary people they portray. Mr. Hardy selected a few of the southwestern counties of England as the stage for his prose dramas; to this locality he for the first time, in "Far From the Madding Crowd," gave the name Wessex, a name now wholly fictitious, but which his creative imagination has made so real that it is constantly and seriously spoken of as though it were English geography. In these smiling valleys and quiet rural scenes, "while the earth keeps up her terrible composure," the farmers

and milkmaids hold us spellbound as they struggle in awful passion. The author of the drama stands aloof, making no effort to guide his characters from temptation, folly, and disaster, and offering no explanation to the spectators, who are thrilled with pity and fear. But one feels that he loves and hates them as we do, and that he correctly gauges their moral value. The very narrowness of the scene increases the intensity of the play. The rustic cackle of his bourg drowns the murmur of the world.

Mr. Hardy's knowledge of and sympathy with nature is of course obvious to all readers, but it is none the less impressive as we once more open books that we have read many times. There are incidentally few novelists who repay one so richly for repeated perusals. He seems as inexhaustible as nature herself, and he grows stale no faster than the repetition of the seasons. It is perhaps rather curious that a man who finds nature so absolutely inexorable and indifferent to human suffering should love her so well. But every man must love something greater than he, and as Mr. Hardy has no God, he has drawn close to the world of trees, plains, and rivers. His intimacy with nature is almost uncanny. Nature is not merely a background in his stories, it is often an active agent. There are striking characters in "The Return of the Native," but the greatest character in the book is Egdon Heath. The opening chapter, which gives the famous picture of the Heath, is like an overture to a great music-drama. The *Heath-motif* is repeated again and again in the story. It has a personality of its own, and affects the fortunes and the hearts of all human beings who dwell in its proximity. If one stands to-day on the edge of this Heath at the twilight hour, just at the moment when Darkness is conquering Light—the moment chosen by Mr. Hardy for the first chapter—one realizes its significance and its possibilities. In "Tess of the D'Urbervilles" the intercourse between man and nature is set forth with amazing power. The different seasons act as chorus to the human tragedy. In "The Woodlanders" the trees seem like separate individualities. To me a tree has become a different thing since I first read this particular novel.

Even before he took up the study of architecture, Mr. Hardy's unconscious training as a novelist began. When he was a small boy, the Dorchester girls found him useful in a way that recalls the services of that reliable child, Samuel Richardson. These

village maids, in their various love-affairs, which necessitated a large amount of private correspondence, employed young Hardy as amanuensis. He did not, like his great predecessor, compose their epistles; but he held the pen, and faithfully recorded the inspiration of Love, as it flowed warm from the lips of passionate youth. In this manner, which can be highly recommended to all literary aspirants, and which perhaps has more practical value than the "sedulous ape" method of Stevenson, the almost sexless boy was enabled to look clear-eyed into the very heart of palpitating young womanhood, and to express accurately its most gentle and most stormy emotions; just as the white voice of a choir-child repeats with precision the thrilling notes of religious passion. These early experiences were undoubtedly of the highest value in later years; indeed, as the boy grew a little older, it is probable that the impression deepened. Mr. Hardy is fond of depicting the vague, half-conscious longing of a boy to be near a beautiful woman; every one will remember the contract between Eustacia and her youthful admirer, by which he was to hold her hand for a stipulated number of minutes. Mr. Hardy's women are full of tenderness and full of caprice; and whatever feminine readers may think of them, they are usually irresistible to the masculine mind. It has been said indeed that he is primarily a man's novelist, as Mrs. Ward is perhaps a woman's; he does not represent his women as marvels of intellectual splendor, or in queenly domination over the society in which they move. They are more apt to be the victims of their own affectionate hearts. One female reader, exasperated at this succession of portraits, wrote on the margin of one of Mr. Hardy's novels that she took from a circulating library, "Oh, how I *hate* Thomas Hardy!" This is an interesting gloss, even if we do not add meanly that it bears witness to the truth of the picture. Elfride, Bathsheba, Eustacia, Lady Constantine, Marty South, and Tess are of varied social rank and wealth; but they are all alike in humble prostration before the man they love. Mr. Hardy takes particular pleasure in representing them as swayed by sudden and constantly changing caprices; one has only to recall the charming Bathsheba Everdene, and her various attitudes toward the three men who admire her—Troy, Boldwood, and Gabriel Oak. Mr. Hardy's heroines change their minds oftener than they change their clothes; but in whatever material or mental presentment,

they never lack attraction. And they all resemble their maker in one respect; at heart every one of them is a Pagan. They vary greatly in constancy and in general strength of character; but it is human passion, and not religion, that is the mainspring of their lives. He has never drawn a truly spiritual woman, like Browning's Pompilia.

His best men, from the moral point of view, are closest to the soil. Gabriel Oak, in "Far From the Madding Crowd," and Venn, in "The Return of the Native," are on the whole his noblest characters. Oak is a shepherd and Venn is a reddleman; their sincerity, charity, and fine sense of honor have never been injured by what is called polite society. And Mr. Hardy, the stingiest author toward his characters, has not entirely withheld reward from these two. Henry Knight and Angel Clare, who have whatever advantages civilization is supposed to give, are certainly not villains; they are men of the loftiest ideals; but if each had been a deliberate, black-hearted villain, he could not have treated the innocent woman who loved him with more ugly cruelty. Compared with Oak and Venn, this precious pair of prigs are seen to have only the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees; a righteousness that is of little help in the cruel emergencies of life. Along with them must stand Clym Yeobright, another slave to moral theory, who quite naturally ends his days as an itinerant preacher. The real villains in Mr. Hardy's novels, Sergeant Troy, young Dare, and Alec D'Urberville, seem the least natural and the most machine-made of all his characters.

Mr. Hardy's pessimism is a picturesque and splendid contribution to modern fiction. We should be as grateful for it in this field as we are to Schopenhauer in the domain of metaphysics. I am no pessimist myself, but I had rather read Schopenhauer than all the rest of the philosophers put together, Plato alone excepted. The pessimism of Mr. Hardy resembles that of Schopenhauer in being absolutely thorough and absolutely candid; it makes the world as darkly superb and as terribly interesting as a Greek drama. It is wholly worth while to get this point of view; and if in practical life one does not really believe in it, it is capable of yielding much pleasure. After finishing one of Mr. Hardy's novels, one has all the delight of waking from an impressive but horrible dream, and feeling through the dissolving vision the real friendliness of the good old earth. It is like com-

ing home from an adequate performance of "King Lear," which we would not have missed for anything. There are so many make-believe pessimists, so many whose pessimism is a sham and a pose, which will not stand for a moment in a real crisis, that we cannot withhold admiration for such pessimism as Mr. Hardy's, which is fundamental and sincere. To him the Christian religion and what we call the grace of God have not the slightest shade of meaning; he is as absolute a Pagan as though he had written four thousand years before Christ. This is something almost refreshing, because it is so entirely different from the hypocrisy and cant, the pretence of pessimism, so familiar to us in the works of modern writers; and so inconsistent with their daily life. Mr. Hardy's pessimism is the one deep-seated conviction of his whole intellectual process.

I once saw a print of a cartoon drawn by a contemporary Dresden artist, Herr Sascha Schneider. It was called "The Helplessness of Man against Destiny." We see a quite naked man, standing with his back to us; his head is bowed in hopeless resignation; heavy manacles are about his wrists, to which chains are attached, that lead to some fastening in the ground. Directly before him, with hideous hands, that now almost entirely surround the little circle where he stands in dejection, crawls flatly toward him a prodigious, shapeless monster, with his horrid narrow eyes fixed on his defenceless human prey. And the man is so conscious of his tether, that even in the very presence of the unspeakably awful object, *the chains hang loose!* He may have tried them once, but he has since given up. The monster is Destiny; and the real meaning of the picture is seen in the eyes, nose, and mouth of the loathsome beast. There is not only no sympathy and no intelligence there; there is an expression far more terrible than the evident lust to devour; there is plainly the *sense of humor* shown on this hideous face. The contrast between the limitless strength of the monster and the utter weakness of the man, flavors the stupidity of Destiny with the zest of humor.

Now this is a correct picture of life as Mr. Hardy sees it. His God is a kind of insane child, who cackles foolishly as he destroys the most precious objects. "The President of the Immortals had finished his sport with Tess." Some years ago I met a man entirely blind. He said that early in life he had lost the sight of one eye by an accident; and that years later, as he held a little

child on his lap, the infant, in rare good humor, playfully poked the point of a pair of scissors into the other, thus destroying his sight forever. So long an interval had elapsed since this second and final catastrophe, that the man spoke of it without the slightest excitement or resentment. Now the child with the scissors might well represent Hardy's conception of God. Destiny is whimsical, rather than definitely malicious; for Destiny has not sufficient intelligence even to be systematically bad. We smile at Caliban's natural theology, as he composes his treatise on Setebos; but his God is the same who disposes of man's proposals in the stories of our novelist.

> "In which feat, if his leg snapped, brittle clay,
> And he lay stupid-like,—why, I should laugh;
> And if he, spying me, should fall to weep,
> Beseech me to be good, repair his wrong,
> Bid his poor leg smart less or grow again,—
> Well, as the chance were, this might take or else
> Not take my fancy. . . .
> 'Thinketh, such shows nor right nor wrong in Him,
> Nor kind, nor cruel: He is strong and Lord."

Mr. Hardy believes that morally, men and women are immensely superior to God; for all the good qualities that we attribute to Him in prayer are human, not divine. He in his loneliness is totally devoid of the sense of right and wrong, and knows neither justice nor mercy.

Mr. Hardy's pessimism is not in the least personal, nor has it risen from any sorrow or disappointment in his own life. It is both philosophic and temperamental. He cannot see nature in any other way. To venture a guess, I think his pessimism is mainly caused by his deep, manly tenderness for all forms of human and animal life and by an almost abnormal sympathy. His intense love for bird and beast is well known; many a stray cat and hurt dog have found in him a protector and a refuge. He firmly believes that the sport of shooting is wicked, and he has repeatedly joined in practical measures to waken the public conscience on this subject. As a spectator of human history, he sees life as a vast tragedy, with men and women emerging from nothingness, suffering acute physical and mental sorrow and then passing into nothingness again. To his sympathetic mind, the creed of optimism is a ribald insult to the pain of humanity and devout piety merely absurd. To hear these suffering men and

women utter prayers of devotion and sing hymns of adoration to the Power whence comes all their anguish is to him a veritable abdication of reason and common sense. God simply does not deserve it, and he for one will have the courage to say so. He will not stand by and see humanity submit so tamely to so heartless a tyrant. For, although Mr. Hardy is a pessimist, he has not the least tincture of cynicism. If one analyzes his novels carefully one will see that he seldom shows scorn for his characters; his contempt is exclusively devoted to God. Sometimes the evil fate that his characters suffer is caused by the very composition of their mind, as is seen in "A Pair of Blue Eyes"; again it is no positive human agency, but rather an Æschylean conception of hidden forces, as in "The Return of the Native"; but in neither case is humanity to blame.

This pessimism has one curious effect that adds greatly to the reader's interest when he takes up an hitherto unread novel by our author. The majority of works of fiction end happily; indeed, many are so badly written that any ending cannot be considered unfortunate. But with most novelists we have a sense of security. We know that, no matter what difficulties the hero and heroine may encounter, the unseen hand of their maker will guide them eventually to paths of pleasantness and peace. Mr. Hardy inspires no such confidence.

However dark may be his conception of life, Mr. Hardy's sense of humor is unexcelled by his contemporaries in its subtlety of feeling and charm of expression. His rustics, who have long received and deserved the epithet "Shakespearian," arouse in every reader harmless and wholesome delight. The shadow of the tragedy lifts in these wonderful pages, for Mr. Hardy's laughter reminds one of what Carlyle said of Shakespeare's: it is like sunshine on the deep sea. The childlike sincerity of these shepherd farmers, the candor of their repartee and their appraisal of gentle folk are as irresistible as their patience and equable temper. Every one in the community seems to find his proper mental and moral level. And their infrequent fits of irritation are as pleasant as their more solemn moods. We can all sympathize (I hope) with the despair of Joseph Poorgrass: "I was sitting at home looking for Ephesians and says I to myself, 'Tis nothing but Corinthians and Thessalonians in this danged Testament!"

WILLIAM LYON PHELPS.

STATES WITH IDEAS OF THEIR OWN.

BY PHILIP LORING ALLEN.

THOSE who advocate increased centralization of power and function in the Federal Government necessarily have but scant respect for the differences of policies among the several States. These differences have been striking, always vexatious and often ridiculous. In many departments business would manifestly be facilitated and rights safeguarded if such differences did not exist. The centralizationist attributes most of them to ignorance, to prejudices, as to improper motives. In his mind, they could all be swept away with no loss that could for a moment be set against the gain. His projects actually pending are, no doubt, scrupulously confined to those fields in which the constitutional power of the Federal Government is unquestioned. Sometimes it is argued, as in the case of certain of the powers exercised under the interstate commerce clause of the Constitution, that a new extension of Federal authority is really for the benefit of the States themselves, protecting the good States against the machinations of the bad States. Sometimes it is argued that certain important things will not be done at all unless the Federal Government does them. But it is obvious that if the process of extension continues, whether by constitutional amendment or by interpretation, Federal functions must in time impinge directly upon State functions. Uniformity is one of the great objects of centralization and uniformity can thus be obtained only by supplanting conflicting State laws by a single Federal statute. It is, therefore, fair to consider State policies and systems and their claims to be continued in force, irrespective of whether in any particular instance there is any definite project of National control.

Dr. Crothers, in one of his whimsical essays, has suggested a contrast between the British House of Lords which

> ". . . throughout the War
> Did nothing in particular
> And did it very well,"

and a Western Legislature which did a large number of extremely important things and did them all very badly. The warmest supporter of States' rights is often forced to adopt an apologetic tone when talking of State legislation in the mass. If the national Congress is sometimes visionary, inept and erratic, the State Legislatures are the scenes of constant exhibitions of these qualities. Crazy notions appear and disappear. Constituencies are treated to ebullitions of humor in respect to matters where humor is out of place. "Freak bills" are regular features of the legislative calendars. A bill in New Jersey recently proposed a license tax on whiskers, one in Nebraska a ten-per-cent. income tax on bachelors, one in Minnesota made it a crime for a farmer not to practise rotation of crops, one in Iowa required all eggs to be stamped with the date when they were laid, one in Missouri prohibited "treating" in such sweeping terms that the purchase of ice-cream for a young girl by her beau would have been illegal under its provisions. Of course such fantastic bills usually fail, but a surprising number of them have got on the statute-books in the past. Kentucky, for instance, has made it a felony to trespass on a ginseng garden. Georgia, doubtless in memory of many bucolic swindles, imposes a tax of twenty-five dollars in each county on peddlers of patent churns and patent fences. The forty-five States exhibit as many crotchets as so many headstrong, opinionated individuals.

How these come into being is illustrated by the many different ways in which an entirely new subject for legislative action can be regarded. The popularity of the automobile brought such a subject before the State and local lawmaking bodies generally some ten years ago. Thirty-six States have passed automobile laws since then. Not only are no two of these statutes exactly alike, but no one of them copies the essential feature of the law of the country from which most of our successful horseless vehicles were at first imported. The idea of the French law was, and is, to impose no specific restriction on speed or power, but to hold the driver and owner to the strictest ac-

countability for all damage. All the American States, however, have put their trust in speed limits. These speed limits themselves are not uniform. A driver may be arrested in New Jersey for running at a speed of thirty miles an hour; in Alabama more than eight miles an hour. For the rest some States license both car and chauffeur, some only the car, while at least one has legislated on the subject without licensing either. Some States permit the passage of local regulations, some prohibit these. Some admit no cars owned by non-residents to be operated in the State until they have been registered there. Some are hospitable indefinitely to cars which have been properly registered in another State. Delaware extends this courtesy for only forty-eight hours, after which the non-resident motorist must register his car or leave the State. A motor bicycle is an automobile in Indiana, while a traction engine is not; both are automobiles in New Jersey, neither in New York—a state of affairs which recalls the railway conductor's famous decision that, "Cats is dogs and rabbits is dogs, but turtles is insecks."

Ideas in automobile regulation have been copied to some extent. For example: Minnesota having required all gasoline machines to use "mufflers" within the limits of cities and villages, Vermont inserted a corresponding provision in a general law passed the next year, and Oregon and Washington did the same the year after. There is one facetious clause, that of Kansas confirming "the prerogative of any political chauffeur to run an automobilous band-wagon at any rate he sees fit compatible with the safety of the occupants thereof . . . provided that whenever a mangled and bleeding political corpse implores for mercy the driver of the vehicle shall, in accordance with the provisions of this bill, 'throw out the life-line.'" Yet the laws, on the whole, are characterized by a spirit of evident fairness. "Seldom," says the Law Committee of the Automobile Club of America, "do we find evidence of hostility carried to excess in any of the legislative enactments."

Below all such unnecessary or meaningless inconsistencies there remains a stratum of individual State policies which are not the result of mere caprice nor lack of information nor unbalanced reasoning, but of genuine conviction. The States differ constantly upon questions which have been for generations the staples of debating societies. A simple instance is the question of capital

punishment. Every schoolboy and presumably every legislator is familiar with the arguments pro and con. Yet the States continue to be divided. As to liquor laws, there has never been any sort of uniformity. The highest tide of prohibition sentiment has never reached great areas of license territory, while even the extreme of reaction left three commonwealths under State-wide prohibition.

Nor are such diversities of opinion less manifest in those departments of legislation which are rather the concern of experts. There is, for example, the question of corporation laws. It is not disputed that certain of the States have entered into a discreditable competition for corporation business, making their laws intentionally lax for this purpose. But even the States which are fully exonerated from any such charge are not at one in method. This is illustrated by two recent comparative studies of the State incorporation laws. The Massachusetts law of 1903 is one of the most celebrated of these statutes. "A conspicuous point of the Massachusetts law," wrote Edward Dana Durand, in the "Yale Review" for February, 1904, "is the absence of any requirement that property or services for which stock is issued shall actually, or at least in the honest judgment of the directors, be worth the par value of the stock given for them. This is almost universally prescribed in the laws of the other States." On the other hand, Don E. Mowry, writing in the "Central Law Journal," pointed another contrast. Massachusetts, he said, was one of the few States in which "five men cannot sit around a table, put one dollar in the centre, organize a corporation calling for a million dollars' worth of capital, repocket the dollar, and go home after sending a certificate of incorporation to the Secretary of State with a million-dollar enterprise ready to launch."

In other words, the State which imposed the closest restrictions in one particular was least strict in another. Massachusetts proceeded on a theory of her own as to the special points on which the stockholders and the public needed to be safeguarded.

Another example of divergent State policies is afforded by the various railway commissions. Some of these have always possessed the rate-making power, some never. The "advisory" commissions have existed beside the "regulative" commissions practically ever since the idea of State control was first applied,

and neither type has yet proved so conspicuously successful that the other has been generally abandoned for it. Indeed, of the two State Commissions which have recently been instanced as notable for practical and intelligent service to the people of their respective States the Wisconsin commission is classed as "regulative" and the Massachusetts as "advisory," and there is no indication that either State would be better suited by a commission of a different type.

Systems of direct nominations of candidates for office have not been on trial so long, yet here again there are two opposite theories embodied in the various State laws. When once the choice of party nominees is taken away from a convention and lodged in the party membership as a whole the definition of party membership becomes highly important. Who shall be allowed to vote in the Republican primaries and who in the Democratic? How shall unscrupulous members of one party be prevented from packing the other's caucuses and thus having weak men put up against their own candidates? There are two answers to this question. The States of one group require the voter to declare publicly on primary day or before that he belongs to a certain party if he desires to assist in making nominations of that party. The States of another group have the "open" primary. The voter uses a secret ballot or ballots containing the names of all candidates for the nominations of all parties for all offices. He may mark where he pleases, but he may not select one of the Republican aspirants for Governor and one of the Democrats for Mayor, for example. Virtually he participates in one party caucus, though it remains a secret which one he has entered. The "open" and "closed" primaries continue to exist even in adjacent States without convincing the advocates of the one that the other is preferable.

And still other examples of inconsistent legislation might be multiplied. About a dozen States manage all their charitable and correctional institutions through a centralized board of control, the others deal separately with the various institutions. Ballot laws are drafted on different theories. On criminal laws many States have characteristic ideas of their own, Indiana's new statute imposing life imprisonment for a third conviction for felony being one of the latest examples. New York has made all prison sentences indeterminate. Lawyers in their own field

come no nearer to uniformity than laymen in theirs. About half of the State courts use code procedure and half common-law procedure.

It is, of course, evident that when it supplants State authority with reference to any of the subjects where there are alternative policies the Federal Government must make the choice of one, and the other, however satisfactory to local sentiment, goes out of existence. This objection does not apply to the adoption of a uniform policy by the voluntary action of the several States. In this connection, therefore, the organized efforts toward such uniformity of legislation are worth examining. So many associations interested in particular subjects have drafted bills to be urged upon the Legislatures, that a State so disposed could supply itself with a reasonably complete outfit of "model" laws. The greater number of these are either based on the statute of some particular State or have been adopted by some of the Legislatures after having been originally drafted or approved by an unofficial body. But no one statute-book contains to-day any considerable proportion of these "model" laws. And no individual or organized body, however conspicuous or influential, has ever persuaded our forty-six State Legislatures to take identical action on any subject, however simple.

It is an entirely non-political body, the Association of Audubon Societies, which has, apparently, come nearest to performing this feat. Its law for the protection of non-game birds is in force to-day over a larger stretch of American territory than any comparable piece of statute law, not a Federal enactment. In the crusade for its passage humanitarian arguments have been coupled with economic, for the farmers lose four-fifths of a billion dollars a year through insect depredations. Among the friends of the model law are included leading men and women of every community, while the opponents, plume-hunters and pot-hunters, are contemptible in numbers and influence. Yet years of effort have not brought the law into force everywhere. When the Legislatures of 1907 adjourned, three Southern States, five Western States and three Territories had failed to join in the movement for bird protection.

The fight for pure food is one in which the national Government and the States might be expected to join and supplement each other's efforts. The national law, passed after seventeen

years of agitation, is naturally the pattern of State enactments. Within two years after its passage eleven States had amended their own laws so as to bring them into conformity with the Federal statute, while seven others which had previously made no effort at food control had passed laws on the Federal model. All these had copied, among other things, the Federal policy of exempting the dealer from prosecution in case he holds the manufacturer's guarantee of the purity of his goods expressed in the now familiar label. But even this group of new laws carries the States only a third of the way toward effective uniformity of policy. Already, indeed, there have been conflicts between Federal and State authorities on the question of the status of particular products.

In 1906 forty States sent delegates to a divorce Congress called at the request of the State of Pennsylvania. This Congress marked, perhaps, the most conspicuous and influential attempt of recent years to arouse public sentiment in favor of uniformity respecting an important branch of legislation. It would scarcely be possible for commonwealths to differ more on any subject than they do in their attitude toward divorce. Over twenty different causes are recognized in one State or another, while one State, South Carolina, believes in granting no absolute divorces at all. It showed the delegates' clear perception of the difficulties in the way of obliterating distinctive State policies that the Congress of 1906 did not even attempt to unify causes for divorce. The late Dean Huffcut of the Cornell University Law School, one of New York's delegates, wrote of its recommendation: "The proposed statute does not attempt to secure uniformity of causes. It was from the outset recognized that such an attempt would fail and thereby imperil the passage of the jurisdictional and procedural portions of the statute, and these, after all, are of first importance." The first resolution of the Congress stated "that no Federal divorce law is feasible and that all efforts to secure a constitutional amendment—a necessary prerequisite—would be futile." It did urge the Legislatures to copy the Massachusetts law that "if an inhabitant of this commonwealth goes into another State or country to obtain a divorce for a cause which occurred here while the parties resided here, or for a cause which would not authorize a divorce by the laws of this commonwealth, a divorce so obtained shall be of no force and effect in this com-

monwealth." The "uniform divorce law" embodying this and a code of divorce procedure was adopted the following year by Delaware and New Jersey and went through one House of the Pennsylvania Legislature.

For this law there was obtained, moreover, in August, 1907, the sanction of the only permanent body devoted solely to the cause of unification of State legislation, the Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws. This conference has met annually for the last eighteen years in connection with the sessions of the American Bar Association, but the commissioners take part in an official capacity, being appointed by the Governors of the several States. At the last issue of the conference report thirty-seven States were thus represented by from one to ten commissioners each, there being no more uniformity in the States' efforts toward uniformity than in other phases of their polity. In the deliberations of these conferences we have another proof of how gradual and how tactful all effective progress by voluntary action must be. The commissioners have never yet taken up what could fairly be called a controversial bill, the laws recommended by them being mainly business measures. Of these its negotiable instruments law has been passed by thirty-one States, its warehouse receipts law by seven.

That altogether worthy efforts like those just described have met with only such moderate success is adduced as an additional reason why uniformity in certain important departments should be secured by summary Federal action. It is always possible and sometimes fair to attribute the existing confusion and discrepancy to causes that are either discreditable or negligible. Yet there is almost always an alternative explanation. Sometimes, as has been pointed out, there are two or more independent theories embodied in the statutes, sometimes the material needs of different localities demand different treatment. Even in those cases where an admittedly good law has failed to be adopted in all the States, despite an adequate presentation of its case, it may often be true that the worthy statute had spread quite as far as the effective public sentiment on which its successful enforcement would have to depend. Such an authority as Paul S. Reinsch, in "American Legislation," takes the view that "the statute law of the newer States has heretofore suffered a good deal from the indiscriminate copying of statutes of older communities."

It so happens that the attitude of the centralizationists toward the State Governments in general has changed of late, though without becoming any the more respectful. Where we once heard chiefly of the States' feebleness and indifference to their own best interests, there is more said and written just now about their over-zealousness. Certainly the States themselves are quite unwilling to admit any advantage in point of efficiency on the side of the Federal Government. There may be instanced the resolution passed on October 11th, 1907, by a convention of State railroad commissioners, most of them members of the party in power at Washington, declaring that the States had taken the lead in every successful movement for the equalization of transportation rates. "There have been many general rate reductions in different States," said the commissioners, "and as far as we know these have all been brought about by affirmative action of the State authorities. So far as we are advised, we know of no general reduction due to any action by the Federal authorities."

Whether this and similar claims be true or not, there can be no question that the States are giving more attention than ever before to the art of lawmaking. Comparative legislation is being studied. The various Legislatures, notably those of New York and Wisconsin, through their library bureaus, are making it their business, before passing important new legislation, to find out the experience of their neighbors with similar questions. This means, even in the most superficial aspect, that State legislation is likely to become progressively less deserving of the ridicule and contempt it has so often received in the past. No far-reaching national policy, but only the simplest mechanism of friendly co-operation, is needed to eliminate many of the needless and annoying differences in State policy. That we are getting this co-operation in larger measure is one of the answers which the States have made to their critics. Of all possible ways of securing uniform legislation, surely the best is the voluntary copying of those statutory details which have worked well in the States of their origin and the dropping of those which have worked badly. To advocate more than that is to advocate the destruction of laws and policies which have been found suited to the needs of some localities, but not all.

PHILIP LORING ALLEN.

THE NEW IRELAND.—XI.

THE CHURCH.

BY SYDNEY BROOKS.

Of all the questions that confront the inquirer into the realities of Irish life and conditions the most delicate and perplexing are those propounded by the Church. An Englishman especially has to burrow his way through whole mountains of prejudice and misconception before he can win to an even moderately unhampered view of the character, work and influence of the Irish priesthood. In England itself he has hardly a single chance of learning the truth. Somewhere in the back of the average Englishman's mind is a confused idea that practically all Irish priests are on the verge of illiteracy. He is told that the education they receive at Maynooth is of the most cramping and bigoted character and that it turns them out narrow, intolerant, drunk with power and unscrupulous in using it. He has been fed ever since he can remember on the preposterous fallacy that Home Rule means Rome Rule. He has heard of the oppressions practised by the priests, of how they wring from the poor the moneys that enable them to build magnificent chapels in the midst of a neighborhood of hovels, of their niggardliness in charity, of their exactions in the way of marriage and burial fees, of their lives of sloth and ease. He is inclined to put down three-fourths of Irish ills to the Irish priests. He regards them as the most dangerous kind of agitators. He ascribes to them the lack of moral fibre that is often charged against the Irish people. He is convinced that they and their power are the greatest of all obstacles to industrialism. He profoundly dislikes and distrusts their whole organization. He hears that no priest in Ireland will ever condescend to publish a statement of accounts, that the Catholic

laity are excluded from even the smallest share in the government of their church, and that, however praiseworthy individual priests may be, and however much credit they may justly claim for the miracle of Irish chastity, the priesthood, as a whole, is seditious, anti-economic and a blight upon the moral stamina of the people.

Before considering this indictment in detail, I should like to give a rough sketch of three priests whom I met in one of the northern counties. The first was Father M., the curate of a way-side village, a bustling, spectacled little man, some forty years old. I lay in wait for him at a railway station whither he was due to arrive from Dublin. What had taken him to Dublin? The very last thing that would have taken an English clergyman to London. Father M. had gone to Dublin to head a deputation from his district that was waiting upon the Chief Secretary for the purely secular object of procuring a government grant for a local railway. It was he who introduced the deputation and acted as its spokesman. All the details of the proposition, the engineering difficulties of the projected line, the route it should take, the cost of its construction, the resources of the districts it would tap, the objections brought against it by rival roads—all this the priest had at his finger-ends. He unfolded the whole scheme to me as we sat in the parlor of the only really comfortable rural inn I came across in Ireland; it was not—need I add?—kept by an Irishman. And then the talk went on to other things, to books and education and village banks and co-operative creameries. Father M. showed me a few volumes he had picked up that morning at the second-hand bookstores by the Dublin quays. He was, he admitted, somewhat of a bookworm. He had a library of nearly three thousand volumes. The reading habit had clung to him since the days of his professorship in an Irish Catholic college. He had even tried to popularize it among his people by allowing them to take out volumes from his shelves, but the experiment had not answered. Was it, I asked, mainly a theological library? By no means. The theological books reposed dustfully on the upper shelf; novels, *belles-lettres,* the classics, Darwin, Huxley and Spencer mingled below. But his great hobby was the co-operative movement. There was very little about agriculture that he did not appear to know—"and why shouldn't I, being a peasant's son myself?" He had started a village bank; he had started a co-operative creamery; and both were flourishing institutions.

Goodness and practicality beamed from behind the little man's spectacles. That he had not the polish of the drawing-room was true enough, but in competency, in genuineness, in enthusiasm and in sound common sense he would have taken a place anywhere. As he sped homeward on his bicycle, I had an immense conviction that his people were in good hands.

And then there was Father M.'s immediate superior, the parish priest, a gray-haired, hearty, all-knowing veteran upon whom I unceremoniously stumbled while waiting his curate's return. His door was ajar, and a voice from the depths of the house bade me come in when I knocked. I found him sitting in a bare, disorderly room, a glass of water and a loaf of bread standing on the table amid a litter of books and papers. He held forth for a while on land and farming as though he were one of the Estates Commissioners. Then he passed on to travelling and told me how he had just returned from a tour through Italy. "Rubbing up your classics, Father?" I asked him. He hoped in reply that they did not need much rubbing up, and I quickly found that they did not. He was strong on temperance, one of the leaders in the campaign which the Church has somewhat tardily organized against the most pervasive of Irish failings. "His own," as they say in Ireland, had nearly all taken and kept the pledge, and the local publican was hard put to it to make both ends meet. Remember, we were six miles from any railroad, in a district not indeed very poor, but quite remarkably isolated. And here was this priest, a real father to his people, reading the classics and fighting drunkenness. He came down to the roadway with me in the pleasant Irish fashion and chatted for a while with my driver, criticising his horse and passing his hands down its legs with expert familiarity—a most adequate man, in touch with every interest of his people. In a near-by town I found a day or two later another type of priest, or rather a variation on the Father M. type. He was, I should judge, about forty-five years old, a zealous antiquarian who had written many books and pamphlets on the round towers, old crosses, ruined abbeys and castles of the neighborhood. But that was merely a side issue in his busy, practical life. He was a firm believer and an untiring worker in the cause of industrial betterment. The Department of Agriculture, as I have had occasion to explain, cooperates with local committees appointed by the county councils

throughout the country. This priest served on his local committee with assiduity and intelligence; I believe he practically ran it. But he was far from confining himself to these more or less official duties. Any project of material improvement that stood a reasonable chance of success had his active support. When I visited him he had just organized and completed what amounted almost to a house-to-house canvass of his town for the purpose of raising $50,000 to start a small linen-weaving mill, and of that sum $30,000 had already been obtained. To encounter three such priests within the space of a week—alert, level-headed, well-informed, intensely practical men, each trying in his own way to leave the world a little better than he found it—would have forced the most unmitigated Englishman to revise some of his preconceptions.

I do not say that these three priests were typical of the whole body, and even if they were, it might still be necessary to insist that an organization is something very different from the sum of the individuals who compose it. One comes across, as a matter of fact, many priests in Ireland who make a decidedly less pleasing impression, who are bullies, agitators, not over-scrupulous and unwholesomely materialized. But, taking them as a whole, they are a remarkable set of men whose chief shortcoming, in my opinion, is not so much that they abuse their unrivalled authority as that they do not always direct it to the best ends. The sons, in the main, of peasants, small farmers and petty traders, educated in a seminary that is exclusively theological, it is inevitable that their horizon should be narrow, their stock of knowledge and of culture inadequate to the position of variegated and almost undisputed power in which they find themselves placed, and that their manners and style of living should sometimes fail to set an example of refinement and finish. But they are almost invariably gentlemen in the essentials, if not in the accessories, of character and conduct; they lead the fullest and most human of lives; I have rarely encountered any men in whom the social and hospitable instincts were more developed; and in their relations with women their record is absolutely without stain. "They are no anchorites," an Irish lady has written, "no austere possessors of a spiritual joy far removed from human sources. They are men and brothers to their flocks; they are open-air persons; they love the gayeties of the country and the people; they dine

out; they are leading—one had almost said *the* leading—figures at weddings and christenings; they are sportsmen; they love a race-meeting or a game of cards; they enjoy a good dinner and a glass of punch to follow. Yet it is in the midst of his social, and one may say material enjoyments, that the high vocation of the Irish priest is, to my mind, so manifest. I have looked on at and taken part in hundreds of card-games where priests were among the players. In all my experience, I cannot recall one instance in which a priest was greedy, ill-tempered or anything but a gentleman and a sportsman, winning and losing with cheerful equanimity, and displaying the utmost patience with other players less well-mannered and good-hearted than himself. I have seen them on the race-courses, dispensing their wonderful hospitality, spreading geniality as they went about among friends and neighbors, "putting their bit" in a sweepstake, and enjoying their losing or winning with the same cheerful equanimity as at the card-table.

The priest in Ireland has not to struggle for power; it comes to him as a birth-right. Not only is all education in his hands, not only have the Penal Laws bequeathed to him a distinctive sanctity, not only is his office regarded with a reverence not altogether free from superstition, but his domination over the secular affairs and interests of his people is such as even the Spain of three hundred years ago scarcely excelled. What is it, indeed, that the priest is not? Spiritual shepherd, teacher, politician, land agent, family lawyer, man of affairs—from the cradle to the grave he touches the realities of Irish life at every conceivable point. On such a matter the impressions of a casual visitor must necessarily lack that intimacy of acquaintance which can alone give them value. I fall back on the ampler knowledge, the wide and sympathetic elucidations, of one who, though a foreigner, has made a profound study of Irish problems and has also the advantage of being a Catholic. M. Paul Dubois, in his "*L'Irelande Contemporaine,*" is nowhere happier than in his analysis of the relations between priests and people:

"Under Elizabeth and Cromwell, under the Penal Laws, the priest suffered with the people. He remained faithful to them unto death and martyrdom. Thus were friendship and union sealed between priest and people. The priest gained forever the gratitude and veneration of the people; he became their guide, their friend, their protector, and won

that title which he still bears, *Sagart a rúin*, the beloved priest. Nothing could be more touching to see than this attachment which still exists, this respect, this confidence, this intimacy between the priest and his parishioners. . . . He seems to be a king in his kingdom, affable, courteous, tolerant with non-Catholics, familiar with his flock; above all, 'popular.' He is in truth the father of his people, and no doubt a father who is sufficiently authoritative. He is the arbiter of their quarrels, the confidant of their secrets. To him they turn for advice whether in affairs of the heart or of the pocket. In return the people are ready to do him any service and to render him any homage. . . . There is no stiff haughtiness, no wall of stone separating them from their flock; they make themselves loved by their good grace and their ruggedness at need. . . . The Irish priest is not merely the spiritual shepherd, he is the guide and counsellor in temporal affairs. The facts of history have made him a leader, and often the sole leader, of the people."

But to all this there is another and less pleasing side. It has been stated with pungent illumination by "Pat" in his "Economics for Irishmen"; and I cannot do better than quote what he says:

"The world," he writes, "has hardly a more beautiful example of Faith than the gray patrician of fifty generations bowed for the blessing of the new-made curate, who may have started from the stable; but when that curate has 'got his parish,' expands his exclusive judgment on religion into his exclusive judgment on everything else, lays down the law on all things for patrician and plebeian alike, dictates his 'policy' to the statesman, his fees to the doctor, his voting to the citizen, their 'opinions' to the public, and so turns his sacred privilege into a secular weapon; then the highest things we know of are dragged into the dirt, and character, economic and otherwise, is sunk under a confusion of standards that tend to make the individual a machine rather than a man, with Heaven itself pressed into the process of human demoralization. That is what we have to-day in Ireland, at least in a measure large enough to assure our economic decay, and so helpless is 'the nation' against it that useful men, good Catholics, can have their dismissal dictated by the priest, and be driven out of Ireland for nothing more than uttering their opinions on lay matters peculiarly their own, admittedly in accordance with the liberty defined to them by their Faith."

And again:

"Nothing is more firmly fixed in the minds of many shopkeepers and their peasant customers than that the prosperity or destruction of their business is at the will of the priest, and I know numerous families that have been impoverished in this way, while others have risen from misery to wealth through the priest's partiality. In many places it is

enough to know simply that the priest does not wish the people to go to a certain shop. The wish becomes generally known in some way, and then down goes the shop, often the shop of a good fellow, while a pious ruffian prospers under clerical approval on the other side of the street. While it is accepted as if an article of Faith that the will of the priest means success or ruin to a man's business, how can we have the freedom that produces character or the character that produces economic progress?"

These are the views of an Irishman and a Catholic. I find them substantially endorsed in a letter I received a few months ago from an Irish Protestant, a singularly liberal and enlightened statesman, who has made many effective contributions to Irish well-being.

"Sacerdotalism," he writes, "is my bugbear, the one factor in the case that makes me sometimes despair. It shows no sign of weakening; on the contrary, I think it gathers strength. The people hate and resent it; and though but few Irish return from the United States to settle in Ireland, American modes of thought must percolate into Ireland. My dread is that it will last long enough to neutralize the good effects of peasant proprietorship and other reforms; and that the influence of the priest in the legitimate field of faith and morals will perish along with his power in purely secular matters. The rebound into irreligion in a people such as the Irish would be very serious. It is a vast pity that we have in Ireland no Roman Catholic in a position analogous to that of the Duke of Norfolk in England, one who could represent at Rome the fact—I am sure it is a fact—that a revolt against religion will surely take place if the interference of the Hierarchy and the Priest in temporal affairs is not checked. . . . In what I have said about sacerdotalism do not misread me as applying it to all Bishops and Priests. I believe the majority are good though ignorant men, anxious for the welfare of the country and concerned only for the spiritual and moral condition of their flocks. But the militant temporal Bishops and Priests dominate the majority, and they have all the strings of the money-bags and of the press in their hands. If the Priests would preach and preach and keep on preaching (1) love of truth, (2) sense of duty, (3) the necessity of nourishing the body as well as the soul, (4) that stewed tea and white bread are poison to children, (5) the dignity of labor, and (6) cleanliness—Ireland would be a very different country in ten years."

From the standpoint of the Church itself, the Ireland of to-day must be nearly the ideal country. In the last sixty years, while the Catholic population has decreased by twenty-seven per cent., the number of priests, monks and nuns has risen 137 per cent. The Church thrives as the people dwindle, and its authority over

those who stay seems to grow year by year more intensive and meticulous. The Catholic who puts his Church before any mundane interest can only, I suppose, rejoice at this; can only feel that Ireland is fulfilling the highest national ideal as convents and monasteries multiply, as her missionaries scatter over the world, and as the temper of her people yields itself more and more to priestly guidance. But an onlooker must needs stand appalled at the drain of this huge establishment upon the economic vitality of the people. He sees towering edifices rising in the midst of hovels and he wonders where the money came from. He reads in the papers of an endless flow of bequests into the ecclesiastical exchequer, and he asks where the money goes. He hears from manufacturers of the hindrances placed in their way by the Church, with her restrictions and demands, and he is prompted to inquire whether Ireland is not a battle-ground of the age-long conflict between Catholicism and industrialism. He finds in the rural parts a people barely emerging from the anthropomorphic phases of belief and the twilight of superstition—shuttlecocked between terror and greed and penetrated with the listlessness of fatalism—and he is irresistibly driven to speculate whether for some of their shortcomings certain features of Irish Catholicism and of the policy of the Irish priesthood may not be at least as much responsible as the British Government itself. He sees the Hierarchy warring on and suppressing journals that refuse to subordinate to its interests whatever aspirations they may cherish for a united and regenerated Ireland, and he asks how freedom of thought can exist in such conditions. He regards the inordinate drink bill of the Irish people and wonders whither the spirit of Father Mathew has fled. He cross-examines the emigrants at Queenstown and begins to suspect that the policy of dragooning the people in their homes and diversions, if it has helped to make the Irish the most continent of nations in the single matter of sex, has also done much to blast the innocent pleasures and gayety of the countryside and to invest the prospect of escape into life with a new attractiveness; and the census figures of the United States and of England are there to confirm his forebodings that once free from the special atmosphere of Ireland and released from the confinement of a penitential code, the faith of but too many of the Irish emigrants will prove a fragile barrier against the seductions of freedom and the onsweep

of an unaccustomed commercialism. The great and continuous defection from Catholicism of the Irish in America is a phenomenon at least as much explicable by the environment they have left as by that they have entered.

Nor are the inquirer's doubts resolved when he looks into the internal economy of the Church and learns to his stupefaction that no priest in Ireland renders any account of the money that passes into his hands and that the laity are inflexibly excluded from even the smallest share of Church administration. Yet the question still arises to plague him whether it is the people who do most to influence the priests or the priests the people. For the people have still in a sense the power of the purse; and an unpopular priest or one who tilts against local sentiment may find himself reminded of the error of his ways by a falling off in marriage and burial fees and in the proceeds of the Easter and Christmas offerings and of the half-yearly "stations" at which he collects his dues in person. It is in some ways an unhealthy system, whichever way the balance of influence may be held to fall. It materializes but too many of the priesthood, and it robs the laity of all real responsibility. In matters where the interests or passions of the people are strongly enlisted the priesthood is often powerless to restrain them; but then the matters in which the interests or passions of the Irish people are strongly enlisted are very few in number. The land, however, is one of them. The Church denounced the Land League and the Plan of Campaign and the crimes and disorders that accompanied them, but its denunciations were swept away in the torrent of popular passion. The priests at this moment are opposed to cattle-driving, but cattle-driving continues just the same. In the crisis that followed Parnell's conviction of adultery, again, the Church and the people came into fierce and bitter conflict, and, though the Church won, it was only after a struggle that for a time tore the country in twain. The Irish Catholic is by no means the most tractable of individuals, and Ultramontanism will never find in Ireland a footing one-half so secure as in Spain or in Austria.

On the other hand, where their emotions or interests are not keenly engaged, the people accept the domination of the priesthood unmurmuringly. Education is a conspicuous case in point. The British Government and the Irish Catholic Church might

almost seem, indeed, to have entered into a conspiracy for the intellectual enslavement of the Irish people. There is hardly a branch of Irish education in which Protestant England has not shown herself more Catholic than any Catholic Power on earth. Every national schoolmaster in Ireland, thanks to Great Britain, is the creature of the clerical manager, appointed, promoted and dismissed by him at will. Carry this system into the secondary and intermediate schools and higher up into the colleges, and the historical results follow; lay learning, even Catholic lay learning, is banned and boycotted; the teaching congregations swoop down upon and monopolize the whole field of instruction; the pernicious bait of result fees turns education into cramming, and pours thousands of pounds a year into the coffers of unaudited, irresponsible orders; the laity are excluded from Maynooth; mixed education, that great dissolvent of social and sectarian strife, is denounced as treason to the Faith; and the whole guidance, not alone of the beliefs and morals, but of the intellect of the youth of Ireland becomes a priestly, monastic and conventual preserve. To have placed Irish education absolutely under the control of the Irish priesthood is, in my judgment, the gravest of the many crimes and blunders for which British rule in Ireland is responsible. The blind cannot lead the blind, and an inexperienced, uninterested and uncultured priesthood is of all agencies the least fitted to guide the intellectual destinies of a nation. To none of its functions does the Irish priesthood cling so tenaciously as to its hold over the schools; in none is it less willing to admit the co-operation of laymen; and yet with none has it proved itself so little able to deal successfully. I freely grant that the Irish priests are set to work at what is probably the worst educational system in Europe, but no one who has looked into the matter at first hand or who has even been at the trouble to read the Inspectors' reports can doubt that the negligence, indifference and incapacity of the clerical managers have intensified all its defects.

If there were no other argument for Home Rule the state to which Irish education has been reduced by the operations of an arbitrary, anti-national and incompetent Board on the one hand and priestly mismanagement on the other would supply all the arguments that could be needed. It is one more illustration of the paradox that both Englishmen and Irishmen seem incapable of grasping, the paradox that one of the most stalwart pillars of

the Catholic Church in Ireland is Protestant England. If that were once realized for the fact it unquestionably is, we should not then have Ulster taking up, and Nonconformist England mechanically echoing, the cry that Home Rule means Rome Rule. It is English Rule that means Rome Rule. It is the British trick or policy of ignoring the Catholic laity in Ireland and of dealing over their heads with the Church direct that, as much as anything else, buttresses and perpetuates the temporal power of Irish Catholicism. Home Rule would eventually tear that power to pieces. Is there a country where the people, once masters in their own house, have tolerated indefinitely the domination of the Church in their schools and universities? The enfranchisement of the Irish mind will be, I admit, a process uniquely protracted, incalculably slow. But to doubt its inevitability when once the people are placed in charge of their own destinies is simply to write down all human history a lie. Home Rule, so far from spelling Rome Rule, spells Rome Ruin.

What, then, is the true attitude of the Church towards the master-question of Irish politics? Does the Hierarchy really and sincerely favor an autonomy which sooner or later would infallibly loosen and then destroy ecclesiastical control of popular education? Confronted with the choice between sacrificing its hold over the schools and sacrificing Home Rule, which would it choose? Is the Church in its secret heart Nationalist first and Catholic afterwards, or Catholic first and Nationalist afterwards? Finding in England and the English connection, and the political bargains to which that connection gives rise, an effective and durable bulwark against an educated laity already muttering in revolt, is it genuinely anxious to see the barrier torn down? These are questions that admit at present of no clear and decisive answer. Even to consider them is to find oneself launched on a vast and all but trackless but not necessarily unprofitable ocean of speculation. I think, however, that sooner or later the Irish intelligence will burst its clerical leading-strings and insist on mapping out for itself the lines of its future progress. Movements of discontent, in and out of the Church, are already vaguely discernible. The emancipation of the Irish mind—the most needed of all Irish revolutions—has already begun.

SYDNEY BROOKS.

(To be Concluded.)

THE TARIFF MAKE-BELIEVE.

BY WOODROW WILSON.

THE wrong settlement of a great public question is no settlement at all. The Payne-Aldrich tariff bill, therefore, which its authors would fain regard as a settlement of the tariff question, is no settlement at all. It is miscellaneously wrong in detail and radically wrong in principle. It disturbs more than it settles, and by its very failure to settle forces the tariff question forward into a new and much more acute stage.

It is so obviously impossible to settle the question satisfactorily in the way these gentlemen have attempted to settle it; it is so evident that men of their mind and with their attitude towards the economic interests of the country can never settle it that thinking men of every kind realize at last that new men and new principles of action must be found. These gentlemen do not know the way and cannot find it. They "revised" the tariff, indeed, but by a method which was a grand make-believe from beginning to end. They may have convinced themselves of the intelligence and integrity of the process, but they have convinced nobody else. The country must now go to the bottom of the matter and obtain what it wants.

It has gone to the bottom of it at some points already, and the process will be carried very far before it is through with it. In the first place, it is the general opinion throughout the country that this particular revision was chiefly pretence, and that it is the first time that we have had tariff legislation of this kind. The McKinley tariff bill and the Dingley tariff bill, whatever may be thought of their wisdom or of their validity as acts of statesmanship, were unquestionably frank and genuine. There was no concealment or make-believe about either their purpose or their character. No doubt many things were accomplished by

them of which the public knew nothing and was intended to know nothing. Not all the advantages gained by this, that or the other industry from legislation of that kind could be explained to the public without creating inconvenient comment and startling questions that might cut very deep; but that is true of all legislation which is meant to give particular classes of citizens a special economic assistance or advantage. Private favors will inevitably creep in. But no one was deceived. The men who put those measures through had no doubt that they had the support of the country in doing so. They gave the country what they thought opinion would sustain: gave it what they honestly supposed that it wanted. But no one who is capable of assessing opinion now can possibly claim that that is what the men who were behind the Payne-Aldrich legislation did. They knew that they were not giving the country what it wanted, and the more thoughtful and statesmanlike among them deeply regretted that they could not. There was a process almost of haphazard in the construction of the House bill, and mere false leadership and chicanery produced the bill which the Senate substituted for it and which largely prevailed in conference.

The methods by which tariff bills are constructed have now become all too familiar and throw a significant light on the character of the legislation involved. Debate in the Houses has little or nothing to do with it. The process by which such a bill is made is private, not public; because the reasons which underlie many of the rates imposed are private. The stronger faction of the Ways and Means Committee of the House makes up the preliminary bill, with the assistance of "experts" whom it permits the industries most concerned to supply for its guidance. The controlling members of the Committee also determine what amendments, if any, shall be accepted, either from the minority faction of the Committee or from the House itself. It permits itself to be dictated to, if at all, only by the imperative action of a party caucus. The stronger faction of the Finance Committee of the Senate, in like fashion, frames the bill which it intends to substitute for the one sent up from the House. It is often to be found at work on it before any bill reaches it from the popular chamber. The compromise between the two measures is arranged in private conference by conferees drawn from the two committees. What takes place in the committees

and in the conference is confidential. It is considered impertinent for reporters to inquire. It is admitted to be the business of the manufacturers concerned, but not the business of the public, who are to pay the rates. The debates which the country is invited to hear in the open sessions of the Houses are merely formal. They determine nothing and disclose very little.

It is the policy of silence and secrecy, indeed, with regard to the whole process that makes it absolutely inconsistent with every standard of public duty and political integrity. If the newspapers published and the public read even the debates, empty of significance as they generally are, the entire country would presently realize how flagrant the whole make-believe is. The committees under whose guidance the bills are put through the Houses disclose nothing that is not wrung from them by members who have made investigations of their own and who insist upon having their questions answered; and there are few enough who have the audacity or take the trouble. But here and there a fact is dragged out, and before the encounters of debate are over enough has been brought to the light to make extremely instructive reading. It is devoutly to be wished,—merely to cite examples,—that every voter in the United States had read, or would yet read, the debates in the Senate on the duty on electric carbons,—the carbons used in the arc-lights in all our cities,—and on the duty on razors. Every detail is a commentary on the whole depressing business.

One extraordinary circumstance of the debates in the Senate should receive more than a passing allusion. The Republican party platform had promised that the tariff rates should be revised and that the standard of revision should be the differences between the cost of producing the various articles affected in this country and in the countries with which our manufacturers compete. One of our chief industrial competitors is now Germany, with its extraordinary skill in manufacture and the handicrafts and its formidable sagacity in foreign trade; and the Department of State, in order to enable Congress the more intelligently to fulfil the promises of the party, had, at the suggestion of the President, requested the German Government to furnish it with as full information as possible about the rates of wages paid in the leading industries in that country,—wages being known, of course, to be one of the largest items in the cost of production.

The German Government of course complied, with its usual courtesy and thoroughness, transmitting an interesting report, each portion of which was properly authenticated and vouched for. The Department of State placed it at the disposal of the Finance Committee of the Senate. But Senators tried in vain to ascertain what it contained. Mr. Aldrich spoke of it contemptuously as "anonymous," which of course it was not, as "unofficial," and even as an impertinent attempt, on the part of the German Government, to influence our tariff legislation. It was only too plain that the contents of the report made the members of the controlling faction of the Finance Committee very uncomfortable indeed. It undoubtedly showed, what independent private inquiries readily enough confirm, that the wages paid to skilled laborers in Germany are practically as great as those paid in the United States, the difference in the cost of living in the two countries being taken into consideration. To have made it public would have been to upset half the arguments for the rates proposed with which the committee had been misinforming the country. It would no doubt have explained, for example, why the skilled grinders of Solingen do not think it worth their while to emigrate to America and oblige almost all razor-makers in other countries to send their blades to them to be ground,—and many another matter left studiously undebated, unexplained, about which Senators had been asking for information. It would have proved that the leaders of the party were deliberately breaking its promise to the country. It was, therefore, thrown into a pigeonhole and disregarded. It was a private document.

In pursuance of the same policy of secrecy and private management, the bill was filled with what those who discovered them were good-natured or cynical enough to call "jokers,"—clauses whose meaning did not lie upon the surface, whose language was meant not to disclose its meaning to the members of the Houses who were to be asked to enact them into law, but only to those by whom the law was to be administered after its enactment. This was one of the uses to which the "experts" were put whom the committees encouraged to advise them. They knew the technical words under which meanings could be hidden, or the apparently harmless words which had a chance to go unnoted or unchallenged. Electric carbons had been taxed at ninety cents per hundred; the new bill taxed them at seventy cents per hun-

dred *feet*,—an apparent reduction if the word feet went unchallenged. It came very near escaping the attention of the Senate, and did quite escape the attention of the general public, who paid no attention at all to the debates, that the addition of the word feet almost doubled the existing duty.

The hugest practical joke of the whole bill lay in the so-called maximum and minimum clause. The schedules as they were detailed in the bill and presented to the country, through the committees and the newspapers,—the schedules by which it was made believe that the promise to the country of a "downward" revision was being kept by those responsible for the bill, were only the minimum schedules. There lay at the back of the measure a maximum provision about which very little was said, but the weight of which the country may come to feel as a very serious and vexatious burden in the months to come. In the case of articles imported from countries whose tariff arrangements discriminate against the United States, the duties are to be put at a maximum which is virtually prohibitive. The clause is a huge threat. Self-respecting countries do not yield to threats or to "impertinent efforts, on the part of other Governments, to affect their tariff legislation." Where the threat is not heeded we shall pay heavier duties than ever, heavier duties than any previous Congress ever dared impose.

When it is added that not the least attempt was made to alter the duties on sugar by which every table in the country is taxed for the benefit of the Sugar Trust, but just now convicted of criminal practices in defrauding the Government in this very matter; that increased rates were laid on certain classes of cotton goods for the benefit, chiefly, of the manufacturers of New England, from which the dominant party always counts upon getting votes, and that the demand of the South, from which it does not expect to get them, for free cotton bagging was ignored; that the rates on wool and woollen goods, a tax which falls directly upon the clothing of the whole population of the country, were maintained unaltered; and that relief was granted at only one or two points,—by conceding free hides and almost free iron ore, for example,—upon which public opinion had been long and anxiously concentrated; and granted only at the last moment upon the earnest solicitation of the President,—nothing more need be said to demonstrate the insincerity, the uncandid, designing, un-

patriotic character of the whole process. It was not intended for the public good. It was intended for the benefit of the interests most directly and selfishly concerned.

There was noticeable confusion in the counsels of the dominant party. Some said this, some said that. Many were anxious, probably a majority in the House, to fulfil in entire good faith the promise their party convention had given in its platform and the President had so frankly interpreted and repeated; others were willing, some were eager, to evade it. Their leaders led them by the way of evasion. I do not know whether they were conscious of doing so or not. It need make no difference to the country whether they were or not: it is only the fact that interests it, however the fact may affect individuals. If the leaders of the Republican party were not aware that they were seeking a way of evasion, they have an unusual capacity for deceiving themselves; if they were, they did not deal honestly by the country. Either alternative proves them wholly unserviceable and untrustworthy. We need not stop, therefore, to choose between the alternatives: for we are not discussing their characters, but the present interests of the country with regard to the tariff. The question that interests us is this: How out of this confusion of counsel was an agreement reached, and why was the agreement that which the leaders of the Houses desired rather than that which the rank and file of the party would have honestly preferred? What, when its policies are in debate within its own ranks, finally determines the course the Republican party will take in a matter like this?

I know, of course, as every one does, how great the power of the Speaker of the House is, and the great and sinister hold the chairman of the Finance Committee of the Senate has upon the legislative machinery of that body, whatever signs of apparent independence it may show in the open processes of debate. It is matter of common knowledge what Mr. Cannon and Mr. Aldrich would prefer to have the House do when any question of this sort is under consideration. But these men represent forces, they do not constitute them. The forces that control the Republican party lie outside of them. They are only the spokesmen of those forces. Why do the rank and file of the Republican members still, in this day of change, find themselves unable to make an independent choice in a matter like this,

of capital importance to their party and to the country? They do not mistake the signs of the times. Why, then, are they impotent?

The question can be answered very frankly, and, I hope, without partisan bias and without offence to honorable men whose principles I would not presume to call in question. The Republican party is old at the business of tariff-making and has established a business constituency. Its leaders feel that they must satisfy that constituency, and they force their followers to follow them by very concrete and practical arguments. It has come to a point where they have grown very stubborn and short-sighted in their loyalty to their constituency, but that is hardly to be wondered at. The loyalty is of long standing and has become a fundamental asset, as it seems to them, of party business.

The business of tariff-making naturally grows more and more complex, naturally comes to involve a greater and greater complexity of interests. Those who conduct it extend their clientage from generation to generation, to make sure that they have clients enough. Whatever principle may underlie tariff-making, and however valid that principle may be, however fundamental to the general development and prosperity of the country, tariff schedules arranged for "protection" are governmental favors. Those who make them, though acting for the nation, are the patrons of the industries favored: they dispense the largess of the Government, and those who receive the favors will be their partisans and followers so long as the favors continue. The relation cannot be avoided. The only thing that can be avoided is the corrupting influence of the relationship, and that can be avoided only by very strong men. A political party cannot withstand it for many generations together: cannot, I mean, withstand the gradual corruption of its will,—the temptation to make use of the patronage it dispenses for the perpetuation of the power it derives from it, the unfailing support at the elections of the wealthiest and most influential classes of the country.

Here, in a protective tariff, are the entrenchments of Special Privilege, and every beneficiary will of course crowd into them on the day of battle, determined to keep his own. Shall a man not defend what he has?

I am not seeking to point a moral. Neither am I drawing up an indictment of the Republican party. I am merely outlining

the natural history of a governmental policy whose prime object is to make particular industries safe against competition. Parties are capital epitomes of human nature; and I dare say that any other party that espoused this principle of legislation would use it for party advantage in the same way. My point is rather how it has been used than who has used it. Its uses and effects are plain,—painfully plain now. Its use is to extend to certain undertakings Government favor and assistance; its effect has been to build up special privilege. No doubt the country will have to hold those responsible who managed the business; but its real interest will not be in punishing them, many of them honest and public-spirited enough, but in getting rid of special privilege. That it has made up its mind to do. It now only seeks the best and most effectual way.

It sees plainly enough, at last, that the place to begin is the tariff. That it saw before the last Presidential election; but Mr. Cannon and Mr. Aldrich have managed between them to make it more evident than ever before. They have executed their purposes, not wisely, but too well. A day of judgment is at hand.

> "The sword of Heaven is not in haste to smite,
> Nor yet doth linger."

The purpose of the people has much the same habit. Perhaps it *is* the sword of Heaven!

It is not a question of schedules. It is possible that by reasonable schedules,—by a minimum of favoritism and make-believe,—the tariff-makers of the special session might have quieted the country,—might have induced it to let the troublesome and perplexing subject drop for a decade or two. But it would have been only a stay of judgment. The essential wrong would still have cried out to be righted. And the essential wrong is this: that, except for a few men who have been fairly hypnotized by a system which they have accepted as political gospel since their youth, it has ceased to be a matter of principle at all and has become merely a method of granting favors. The favors are obtained in two ways—by "influence" and by supplication of a kind for which there is no classical or strictly parliamentary designation. In the vulgar, it is called "the baby act."

What "influence" consists of is a very occult matter, into which the public is not often privileged to inquire. It is com-

pounded of various things, in varying proportions: of argument based upon the facts of industry and of commercial interest, of promises of political support, of campaign contributions, not explicitly given upon condition, but often spoken of by way of reminder, of personal "pressure" through the channels of old friendships and new alliances,—of things too intimate to mention,—though not, I believe, even in the minds of the most cynical and suspicious, of direct bribes. There is seldom any question of personal corruption. It is wholly a question of party corruptions, so far as it is a question of corruption at all.

The "baby act" consists in resorting to the Ways and Means Committee of the House and the Finance Committee of the Senate with pitiful tales, hard-luck stories, petitions for another chance, as the hosiery-makers did at the special sessions. It is an act very unpalatable to American pride, and yet very frequently indulged in with no appearance of shame. "Foreigners make better goods," is the burden of its cry, "pay smaller wages, and can add the ocean freights to their price and still beat us in our own markets." It often seems to mean that the foreigner has superior skill, uses better machinery, adapts his patterns more quickly to changing tastes, is more practised in economies of all sorts and is content with smaller profits. And so a handful of American gentlemen go to Congress and beg to be helped to make a living and support their operatives. Some among them do not need the protection: they have perfected their processes and their stuffs, can afford by better organization and more studied economies to pay American wages and still beat the foreigner, if need be, in his own markets oversea. But the rest do need it to make good their failure. American labor is the most intelligent in the world, and when intelligently made use of is worth its extra wage, earns it without affecting the market. But the Government must support those who do not know how to use it as intelligently as their rivals, and the people of the country must be made to buy the goods they make at prices that will support them. This is indeed the "baby act" and these are easily recognizable as "infant industries"!

And so the question comes to be, What will the people say of this new system of the support of favored industries by the Government, now that they have come to understand it? For it is a new system. The principle upon which the system of pro-

tection was originally founded was the development of the country, the development of the resources of the continent and the skill of the people. That principle is intelligible and statesmanlike, particularly in a new country, without capital and unprepared for competition in a trading world. The principle now proclaimed and acted upon, with show of patriotic fervor, is that profits must be assured to those who cannot stand competition after development, *after* the accumulation of capital in the country, the perfecting of skill and the full attainment of economic and industrial independence amidst the trading and manufacturing nations of the world. This is indeed a new theory and will not bear examination.

Hamilton's position, the position of those who have intelligently and consistently followed him, is defensible enough. It is idle to bid a new nation on an undeveloped continent to put its faith in the natural laws of trade and production, buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest market, build up its wealth on the demand for what it has and buy what it has not. For it has not at the outset capital enough to find out either its resources or its capacities. There must be a waiting and a spending time at the first before it finds out what its resources are and what it can do with them. The farmer cannot expect a crop the first season from unbroken prairie or uncleared land. It costs money to put nature into shape to be profitably used. Deposits of ore do not constitute riches until the mines have been opened and machinery has been installed by which the ore can be readily and economically got out. That takes time and money. Even when the mines are opened and can be worked at a profit they produce only ore. The nation that cannot use its ores in manufacture is still a poor nation, however rich its deposits. Only a few men in it will be rich until other men in it get the capital and the opportunity to use the ores in manufacture. That, again, takes time and money. South Africa was not rich because a few men owned and worked diamond-mines in it. Taking the world at large and as a whole, how are you to know which is the cheapest market in which to buy or the most advantageous in which to sell, so long as a whole continent lies undeveloped, a whole nation untrained, so long as America or South Africa has not come into the markets with its hidden stuffs and its unschooled peoples?

This is the question for statesmen. Nobody now doubts that the policy of Hamilton put the nation under a great stimulation, gave it the economic independence it needed, immensely quickened the development of its resources and the powers of its people. Protected from the direct competition of those who had already acquired capital oversea, who had already become masters of industry and put hundreds of ships upon the sea, who had the stuffs to work in and the skill to work them, things took on a very different aspect for the enterprising spirits of the young nation from that which they had worn in the old colony days. Those who cared to venture upon enterprise,—and who in America did not?—had the markets of a growing and industrious people to themselves. As the nation grew their trade grew, and their wealth,—with their wealth, their independence and their spirit of enterprise. It was wise,—in the circumstances it was more than wise, it was necessary,—to give the country an opportunity thus to find itself. It was necessary and wise to put it thus economically upon its own feet and make it worth its while to discover and develop its own resources.

It is perfectly consistent with such a policy, moreover, to give to every new enterprise, even in our day of America's abounding wealth and resourcefulness, such protection as it may need to get its start and come to its proper perfection of equipment and operation, provided it be an enterprise suitable to America's soil or resources or capacities. So far as the policy of protection has for its object the diversification and enrichment of American industry, it is admissible, dangerous though it be, because liable to be used in a spirit of favoritism and for party ends. The only thing not consistent with the sound original policy upon which the single defensible theory of the system rests is the encouragement and support by "protection" of industries in their very nature not natural to America, but forced and artificial. Being artificial, not indigenous from the outset, they will need artificial stimulation to the end. Those who undertake them will always have to be supported out of the public purse—by the taxes laid at the ports

But this original basis and theory of protection, this genuine enterprise of statesmanship, was long ago abandoned or forgotten by the leaders of the party that stood for the system. Its leaders no longer talk of "infant industries" to be carefully nurtured

and brought to maturity for the sake of the nation and its development. They know the sort of smile with which such talk would now be received and do not relish the thought of it. They boast, rather, of the economic supremacy of America in the money-markets, the steel-markets, the foodstuff-markets, the implement and machinery markets of the world, and naïvely insist that that supremacy should be maintained by import duties at the ports levied for the sake of those who are conducting our successful enterprises, in order to keep their profits safely up and make them feel that the country (which is, being interpreted, the party in power) will take care of them. It is not a system of stimulation or development; it is a system of patronage. Statesmen need no longer debate it: politicians of very ordinary managing abilities can easily keep it going. Indeed, it is no proper job for statesmen. It is a thing of lobbies and private interviews, not a thing of open debate and public policy.

Even this bad system worked no radical harm upon the country for a generation or two. The continent abounded in every kind of natural riches, individuals were greatly stimulated by the many inviting opportunities for manufacture and trade, the population of the country was growing by leaps and bounds, its domestic markets widening with every decade, its diversified industries enriching one another. The country was generously big and wide and various, its immense stretches extending into every climate of the temperate zone, its hills and valleys and high ascending western slopes inviting to every development of modern civilization. Its vast areas of free trade, trade absolutely without hindrance or restriction, guaranteed exemption from restraint by the interstate commerce clause of the Constitution, made it an incomparable field for rapid and normal development, a development about which, it turned out, there was almost nothing that was artificial and little that was not sound and lasting.

Moreover, those who had undertaken the great industries to which the customs legislation of Congress had given leave had not yet gone into combination. Enterprise was entered upon on individual initiative, was conducted by simple partnerships and small companies. There was a very active and quickening competition within the field of each undertaking that proved profitable. Those who succeeded had no more power than their mere wit at succeeding gave them. Fortunes were made, but upon

a modest scale. The rich men of the country had only their local influence and did not determine the industrial processes of a whole continent or the methods of a whole industry. The prosperity of the country wore a generous and democratic aspect and did not set classes off in sharp contrast against one another. There was favoritism in arranging the system of protection, of course, and individuals were very often thought of rather than the country as a whole. The "log-rolling" in Congress was very often spoken of in the newspapers and with a great deal of asperity. The system had its glaring faults and dangers. But it was at least a game into which almost any one could get. It did not yet wear the ugly face of monopoly or special privilege.

We look upon a very different scene now. It is no longer a scene of individual enterprise, of small bodies of capital embarked upon a thousand undertakings,—a scene of individual opportunity and individual achievement,—able men everywhere, singly or in small groups, making themselves the economic servants of communities and reaping the legitimate profit of many an enterprise their own brains had conceived. It was in that day that the industries of the country were originated and put upon a footing to succeed. In our later day those who control the great masses of capital swept together out of the multitudinous earnings of the last two or three generations have combined together and put at the head of every great industry a dominating corporation, or group of corporations, with an organization and resources which are irresistible by any individual competitor,—by any competitor not supported by a like colossal combination of brains and means. The richest of those who enjoy the favors of the Government have combined to enjoy a monopoly of those favors. Enormous fortunes are piled up for a few, for those who organize and control these great combinations; but they are relatively very few in number and all men in their field of enterprise who are not in their combination are apt to become, first their crushed rivals, and then their servants and subordinates.

It is a very different America from the old. All the recent scandals of our business history have sprung out of the discovery of the use those who directed these great combinations were making of their power: their power to crush, their power to monopolize. Their competition has not stimulated, it has destroyed. Their success has not varied industry, it has stand-

ardized it and brought it all under a single influence and regulation,—not the regulation of law, but the regulation of monopoly.

It is easy to exaggerate the iniquity of many of the things that have been done under this *régime* of the trust and the colossal corporation. Most of their methods were simply the old cut-throat methods of private individual competition on a new scale. What made them cruel and disastrous was not their kind, but their scope. Their kind was as old as economic history and rivalry in industrial enterprise, but their scale was new and ominous. The competition, the underselling, the aggressive canvassing, the rival expenditure and rapid improvement of process possible to these men who had vast capital behind them, who shipped so much that every railroad stood ready to bid for their patronage with lowered rates, who could buy a competitor out at any price and stood always ready to buy at the moment of greatest strain and discouragement, could not be withstood. The field cleared before them. The power was theirs, and smaller men, smaller concerns, went down before them. They had "cornered" the opportunity which the Government's favoring legislation had been intended to create.

Too much moral blame, it seems to me, has been laid upon the men who effected these stupendous changes. They were men of extraordinary genius, many of them, capable of creating and organizing States and Empires. Commercial morals had not been adjusted, by themselves or any one else, to the new and unprecedented scale upon which they did business. Private consciences were pooled and confused and swallowed up in those huge combinations. Men were excited and blinded by the vast object they sought, and pursued it, as it were, impersonally, by means they would not have used had they been dealing simply and face to face with persons and not merely upon paper with complex transactions, involving the business of a continent. It was a process in which commercial morals had again to find themselves, as in the days of treasure fleets and international spoliation.

But my present object is not to assess individual responsibility. I am describing conditions, not drawing up an indictment against those who created them or framing an excuse for them. I am studying a national policy and its effects; and about that, viewed in its present aspects, some things are very plain and ought to be plainly spoken of.

In the first place, it is plain that these new masters of our industry do not need the assistance or the "protection" of the Government. They own or control a preponderant percentage of the resources of the country: of its mines, its forests, its cattle, its railways. They have brought the industries they control to a high state of perfection in equipment and organization, economizing their processes and improving their output. They have invaded foreign markets and sell to all the world, where there is no Government to assist them, where, on the contrary, there are hostile tariffs to overcome. They have made themselves entire masters of the opportunity created for them. Manufacturers engaged in the same lines of industry elsewhere copy their machinery and imitate their methods. All the world is justly jealous of their huge success. Their balance-sheets, on the one hand, and the success and skill of their processes, on the other, show how little they need protection.

In the second place, no political party can afford to be their partners in business. It amounts to that. In the earlier days of protection, when import duties created opportunities for thousands of men, the political party that maintained the system of protection had all the nation for partner. The benefits of the system were widely distributed. Its beneficiaries could nowhere be assembled in a single lobby. Their names could be included in no possible list. They were the people of the country by sample. But now, as compared with the former thousands, they are few. The names of most of them are known everywhere. Their influence is direct, personal, pervasive.

They are doing nothing novel through the lobby. It is just what the beneficiaries of this dangerous system have always done. It would seem the natural process of obtaining protection,—to ask for it and argue its necessity with the figures of the business in hand. But they are so few, so individually powerful, and command so many things that political parties need, or think that they need, for their success: money, widely-extended influence, the gift and the use of business organization national in their scope and control! They have as powerful a machinery ready to their hand as the Government itself. It is highly dangerous for the Government to be in partnership with them in the great enterprise of developing the country: their grip upon it can so easily become too direct and personal! The country cannot

afford an alliance of private interest with governmental authority, for whatever purpose originally conceived, however honorably arranged at the outset. No body of business men, no political party, can long withstand the demoralizing influences of the relationship,—particularly no body of men so compacted and unified in interest as those who manage and finance the trusts.

It is not necessary for my argument to claim or to prove that high protection created the trusts and combinations of our time. I believe that it can be shown that it did, though I am ready to admit that they might, and probably would, have arisen in any case, though in a different form and with different proportions. But that is a complicated question which may for the present be put upon one side. Certainly the trusts have now cornered the opportunities created by the system of high tariffs. They no longer need the assistance of the Government; and it is highly desirable that there should be no alliance, and no appearance of an alliance, between them and either of the political parties.

That our industries are still greatly stimulated is evident enough. They are very vital and very prosperous. There is general employment; and when things go well and the money-market is not manipulated, or upset by our uncommonly bad system of currency, there is a general feeling of ease and hopefulness. But there is not general prosperity: that is a very different matter. When the great industrial and trade combinations can operate freely and without fear of disturbed prices and a frightened money-market there is always ready enough employment for those who seek it,—at wages forced up and maintained, not by prosperity or the good business of the great corporations, but by the aggressiveness and determination of organized labor. The country is given occupation by those who have cornered the privileges to be had under the favor of Congress, and their success is easily made to look like the reign of unbounded opportunity for the rank and file; but that does not increase the proportion of employers to employees. The initiative and control are still with the few. Their money makes the mare go, and it is they who ride.

It does not do to think of these things with bitterness. It is not just to think of them with bitterness. They came about by natural process, not by deliberate or malignant plan. But it is necessary to point them out in plain language, to discuss them

with candor and to comprehend them, when the talk is done, with wide-open eyes. It is easy to fall into exaggeration. Not all the industry of the country is in the hands of great trusts and combinations. Only its main undertakings are, its largest and most lucrative enterprises. But the picture I have drawn is, in the rough, true and tends from decade to decade to represent the truth more and more perfectly and completely. If the tendency had worked itself out to its ultimate consequences, if it had accomplished its perfect work, it would probably be too late for reform. The body politic is still sound and still elastic enough to work upon; and many of the very men who have profited most by this new and ominous state of affairs are ready to join in the wholesome processes of reformation which will make opportunity general again,—not a monopoly, but a universal stimulus.

The fact which has disclosed itself to us, in these later days of the country's awakening, is this, then. We have witnessed the partial creation, the almost complete creation, on the one hand, of a comparatively small privileged class or body of men, the men who control capital and the uses to which it is put and who have, as the representatives (as all too literally the representatives) of the business of the country, the ear of Congressional committees; and we begin to see, under them, associated with them, on the other hand, a vast unprivileged body ("class" is too definite and formal a word) which forces its way to a share in the benefits of our apparently prosperous conditions only by threats and strikes, and is steadily deprived of a large percentage of what it thus gains by rapidly rising prices which day by day increase the cost of living amongst us. And the rise of prices itself seems to be connected with the system.

There has been a rise in prices in almost all the trading countries. The large recent increase in the supply of gold has had a great deal to do with it, here as elsewhere. Gold, the world's standard of value, having become cheaper because more abundant, more of it is demanded in exchange for goods, whose value has not changed. But this universal phenomenon of the rise of prices has had its special features and vagaries in America utterly dissociated from the price of gold; and it would be easy to prove that those who have managed to get control of the greater part of the output of the mines and factories have, by combination, set

the prices to please themselves. They have made the usual use of their opportunity. While the Government has, by its high protective policy, spared them the anxiety of foreign competition, they have, by organization and agreement, spared themselves the embarrassment of any competition at all.

What, then, shall we do? Shall we adopt Thorough as our motto and sweep the whole system away, be quit of privilege and favors at once, put our industries upon their own resources and centre national legislation wholly upon the business of the nation? By no means. The system cannot be suddenly destroyed. That would bring our whole economic life into radical danger. The existing system was built up by statesmanlike and patriotic men, upon a theory upon which even the most sceptical economist must concede it possible to found a valid and effective policy. It is very likely that by slower, sounder, less artificial means the country might have worked its way up to the same extraordinary development and success, the same overwhelming material achievement and power; but that is a question no longer worth debate by practical men. As a matter of fact, the method of artificial stimulation was adopted, has been persisted in from generation to generation with a constant increase of the stimulation, and we have at last, by means of it, come to our present case. It will not do to reverse such a policy suddenly or in revolutionary fashion.

It must in some conservative way be altered from decade to decade, if possible from year to year, until we shall have put all customs legislation upon a safe, reasonable and permanent footing. A process of alteration, steadily and courageously persisted in, will not disturb the business or embarrass the industries of the country, even if tariff act follows tariff act from session to session, if it be founded upon a definite principle by which its progress may be forecast and made ready for. Such a principle must be found. And the nation must find means to insist that, whatever party is in power, that principle shall be followed with courage, intelligence and integrity. The present method and principle of legislation does not keep business equable or free from harassing anxiety. It is based upon no principle, except that of self-interest,—which is no principle at all. No calculable policy can be derived from it. Discussion gives place to intrigue, and nothing is ever fixed or settled by its application.

What, then, shall the principle of reform be which shall hold us steady to an impartial and intelligible process? The old principle of Hamilton, in a new form and application: the very principle upon which the protective policy was set up, but applied for the purpose of reforming the system and bringing it to the test of a single definite object, its original purpose and energy having been fulfilled and spent.

Hamilton's purpose was to develop America, to give her industries of her own; to make it immediately worth the while of her enterprising and energetic men to discover and use her natural resources, the richness and extent of which even he never dreamed of; to enrich and expand her trade and give her an interior economic development which should make her an infinitely various market within herself; and to continue the stimulation until her statesmen should be sure that she had found her full vigor and capacity, was mistress of her own wealth and opportunity, and was ready to play her independent part in the competitions and achievements of the world. That object has been attained. No man not blinded by some personal interest or inveterate prepossession can doubt it. What would Hamilton do now?

In one sense, it is not a question of politics. It does not involve Hamilton's theories of Government or of constitutional interpretation. Some of us are Jeffersonians, not Hamiltonians, in political creed and principle, and would not linger long over the question, What shall we do to return safely to Hamilton? It is not a Hamiltonian question. Constitutional lawyers long ago determined that it was certainly within the choice of Congress to lay import duties, if it pleased, with a view to the incidental benefit of traders and manufacturers within the country; and, if that incidental object has in later days become the chief and only guiding object of the rates of duty, that, I take it, is only a question of more or less, not a question which cuts so deep as to affect the power of Congress or draw it seriously into debate again. As a matter of fact, the policy was entered upon and has been carried—to what lengths we know. The Hamiltonian principle, not a political, but an economic principle, was the only wise and defensible principle upon which it could have been established. It is also the only wise and safe principle upon which it can be modified and in part got rid of. For when

you have the general benefit of the country as your standard, you have a principle upon which it is as legitimate to withdraw protection as to give it.

It may seem like a vague principle, affording room for many varieties of contrary judgment; but it will be found to lose its vagueness when stated in contrast with the principle upon which Congress has acted in recent years. In all the recent tariff legislation of the country, in all legislation since 1828, the committees of the House and Senate, when making up the several schedules of duties they were to propose, have asked, not what will be good for the country, but what will be good for the industries affected, what can they stand, what rates of duty will assure them abundant profits? It is true that they have assumed,—it has been the burden of innumerable weary campaign speeches,—that the prosperity of the individual interest considered would be the prosperity of the country; but the poor sophistry of that argument has long been commonplace. By hard, desperately hard, use that assumption has been worn through to the thread. It must be replaced by new and sounder stuff. No doubt you can say to the country, "Feed and sustain these corporations and they will employ you: feed your employers out of the taxes and they, in turn, will give you work and feed you." But no candid student of this great question can now confidently believe that a policy which has the profits of the manufacturers as its main object is likely to promote the impartial, natural, wholesome, symmetrical, general development of the country.

The men who happen to possess the field do not constitute the nation; they do not even represent it when they speak of their own interest. We have taught them, by our petting, to regard their own interest as the interest of the country; but the two are by no means necessarily identical. They may be, they may not be. It is a question of fact to be looked into. Their prosperity and success may or may not benefit the country as a whole. Even if the country be indisputably benefited, it might be still more highly benefited by the promotion of an entirely different interest. What the fact is may depend upon many circumstances. It is those circumstances we are bound to look into, if we be indeed statesmen and patriots, asking not what the protected interests want or can prove that they need, but what it is to the general interest of the country to do: whether some interests have

not been too much favored, given a dominance not at all compatible either with honest politics or wholesome economic growth. In brief, we are now face to face with a great question of fact. What part of the protective system still benefits the country and is in the general interest; what part is unnecessary; what part is pure favoritism and the basis of dangerous and demoralizing special privilege? These are the questions which should underlie a tariff policy. No other questions are pertinent or admissible.

"The benefit of the country" is a big phrase. What do you mean by it? What do you mean by "the country"? *Whom* do you mean by it? If you are honest and sincere, you mean the people of the country, its sections and varieties of climate and population taken, not separately or by their voting strength, but together; its men and women of every rank and quality and circumstance; its bone and sinew. If any particular industry has been given its opportunity to establish itself and get its normal development, under cover of the customs, and is still unable to meet the foreign competition which is the standard of its efficiency, it is unjust to tax the people of the country any further to support it. Wherever the advantages accorded by a tariff have resulted in giving those who control the greater part of the output of a particular industry the chance, after their individual success has been achieved, to combine and "corner" the advantage, those advantages ought to be withdrawn; and the presumption is that every industry thus controlled has had the support of the Government as long as it should have it.

There is something more than the economic activities of the country to be considered. There is its moral soundness; the variety, not of employment, but of opportunity for individual initiative and action which the policy of its law creates; the standards of business its trades and manufactures observe and are gauged by; and the connection which exists between its successful business men and its Government. By these significant matters should the tariff policy of Congress be judged, as well as by the tests of successful business.

Only those undertakings should be given the protection of high duties on imports which are manifestly suited to the country and as yet undeveloped or only imperfectly developed. From all the rest protection should be withdrawn, the object of the Government being, not to support its citizens in business, but

to promote the full energy and development of the country. Existing protection should not be suddenly withdrawn, but steadily and upon a fixed programme upon which every man of business can base his definite forecasts and systematic plans. For the rest, the object of customs taxation should be revenue for the Government. The Federal Government should depend for its revenue chiefly on taxes of this kind, because the greater part of the field of direct taxation must be left to the States. It must raise abundant revenue, therefore, from customs duties. But it should choose for taxation the things which are not of primary necessity to the people in their lives or their industry, things, for the most part, which they can do without without suffering or actual privation. If taxes levied upon these do not suffice, the things added should be those which it would cause them the least inconvenience or suffering to dispense with. Customs thus laid and with such objects will be found to yield more, and the people will be freer.

There is no real difficulty about finding how and where to lay such taxes when once a just principle has been agreed upon, if statesmen have the desire to find it. The only trouble is to ascertain the facts in a very complex economic system. Honest inquiry will soon find them out, and honest men will readily enough act upon them, if they be not only honest, but also courageous, true lovers of justice and of their country.

WOODROW WILSON.

NEW BOOKS REVIEWED.

BIOGRAPHY.

"LAURENCE STERNE," writes Heine, "is the born equal of William Shakespeare; and he, too, was nurtured by the Muses on Parnassus. But after the manner of women, they quickly spoiled him with their caresses. He was the darling of the pale, tragic goddess. Once, in an access of fierce tenderness, she kissed his young heart with such power, passion and madness that his heart began to bleed, and suddenly he understood all the sorrows of this world and was filled with infinite compassion. Poor young poet heart! But the young daughter of Mnemosyne, the rosy goddess of humor, quickly ran up to him and took the suffering boy in her arms and sought to cheer him with laughter and song; she gave him for playthings the comic mask and the jester's bells and kissed his lips soothingly, kissing upon them all her levity and mirth, all her wit and mockery."

And all these matters are fully set forth in this full and delightful Life of Laurence Sterne;* there are levity and mirth and wit and the continuous jangle of the jester's bells, together with the poetry and passion and infinite pathos of a disordered, unguided life. Sterne was a genius, and therefore to read of him is enlivening, since genius, after all, is just being a little more alive than other men, more alert to take impressions, more keen to feel, more able to produce further impressions and stimulate emotions.

From the beginning, as a neglected imp of the barracks, the frail son of an improvident ensign to the ending—a lonely death and unattended burial, Sterne's life seems to have been unguided by anything but his swift and generous impulses, his appetite

* "The Life and Times of Laurence Sterne." By Wilbur L. Cross. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1909.

for fun and his unending interest in human nature and the shifting pageant of life. It was, however, the enthralling career of a great and conquering genius. For did not Lessing say he would gladly lay down ten years of his life to give Laurence Sterne one more in which to write? And Goethe spoke of him as the finest type of wit that ever influenced literature and as having cured him of Wertherism. It was, however, a life totally lacking in dignity. Perhaps it was too alive, too full for order; chaos is always more turbulent, more active than convention and order. At any rate, from the time when, as a neglected child, he was pushed from pillar to post, patronized here and helped a little there, through all his university career, as a Sizar in debt; his struggles for preferment in the church; his wasteful efforts at farming on a large scale; his squabbles with kinsmen and acquaintance; his unexpected and amazing literary successes; his braggart delight in social recognition and his middle-aged love-affairs, Sterne's is a lovable, fascinating, absorbing, unadmirable and unworthy personality. He had the lovable and the unlovable points of the Celt. An interesting and illuminating chapter in the Life is that on the publication of "Tristram Shandy," giving a vivid picture of a great literary success in the age of Dr. Johnson, Walpole, Garrick, Hogarth and Pitt. A second edition of the great novel was called for in a month, and the obscure country parson and bankrupt farmer found himself a month deep in social engagements, being interviewed by reporters quite like the modern author of a "best seller," being painted and sketched and made much of, while drawing-rooms rang with anecdotes of the witty clergyman who wrote the wickedest book of his age.

Very interesting, too, are the data as to Sterne's reading and his free and easy adaptations and transportations from other authors. Burton's "Anatomy of Melancholy," an inexhaustible mine, even to the present day for all thieves of ideas, lay ever open at his elbow when he wrote. His life was full and exciting; as if to offer the proper dramatic contrast at the close he died in London lodgings without a friend or kinsman near and was buried in an obscure spot in the city, whence his body was snatched a few days later and sold to an Oxford surgeon for dissection.

Alas! poor Yorick!

The present excellent biography does much toward rescuing

the fascinating Irish genius from Thackeray's stiff disapproval, and the work is so well done that we completely forget the biographer in the charm of the subject. He has, however, been at infinite pains to gather all available material and verify all details and has given us a book more enthralling than the whole year's fiction.

The Count Lützow, who contributed to the mediæval town series the admirable monograph on Prague and who is the author of an excellent history of Bohemian literature, is the man above all others to give us a final and authoritative Life of Hus.* The fact that much of the literary work of Hus has only recently been sifted and printed makes a biography, at the moment, of special value. The old tradition that all Hus's literary activity was crowded into the last few years of his life has been exploded. Dr. Flajshans enumerates seventy-four Latin, one German and thirty-six Bohemian works of Hus and divides his writings into four periods extending over the years from 1402 to his death in 1415. The Bohemian Academy has recently undertaken the publication of the Latin works of Hus and has already included several works that had never before been printed. All this recent research has thrown new light on the great patriot and martyr who paid with his life for being in advance, morally and mentally, of his age. At odds with the wide-spread immorality of the priesthood, incensed by simony and corruption in the church and by the political subjugation of his nation, Hus, with his indomitable courage, his complete self-renouncement, led a great patriotic revolt at the same time that he laid the foundations of the Reformation and the age of rationalism. His life was noble and exalted from first to last, guided by the highest principles of rectitude and devotion to truth. The present Life, though it suffers somewhat from repetition and amassed detail, is yet scholarly and reliable and is the best English life there is of Hus.

To those who are awaiting eagerly the authoritative biography of the last representative of the greater Victorian tradition, it

* "The Life and Times of Master John Hus." By the Count Lützow. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1909.

is as well at the very outset to point to the second half of the title of this book. The present volume was presented to the publisher a week before the final illness of George Meredith* and was only withdrawn later to substitute the past for the present tense. Of birth and extraction not a word is said beyond giving the date as it stands in the biographical dictionaries and the statement that he was of Irish and Welsh parentage. His first marriage is only briefly mentioned. Apart from an industrious collecting of all the published anecdotes and criticisms of Meredith, we have nothing to thank the author for but his very inadequate and wrong-headed opinions which might helpfully have been omitted. He had already gathered together a book of this kind on Stevenson, and he is of a calibre to deal much better with Stevenson than Meredith. It takes a big man to write about such an intellectual giant, and nothing is more evident than that the Liliputian writer in this case has not the dimmest notion of the size of his subject. That he is quite blind to Meredith and his significance the two chapters on "His Poetry," "His Heroines and Women Folk," would amply serve to prove. Meredith wrote one of his most remarkable poems to demonstrate that we see in this world what we are. We should commend the master's challenge to the present collector,

> "Enter these enchanted woods,
> You, who dare."

The book makes scrappy and patchy reading and has not the structure nor continuity of a biography. It is, in fact, the invasion of cheap journalism into the preserves of literature. All unity of impression is broken by balancing contradictory estimates, and the point of view is shifted often enough to keep the reader dizzy. A mass of matter, good, bad and indifferent, has been thrown together with no mind to assimilate and set it together. If the material had been several times boiled down, allowed to simmer a year, then skimmed by a skilful hand and what was worth while made into a book, it would have been valuable.

Despite the fact that for the eager who treasure every anecdote, every recorded word of George Meredith, this book furnishes a wonderful witness to the dulness of critics and the chance re-

* "George Meredith: in Anecdote and Criticism." By J. A. Hammerton. New York: Mitchell Kennerley, 1909.

viewer, it is not the less reprehensible that our greatest should be so irreverently handled. It is enough to recognize with Robert Louis Stevenson that here was a man "built for immortality."

None who care for the early history and the daily annals of our country can afford to overlook Miss Porter's racy account of Anne Royal,* who, born in 1769, lived, looked, travelled and wrote up to a week or so of her death in 1859. She was fearless as a talker, writer and thinker and was far in advance of her age. She was a pioneer woman journalist, a Unitarian, and stood even in her earliest days for sound money, Sunday mail transportation, liberal immigration laws and religious liberty; she, of course, paid the penalty of such free exercise of her mind. She was arrested and tried as a common scold in 1829, but survived this and many other persecutions and trials, including dire poverty, with unbroken spirit. "When will the people be delivered from an implacable God, an omnipotent Devil, an endless hell!" she exclaims, at a time when these tenets were among the most treasured solaces of the human heart.

Her early pen-pictures of New York are delightful, and it may still amuse New-Yorkers to hear that so long ago it was recorded that the business which pours in upon them like a flood leaves them no time to cultivate the graces; that the ladies of New York think more of style than of literature, and that ladies in New York do not read owing to their many other sources of amusement. These pen-pictures of Anne Royal cover a host of important and well-known personages from George Washington to Abraham Lincoln and many ancestral portraits flattering and otherwise may be culled from the book. Miss Porter has proved herself an able and sympathetic biographer of this delightfully human and interesting woman.

TRAVEL.

To only two criticisms are these little conferences by Georges Cain† open: the title is a stupid one for such a delightful book,

* "The Life and Times of Anne Royal." By Sarah Harvey Porter. Cedar Rapids, Iowa: Torch Press, 1909.

†"Walks in Paris." By Georges Cain. Translated by Alfred Allinson, M.A. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1909.

and the title-page should carry the date of writing—1906. For Paris changes every year, and sad little foot-notes even on these pages tell of the demolition of what the author has just described. These walks and talks among out-of-the-way parts of Paris were written for Frenchwomen and presuppose all the history of France, but the translator has helped out with some concise good notes of his own on matters which should be of every-day knowledge, but too rarely are. And the pictures, the maps, the charming freshness and colloquial ease of style are proper to no one country. The illustrations are mostly from old prints, and if the critic were allowed a third suggestion it should be that the artists' names were set down where known. He may recognize here a Raffet and there a Meyron, but he would like to know as many as might be. The maps present by a peculiarly ingenious device the lines of the modern square or quarter indicated in red on a transparent leaf that folds over the ancient plan, so that comparison is clear and easy between what was and what is. M. Cain is the director of the quaint Musée Carnavalet, a sort of reliquary of past ages, a treasury of manners and customs, a conscious kitchen-midden which preserves for posterity old cooking-pots, old shoes, old caricatures even. Nobody knows so much about Paris as he or in so living a way; when he is dead it will be as if some old great building were torn down—of few men may that be said. He knows not only all of Paris in brick and stone, he has known all of Paris living; he is the son of the house, he is your delightful host, he is full of family anecdotes. He has the incomparable faculty of making you feel, for the nonce, as if you too were of the family.

Germany in the Middle Ages had a law that only the nobility might wear velvet and pearls. There should be a like law that only the spiritually elect may write on certain shrines of beauty: the East and Oxford, for instance, Bruges, Châtres and Siena. The pity is that, it would seem from the preface,* Ferdinand Schevill loves Siena and longs to make an offering of a sweet savor. But Ferdinand Schevill is like the man in the parable

* "Siena: the Story of a Mediæval Commune." By Ferdinand Schevill, with illustrations and maps. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909.

who sat down in the wrong room. The heavy, stodgy volume, in a dreary brown cover, has an odd and very unpleasant smell of paste and cloth. It will be an offence in the nostrils, spiritually speaking, as well, of whoever loves the Middle Ages, or the imperial ideal of Dante, or the aristocratic ideal of all supremely strong and loyal men, or the subtle and passionate spirit of beauty and worship interfused, present everywhere in Italy, but burning in this city with a clearer flame than elsewhere for more than five hundred years. Such might call him, if they were charitable, a good creature, but rather stupid. He blames his people for the pressure of his own economic laws and quite misses the psychology of the race he is studying. He does not apparently conceive that liberty and democracy are not invariably equivalent, nor see that no one ever wished a pure democracy, except the class at the bottom. The frank hatred of feudalism, amounting almost to terror, is rather droll: not so amusing the smug satisfaction with modern ideals and modern methods, the canting disapproval of whatever ways are not as our ways. Now and then speaks out the very "Protestantism of the Protestant religion," but to this must be forgiven something for the good blows struck at other cants: for instance, in characterizing "that unloveliest period of Italian history, the Counter-Reformation." Such a slip as calling Ananke a god betrays a little the parvenu intellectually, as one might have expected. The chapters on art are mainly paraphrases from Mr. Berenson, with a little of Mr. Langton Douglas thrown in to flavor the dish, and the author is unfortunate in the point at which he diverges from his leaders—the value of Duccio's paintings as representation. Duccio it happens, painted the most moving account of the Passion ever set down, and good Protestants and Dissenters have been known to carry their Testaments to the *Opera del Duomo* and read the Evangelists before the altarpiece by way of spiritual edification. Does it seem unkind to bid Ferdinand Schevill with shame to take the lowest round? The fault is his who, purblind, tried to treat that living sorceress, Siena, as a cadaver and demonstrate on her beauty his own notions of political economy and history and demography. Only those may safely approach her who are hierophants of beauty, purified by a long discipline of selection and distinction, a pursuit of all that is most unlike this author's dull idol of democracy.

The speech of Mr. Hutton* betrays him; it is not a wholesome vocabulary. It is the madman, we know proverbially, who scents madness everywhere; perhaps it is the hysteric who sees so much hysteria. We have his own word that Umbria is his proper country, not Tuscany, and that is a mighty significant word. It stands for everything—Baglioni tyrannies, flagellant processions, Aretine poetry. For the sake of the name Tuscany, critics over here will be comparing this book with Mr. Hewlett's Road and Earthworks: of a truth there is more than the name to compare. It would seem that the elder adventurer had influenced our author, or is the likeness only temperamental? We perceive somehow in both a speck, a little taint: "all is not sweet, all is not sound." But one hopes to see that outgrown, like a sort of spiritual green sickness, dominated in the end by one or another of all the divine and healing influences of which this very book is so full—the beauty of della Robbia altarpieces, for instance, that of running water and flowers and the forest, and especially that of wide and lovely landscape. Of course Mr. Hutton still imitates Pater rather boyishly and all too closely—take the sentence, very lovely in itself, on page 114, and one could go in the dark and put one's hand on the volume and open at the very page which that recalls! But since in Pater there is no speck, and his pages are all fresh and comely as fair linen, there is no harm in that influence. Another, as good and more to the point, is that of Mr. William Heywood, who has supplied much more than the notes to the book, and the reader wishes even yet that he had doubled his part. He will not strengthen Umbrian hankerings, for was it not Mr. Heywood who summed up Perugia and dismissed it once as the city whose Piazza was "the fag-end of a stradoccio"? Somebody is needed, however, to make Mr. Hutton look longer at pictures and more keenly. Not so lightly should he dismiss Asciano, which contains the best work of a painter second rate, indeed, as a rule, but first rate in this divinely lovely high altarpiece—Domenico di Bartolo. But on the whole, what with Mr. William Heywood, and the late Walter Pater, and Monte Amiata, and Mr. Hutton's own rare and exquisite gift for rendering landscape, this turns out rather a wonderful book redolent of the sun and the Tuscan soil and the sense of deep

* "In Unknown Tuscany." By Edward Hutton. With notes by William Heywood. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co, 1909.

forest; the sort of book which will keep the reader awake all night afterwards to remember the shrilling cicadas and the stars that burn midway up the depths of heaven, and the wind that talks among the little silvery leaves of olive-trees. Mr. Hutton plays on his little pipe, and the reader follows, follows into unknown Tuscany.

FICTION.

A very powerful and swift-moving novel is this of Mr. White's,* cut right out of the very heart of modern life, the questions of the day; it shows the operations of frenzied finance and the revolt of the masses against the greed and irresponsibility of quickly won wealth and unscrupulous business methods. With keen psychological analysis, truth, courage and relentless logic, Mr. White follows up the career of the man whose god is Mammon and whose goal is personal power. Very vividly is the picture drawn of the awakening of the people, the new consciousness that life includes all men and religion, all souls, and that the only power is service and the only distinction character, and that the day is at hand when all secrets are cried from the house-tops and only truth and honor win out in the long run.

It is only a question as to whether Mr. White is not a little too tender to his "Certain Rich Man," whether it is possible to repent in one year of the callousness and crimes of fifty years, and whether the wonderful phenomenon of a millionaire willing to be poor and deliberately making himself so is not taxing the powers of credibility too heavily. After all, till one sees the camel going through the needle's eye, it will be difficult to have faith enough to see the millionaire laying down his millions. But of a novel so enthralling, vivid and exalting, we can offer no word but praise and a plea for more of the same order of merit. We sincerely hope that Mr. White, who is a seer and writer of exceptional powers, will not let success bribe him into writing swiftly or carelessly and into producing less sincere work hereafter than "A Certain Rich Man."

* "A Certain Rich Man." By William Allen White. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1909.

WORLD-POLITICS.

LONDON: PARIS.

LONDON, *September, 1909.*

THERE has never been anything like it. Here we are in September and Parliament has not yet adjourned. What is more, it is not likely to adjourn for at least another month or six weeks. It is four months and more since Mr. Lloyd George delivered his Budget speech, yet less than half his proposals have thus far been adopted by the House of Commons. The closure has been resorted to; all-night sittings are becoming almost as common a feature of Parliamentary life as they were in the early eighties; but still the Budget drags on.

When the Budget was first introduced I gave an outline of its provisions in these pages and added that, while it was destined to arouse fierce antagonism among a multitude of formidable interests, it ought to be popular with the great majority of the middle class and was certain to be popular with the masses of the people. I do not think the developments of the past four months have shown this forecast to be wrong. The more the Budget has been discussed the more decidedly has the predominant opinion of the country inclined towards it. The Unionists started a Budget Protest League to stir up hostility against it. The Liberals at once retaliated with a Budget Defence League on a far ampler scale The two Leagues have been threshing the matter out at public meetings all over the kingdom, and no dispassionate looker-on who has followed their respective campaigns can be in much doubt as to which enlists the greater enthusiasm and support. It has happened time and again that meetings summoned to protest against the Budget have been captured by Liberals and that resolutions opposing Mr. Lloyd George's pro-

posals have been voted down in favor of resolutions endorsing them. I pick up to-day's papers and find that yesterday no fewer than four anti-Budget meetings were thus transformed. Perhaps it may help Americans to assess the popularity of the Budget at its true value if I compare it for one moment with the popularity of President Roosevelt. It was perfectly possible for an Englishman to visit the United States a few years ago, to talk with capitalists and financiers, with eminent lawyers, with the heads of gigantic businesses, with railway directors and Trust magnates—and not hear a word, except in bitter disparagement of President Roosevelt and his policies. In the same way it would be easy for an American to come over to England to-day and discuss the Budget with landowners and brewers and stockbrokers and motorists; indeed, with almost every well-to-do person he chanced to encounter and hear nothing but abuse of it. But if he were to infer therefrom that the antagonism to the Budget was the expression not of a class, but of a people, he would fall into precisely the error committed by those who could not see that the hostility of this interest and of that towards Mr. Roosevelt was more than balanced by his popularity with the nation at large. The trend of English opinion is, as a rule, a most baffling thing to gauge, but in this case I feel no doubt or hesitation in asserting that the mass of Englishmen regard the Budget not merely with approval, but with enthusiasm. It would be odd if it were otherwise, for, except in his luxuries and superfluities, his tobacco and his whiskey, the Budget scarcely affects the poor man or the man of moderate means. It is mainly those with incomes of $10,000 a year and upwards who are made to feel its weight directly in the form of a higher income tax, increased death duties and stamp duties and new taxes on motor-cars, petrol and land. That is to say, the burden is laid on the broadest backs; the necessaries of life escape untouched; and practically every penny raised by taxation goes into the State Treasury. A Budget that squares with these three vital principles of finance—every one of which would be violated were the Unionists to come into power with their panacea of Protection—is a Budget for which any one, knowing England, might have foretold a favorable reception.

At the moment of writing the House of Commons is engaged in discussing the licensing clauses of the Budget. They are extreme-

ly technical and complicated, but their net effect is to establish a scale of duties which for the first time will make the owners of licensed premises pay in proportion to the real value of the monopoly given them by the state. It is not, however, around these, but around the land taxes that the fiercest struggle has raged. It is the land taxes that led Lord Rosebery to describe Mr. Lloyd George's Bill as not a Budget, but a Revolution; and it is the land taxes that will be responsible for the rejection of the Bill, if it is rejected, by the House of Lords. Yet there is nothing in these taxes that other countries, under far less provocative circumstances, have not already adopted. What Mr. Lloyd George proposed and what the House of Commons has agreed to is the levying of a duty of twenty per cent. on the increment value of all land except agricultural land and holdings under $2,500 in value—the yield of the tax to be divided between the national Exchequer and the local authorities. The valuation will be made by the Government, at a cost, it is estimated, of about $10,000,000, spread over three or four years, and landowners are guaranteed a right of appeal to the High Court. In the second place, Mr. Lloyd George has levied a duty of ten per cent. on the value of the benefit accruing to a lessor at the determination of a lease. Thirdly, he has clapped a duty of one halfpenny in the pound—that is, one cent in every five dollars—on the site value of undeveloped land, exempting therefrom land worth less than $250 an acre, agricultural land, and parks, gardens and open spaces.

As I have said, there is nothing in these proposals that is not a commonplace with economists the world over. The increment duty does no more than assert the right of the community to take a fraction of the wealth created by the community; the tax on reversions hits at one of the most mischievous features of the English leasehold system; and the duty on undeveloped land is designed to break up the common practice of throttling the growth of a town by refusing to sell vacant land at a reasonable price. Instances of the gross extortion legally practised by English landlords under the present system have poured in from every side. There is scarcely a town in the kingdom that has not its tale to tell of development thwarted and of the community mulcted by the neighboring landowners. There is scarcely a tradesman anywhere who has not had to complain of the demands and exactions made upon him when the lease of his business

premises has fallen in. The prospect of freedom and expansion opened up by the Budget has, therefore, powerfully appealed to the common sense and equity of the masses. And the appeal is strongly reinforced by a Bill introduced by Mr. Lloyd George to run in harness with his Budget. This is the Development Bill now under discussion in the House of Commons. It cuts clean athwart the old *laissez-faire* maxims which hitherto have kept the British Government from lending an active hand to the work of material development. The Development Bill allows the Treasury to make free grants and loans for developing forestry, agriculture and rural industries, reclaiming and draining land, constructing and improving harbors, developing and improving fisheries. For these purposes sums that will vary from year to year, but that are not likely in any given year to amount to less than $5,000,000, are set aside. The second part of the Bill devotes the money to be raised from the taxation of motor-cars and petrol to the improvement of the road system of the United Kingdom. Thus the work of material development is furthered negatively by removing the shackles imposed upon it by an obstructive landlordism and positively by furnishing the means for schemes of practical betterment. It only needed the combination of these two purposes to insure the enormous popularity of the Budget with the people as a whole.

But the landowners, the rich, and especially the Dukes, do not like it. They denounce it as confiscation, as the first instalment of Socialism, as leading direct to the nationalization of the land. The papers are filled with their wailings. If the Budget passes they threaten to cut down their household staffs, diminish their subscriptions to charities, turn their pensioners adrift and resort to any other device that occurs to them for convincing the nation, and especially their own tenants and dependents, of the folly of Mr. Lloyd George's proposals. Unquestionably the feeling against the Budget among the conservative and well-to-do people is both deep and bitter. Nor is it politically impotent, for these are the people who control the House of Lords, and the assent of the House of Lords to the Finance Bill is necessary before it can become law. The question, therefore, that every one in England is pondering is whether the Lords will accept the Budget or reject it or return it to the Commons with the most obnoxious clauses—those relating to the land—struck out.

The question is important politically and it is important constitutionally. As to its constitutional aspects, I think it moderately safe to say (1) that the House of Lords cannot amend a money Bill; (2) that they have a legal right to reject a money Bill, just as the Sovereign has a legal right to refuse his assent to a measure passed by both Houses of Parliament; and (3) that this right has not been put in force for some three hundred years and that to exercise it to-day would undoubtedly be regarded by the moderate opinion of the nation as highly and dangerously unconstitutional. "It would be," said Mr. Winston Churchill on September 4th, "a violent rupture of constitutional customs and usages extending over three hundred years and recognized during all that time by the leaders of every party in the State. It would involve a sharp and sensible break with the traditions of the past; and what does the House of Lords depend upon if not upon the traditions of the past? It would amount to an attempt at revolution not by the poor, but by the rich; not by the masses, but by the privileged few; not in the name of progress, but in that of reaction; not for the purpose of broadening the framework of the state, but of greatly narrowing it. Such an attempt would be historic in its character, and the result of the battle fought upon it must inevitably be of a final and permanent character. The result of such an election can only mean an alteration of the veto of the House of Lords. If they win they will have asserted their right not merely to reject the legislation of the House of Commons, but to control the finances of the country. If they lose we will smash their veto to pieces." I do not think Mr. Churchill has in any sense understated the gravity of the issue that in a few weeks may conceivably be convulsing Great Britain. Undoubtedly a majority of Unionists in the Upper Chamber desire the rejection of the Budget and are prepared to run the necessary risks. Undoubtedly a constant and severe pressure is being brought upon their leaders to sanction this extreme and perilous course. All parties are preparing for the general election that would follow swift upon the rejection of the Budget by the Lords; and there is a feeling in the air that grave and memorable events are pending. I cannot yet bring myself to believe that the Peers will take a step fraught with such momentous results to the Constitution and such disastrous results to the privileges and prerogatives of their own House.

PARIS, *September, 1909.*

HAS English opinion been quite fair to M. Clémenceau? I do not mean to say that the British press has judged the ex-Premier with undue severity—nothing would be farther from the truth—but everybody knows that in England more than anywhere else the tone of the press often mirrors a certain ideal rather than the feeling of the country, and it seems to me that the cultivated Englishman has been more influenced by M. Clémenceau's fall, which had in it a ludicrous element, than by the results of his three years' government, which are serious and durable. Perhaps the paradox of a friend of England overthrown by the martyr of the *entente cordiale* is responsible for the point of view generally adopted; this apparent piece of incongruity may have confirmed many Englishmen in the notion that there is something rotten in the state of French politics; perhaps also the sight of a statesman losing his temper like a Socialist deputy in a meeting of anarchists appeared irreconcilable with the English sense of fitness of things. Whatever the cause may have been, it is certain that all mention of M. Clémenceau's name is met by a dubious smile which is more unjust than many a criticism.

There is no doubt that M. Clémenceau's hot temper, after terrifying the Chamber like a class of little boys for years, was bound to turn against him; no doubt, either, that his principles as a ruler—for such he was—could never be at one with his own past as a deputy, but realities often manage to exist, in spite of speculative impossibilities. We ought not to forget that Clémenceau the Prime Minister was as different from himself as a Prince of Wales from a king of England and cannot but appear in history as a man who used rare gifts in the devoted service of his country. When all is said it cannot be denied that France feels wonderfully more like her historical self to-day than four years ago, and that this is largely owing to the lucidity of intellect, decision of attitude and patriotic pride of the first man who, after three decades of pure logomachy, resolutely turned his back on politics and had the common sense of testing every idea arising in a Parliament which is a very hot-bed of theories by the good of the country. It is incredible how quickly such a simple move dwarfed pretenders of the Jaurès type who were passing themselves off as giants. The days are not long past when who-

ever refused to adopt the latest views on morals, patriotism or economics was disdainfully shelved as belonging to the "Opposition." Such men as Jules Lemaître and Brunetière, to say nothing of Bourget, saw a sudden eclipse of their popularity follow statements which, at least in the case of the two writers first mentioned, were remarkably temperate. To-day even such extremists as the Royalist writers in the "*Action Française*" get a hearing when they choose to reason and not vituperate. The country seems to be passing from the empty prating of youth to the considerateness of manhood. Of this salutary change the credit belongs in part to M. Rouvier, but mostly to Clémenceau. Both had realized, while war with Germany was within a hair's breadth, that it was very well to feed a country on moonshine theories of international good-will resulting in amateurish organization of the army and navy by Pelletans or Andrés, as long as peace seemed to be a certainty, but when France was at stake mere talk became criminal. M. Clémenceau had the talent to impress the public with a sense not only of the dangerous avidity of the socialist doctrines, but of their ludicrousness as well. A statesman of equal power who had not been such a master of irony might have appeared only grandiloquent. M. Clémenceau embodied the Gallic temperament in almost all its aspects, and this gave him the magnetism which, in spite of his frequent harshness and occasional coarseness, he undoubtedly possessed. Had he done nothing, except bring the French back to their traditional aversion to high-flown speeches on every-day matters, he ought to be looked upon as a highly beneficent influence.

But the return to common sense which he inaugurated has been fruitful of results which, even if they are not always tangible, are of immense promise for the future. France has no footing in Morocco, but her foreign relations have been vastly improved by the Moroccan expedition. Her naval plans are only just being settled, but the anti-militarism which was rampant under Combes has disappeared from the army and is losing its strongholds one after the other. The parliamentary system is still imperfect and corrupt, but the deputies themselves confess it. The Church is still under disabilities, but the atmosphere of the country is no longer an atmosphere of persecution. I could go on with this enumeration. In every quarter we see

good resolutions, nay, good beginnings, which, though difficult to notice from outside, are, however, realities. No one who has followed the progress of French politics during the last four years will imagine that M. Delcassé was actuated in his attack against M. Clémenceau by pure patriotism. His interference reminded us of the wretched Combes period when, it is only fair to say, he was the only Minister who did not place his politics before his duty.

The chief proof of the exceptional vitality of Clémenceau's government is to be found in the Cabinet of his successor. If the ex-Premier had had a casting vote in this remodelling he might have chosen different men, but he would not have taken exception to any of the new Ministers. Their spirit is his spirit. Some opposition newspapers and a few foreign periodicals have spoken of M. Briand's Cabinet as a Socialist Government, the Prime Minister and two of his colleagues, viz., MM. Millerand and Viviani, being supposed to be Socialists. This is a fallacy which ought to be disposed of at once. The present Cabinet is not Socialist, and, if anything, is rather the reverse. A Socialist Cabinet could not, of course, be the plaything which the collectivist dreamers long for. What is meant by the phrase is only that it would take its watchword from M. Jaurès. Now the only Minister who keeps up a semblance of amity with M. Jaurès is the Minister of Labor, M. Viviani; and their relation is rather one of community of views on certain reforms than of actual intercourse and definite agreement. The Socialist programme is comprehensive enough to include the views of several fractions in Parliament decidedly antagonistic to them. Of M. Millerand it is enough to say that he has been solemnly excommunicated both by the Socialist party and by the Masonic Lodges quite five years ago when he took sides against General André in the delation affair. We have, therefore, to pronounce exclusively on M. Briand's Socialism, and the decision is easy. M. Briand, like M. Clémenceau, is a Premier whom his past will never impede, but who will occasionally be embarrassed by it. In his inaugural address the new Prime Minister made ever so veiled an allusion to a youthful adventure which robbed him of his liberty during a few months when he was about five-and-twenty. The story of this imprisonment could not very well be told in English, but the opposition papers constantly hint at it in plain

French, and the remainder must be extremely unpalatable. This is nothing. M. Briand was a very decided Socialist when he first left his petty office at Pontoise to launch into politics, and he—not foreseeing his brilliant future — occasionally adopted the violent language in daily use among his co-religionists of those days. Of course he was an anti-militarist, and he had the misfortune one day to commit himself before a large audience to the statement that "possibly the soldiers' guns would not be fired in the supposed direction" in case of a war or an insurrection. In many another country such things would be altogether irreparable, but in a land of free speech and passionate eloquence, where a secretary of the Commune becomes a M. Méline—the most conservative of Prime Ministers,—and where a peaceful professor will evolve into a Jaurès, shifts of opinion are absolved just by being called changes of standpoint or by a reference to Renan's maxim that only fools are invariable.

Certain it is that when M. Briand is being called an immoral man and a dangerous anarchist he has only to shrug his shoulders and need not at all think himself bound to the mistakes of his youth. He thought little of proprieties before reaching manhood and little of duty before reaching power, no doubt, but life has been kind to him: he was a Minister at forty-two and is a Prime Minister at forty-seven; such Providences surely are enough to bring about great conversions, and even M. Briand's opponents fully realize it. His life previous to his coming into office belongs to anecdote: history can only claim his recent development. His characteristic is intelligence, and the characteristic of his intelligence is not unbending firmness backed by biting irony like that of his predecessor, but flexibility and even pliancy on occasions to the verge of cheapness. He is one of those men whom duty alone could never attach, but who can see the beauty of an attitude and be seduced by it into energy. It would be worth the while of a philosopher to make a psychological study of M. Briand's action during the two years' crisis of the Separation of Church and State. He did not recoil from the fundamental wrong which involved confiscation and breach of contract, but nobody could have leaned more uniformly towards broad-minded fairness in the adjustment of details. His sense of proportion is no doubt shocked by every appearance of narrow partisanship.

He was one of the first intelligent Socialists to notice that the vague politics of Jaurès were quickly losing freshness and growing commonplace, while Clémenceau's "realism," as he calls it, seemed an elegant novelty. The moment he took office there could be visible in him a good deal of the lawyer's second-rate smartness, but no idealism. His former friends were not long in noticing it in their turn and anathemas soon followed. Those who call M. Briand a Socialist have probably not read the parliamentary reports in which the word "turn-coat" is hurled at him hundreds of times from the very benches where he used to sit, and they must have overlooked an important passage in the address I was quoting above. There had been a rumor that a Socialist deputy would ask him on his first appearance in the Chamber what he called himself politically. No such indiscretion was committed, and M. Briand congratulated his opponents, or rather enemies, on their reticence, "as," he said, "his own dignity would have prevented him from giving any answer whatever." The semi-evasion is characteristic of the man and throws abundant light on the nature of his Socialism.

The short and the long of it all is that M. Briand is not regarded as a Socialist by anybody in the Chamber, that he has frequently found M. Jaurès in his way as a Minister of Justice, and that he has behaved as Premier exactly as Clémenceau would have done.

It is important to note that the Chamber's attitude towards him was exactly what it used to be towards his predecessor. He formed his Cabinet with amazing rapidity, in complete independence and with an originality suggestive of what mathematicians term an elegant solution. The wishes of the Socialists were entirely disregarded; a general and an admiral were introduced in defiance of the so-called republican tendency; M. Caillaux, who had been the veiled enemy of Clémenceau, was dismissed, in spite of his intimate connection with the Income Tax, and the Radical group numbering three hundred and twenty—that is to say, the majority of the Chamber—only looked on. Nothing is more indicative of a new spirit in Parliament than this attitude of the Radicals. M. Combes made it a fundamental principle never to take a step without their agreement; M. Clémenceau simply forced his will upon them; M. Briand, knowing their absolute impotency, consults them, and they give no answer. Their chief,

M. Lafferre, complains mildly that the new Premier has not taken their numbers into consideration in his distribution of portfolios, and the new Premier gives them full satisfaction by averring that he has the deepest respect and even veneration for M. Lafferre. Some deputies laugh, and M. Briand declares he is in dead earnest. At the same time he claims most emphatically the right for a government to govern, and the whole House—excepting, naturally, the sulky handful on the right—cheers him. All this is an evident demonstration that under M. Briand, as under M. Clémenceau, fear of responsibilities in possible diplomatic difficulties and fear of the rising Syndicalist power hold the Chamber and make them tame councillors where they used to be supercilious masters. M. Briand is only a more flexible Clémenceau who will never lose his office by losing his temper. Whether an excessive display of smartness will not some day give as much offence as Clémenceau's hastiness is another question.

As to the immediate intentions of the new Government, they are exactly those which have been familiar to us for three years. M. Briand confesses that the reform of Parliament and of the electoral system is a necessity, but he thinks it safer to defer the reform till an experiment of it has been tried in the municipal election, a far-off event. Even in the absence of M. Caillaux he maintains the principle of the Income Tax. Finally he insists on a legal status being given at once to state servants, and it is evident that this Bill is nearest his heart. On the whole, we ought to be pleased. It is to be regretted that an important reform like that of the electoral system should be practically deferred; but the Official Status Bill is a large human conception, which it is refreshing to find foremost in a Ministerial declaration when one remembers so many others read since 1880. The measure of our progress lies in such comparisons and contrasts. The spirit of the short-lived Cabinets of yore was tinged with the most oppressive belief in the supremacy of the state and the right of Governments to ignore individuals and to crush them by the million in the defeated party. No such thing in M. Briand's programme: no idealism, no flourish of warlike trumpets, no threat of coercion or revenge; only the well-being of the citizen seems to be considered, and the sense of the difficulties in the way of progress is present everywhere.

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WHAT USE IS THE PANAMA CANAL TO OUR COUNTRY WITHOUT AMERICAN SHIPS

BY BERNARD N. BAKER.

Most of what we have heard and read of the Panama Canal relates to its political and strategic advantages. It is somewhat curious that as a practical people the Americans have thus far been disposed to consider this vast enterprise from the standpoint of sentiment. The thought dominant in the American mind is that the canal will be worth its great cost as an agency in the broader statesmanship in which the United States is engaged. There has been a great deal of the "hurrah" in the promotion of this project, with a magnificent disregard of what it may mean as a waterway when it is finished.

No one can reasonably find fault with this condition. Many of the most useful works owe their origin and success to politics and military foresight. But in the end means must be found to pay the cost of operation and to make some return upon the capital invested. More important still, it is incumbent upon us to inquire wherein we may use our new opportunities for the increase of our commerce. For in the near future and largely in

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the present national safety depends to a very considerable degree upon the power of the people to command their just share in the trade of the world.

Let me say from personal observation that the work at Panama is being done in a manner that deserves the support and admiration of every one. Nothing in human history can equal it. All the more, therefore, should we strive as a people to prepare ourselves for the new facilities which our Government is preparing to give us by dividing this great hemisphere and saving to water traffic thousands of miles of dangerous navigation.

At conservative estimates we shall have invested in the Panama Canal, when it is completed, at least $500,000,000, and the minimum working expenses have been placed at about $5,000,000 per annum. Any one can see from this that a very remarkable traffic will be required to meet the fixed charges. It is not likely that this traffic will be forthcoming in the early years of the canal, and it is still more doubtful that it will arrive within the next decade unless our own people begin to make provision for it. Personally, I feel quite certain that with the enormous growth of our country, and with the really wonderful development that is going on in South America, and with the new fields that are open in the Far East, we shall be able to make the Panama Canal pay, not only as a canal, but as a help to the vast bulk of American trade. But it requires some boldness to lift this optimism out of the conditions that at present prevail, and the purpose of this article is to point out certain facts that would be grotesque if they were not so pitifully true.

Our able Secretary of State has lately presented the statistics in travel and trade between Latin-American countries and the United States. Travel increased fifty per cent. during the preceding year, and our Latin-American trade grew from $261,000,000 in 1897 to $596,000,000 in 1907, or one hundred and twenty-eight per cent., while our exports to Latin America grew from $76,000,000 in 1897 to $256,000,000 in 1907, or two hundred and thirty-seven per cent. But our share of this trade is only 13.8 per cent., while the vast bulk goes to England, Germany and Japan. To-day six lines of railway are being built across South America, and they mean new business of the largest value. But the small percentage of that which we are securing is transported, like our other South-American trade, mainly in foreign bottoms.

To-day there are only eleven vessels engaged in foreign trade that fly the American flag, and it may be well to give the list here:

"American Line plying between New York and Southampton: 'St. Paul,' 11,629 tons; 'St. Louis,' 11,629 tons; 'Philadelphia' (British built), 10,786 tons; 'New York' (British built), 10,798 tons. Great Northern Steamship Company plying between Seattle and the Orient: 'Minnesota,' 20,718 tons. Pacific Mail Steamship Company plying between San Francisco, Hawaii, Japan, China and Hongkong: 'China' (British built), 5,060 tons; 'Korea,' 11,276 tons; 'Siberia,' 11,284 tons; 'Manchuria,' 13,639 tons; 'Mongolian,' 13,639 tons. International Mercantile Marine Company plying between Antwerp and Boston: 'Samland,' 9,710 tons—eleven vessels in all, making a total tonnage of 130,166 tons."

That is all the United States now has in the cross-seas service. Compare this with England's 11,517 vessels, with a total tonnage of 18,320,668, or of Germany's 2,094, with a total of 4,110,562 tons. In order that these comparisons may be understood, it should be stated that there are a little over 800,000 tons which the Marine Report gives to our foreign trade, but which is made up of vessels plying between Canada and port to port in the United States, both on the Great Lakes and in the coastwise trade.

The point in this glaring contrast is that the United States simply has not the ships afloat or under construction, or even under consideration, to develop any trade with South America or with any other part of the world.

A second point is even more amazing. The United States Government owns the Panama Steamship Company from New York to Colon and owns the Panama Railroad Company from Colon to Panama and operates them as commercial lines. The Panama Steamship Company claims the right to regulate rates to and from Colon on account of the joint ownership of the Panama Steamship Company and the Panama Railroad Company by the United States Government War Department. Keeping this ownership in mind, I have tried to drive home the present situation by the following statement of facts and rates:

1. The rate on hides from Central America to New York is $30 a ton. The Pacific Coast Steamship Company, from Central America to Panama, receives $12 a ton; the Panama Railroad Company, from Panama to Colon, receives $8.10 a ton; and the Panama Steamship Company, from Colon to New York, receives $9.90 a ton.

The rate on hides from Central America to Europe is $24 a

ton. The Pacific Coast Steamship Company, from Central America to Panama, receives $8.40 a ton; the Panama Railroad Company, from Panama to Colon, receives $5.60 a ton; and the Panama Steamship line, from Colon to Europe, receives $10 a ton.

Result.—An American importer pays the Panama Railroad Company, owned and operated by the United States Government, $2.50 a ton more if from Central America, and pays the Pacific Coast Steamship Company $3.60 a ton more on hides than an English, French or German importer pays.

Distances.—Colon to New York, 1,981 miles; Colon to Liverpool, 4,682 miles; and Colon to Hamburg, 4,992 miles.

2. The rate on hides from Guayaquil to New York is $22.50 a ton. The Pacific Coast Steamship Company, from Guayaquil to Panama, receives $8.55 a ton; the Panama Railroad Company, from Panama to Colon, receives $6.28 a ton; and the Panama Steamship Company, from Colon to New York, receives $7.67 a ton.

The rate on hides from Guayaquil to Europe is $19.20 a ton. The Pacific Coast Steamship Company, from Guayaquil to Panama, receives $6.40 a ton; the Panama Railroad Company, from Panama to Colon, receives $4.80 a ton; and the Panama Steamship Line, from Colon to Europe, receives $8 a ton.

Result.—An American importer pays the Panama Railroad Company, owned and operated by the United States Government, $1.48 a ton more if from Guayaquil, and pays the Pacific Coast Steamship $2.15 a ton more on hides than an English, French or German importer pays.

So to-day we have the actual fact of foreign nations and foreign ships using our own property and our own facilities at less rates than we charge our own people. It was the publication of this fact that has led me to lay before the American public the details of my recent investigations. So many hundreds of letters have come from all parts of the United States asking for information with regard to these investigations as to the transportation conditions of the Panama Steamship Company and the Panama Railroad Company, and the development of the through transportation between the east and west coast of the United States and Central and South America *viâ* this route, that I give herewith the exact data.

On December 17th, 1908, in an interview with the Hon. Luke Wright, Secretary of War, with regard to the transportation conditions, he suggested that I communicate with Mr. E. A. Drake, Vice-President and General Manager of the Panama Steamship Company and the Panama Railroad Company. This was followed by a meeting with Mr. Drake and a clear understanding with him that it was very desirable that some steps should be taken to develop the American business *viâ* the Panama Steamship Company and the Panama Railroad Company, and the understanding was had that it should be done with his co-operation and nothing would be undertaken unless this could be done.

This was followed by a meeting, arranged in Washington, the 27th of January, 1909, at which were present Secretary-of-War Wright; Mr. E. A. Drake; Mr. Rogers, counsel for the Panama Steamship Company and Panama Railroad Company; General Edwards; Captain Boggs; Hon. William R. Wheeler; and Mr. Bates, of the firm of Bates & Chesebrough, Steamship Agents of San Francisco. At this meeting was fully discussed a proposition made by Mr. Bates to put on a line of American steamers from San Francisco to Panama in connection with the Panama Railroad Company, and Secretary Wright agreed to make arrangements with Mr. Bates, which Mr. Drake and myself felt would not be desirable.

Secretary Wright requested me to formulate some plan by which American commerce could now be fully developed—*viâ* the Panama Railroad Company—with the idea of the future benefits to our American commerce by the construction of the Panama Canal.

On February 5th, 1909, I submitted to Secretary Wright a definite proposition for the building of fifteen steamships. I further agreed to use my very best efforts to have formed a company for the purpose of bidding upon a mail contract which was justified under the Act of Congress of March 3rd, 1891, providing for ocean mail service between the United States and foreign ports and to promote commerce. And further, that I would induce other interests to also bid upon a contract to be advertised for by the Post-Office Department and had secured promises from two interests to make bids.

The honorable Secretary of War was so impressed with the necessity and importance of developing this interest that he sug-

gested, in the course of discussion, that I should endeavor to find out the views and opinions of the Pacific coast cities as to what volume of business could be expected and depended upon, and whether they would support the establishment of such a line. On the 14th of February, 1909, carrying out these suggestions, I left for Seattle. I met many of the merchants of Seattle, Portland, San Francisco, Los Angeles and New Orleans and returned to Washington Monday, the 8th of March. The result of that visit to the Pacific coast was extremely satisfactory and terminated in the following action by the Associated Commercial Organizations of the Pacific coast:

"PORTLAND, OREGON, *March 22nd, 1909.*

"Hon. B. N. Baker, Baltimore, Maryland.

"MY DEAR SIR,—On last Friday there was a meeting at San Francisco of representatives from all cities of the Pacific coast, held in connection with rate matters generally.

"At this meeting the question of the extension of the Panama service was taken up, and a telegram, of which the following is a copy, was sent to the President, the Secretary of War, Pacific coast Senators and to Mr. Wheeler, who is now in Washington:

"'We, the undersigned representatives of the entire commercial interests of the Pacific coast in conference assembled, earnestly urge the Government to encourage the establishment of a private-owned line of steamships on the Pacific and Atlantic operated *viâ* Panama Railroad by extending all possible privileges and concessions. If no private line is established, we favor completion of the Government line by placing Government-operated steamships on the Pacific Ocean same as now operated on the Atlantic.

"'Transportation Bureau Chamber of Commerce of Seattle.

"'Traffic Association of Tacoma.

"'Transportation Committee Chamber of Commerce of Portland.

"'Merchants and Manufacturers Association of Sacramento.

"'Traffic Bureau of the Merchants Exchange of San Francisco.

"'Associated Jobbers of Los Angeles.'

"Yours very truly,

"(Signed) J. N. TEAL."

In reporting to Secretary Wright, he expressed himself as very highly pleased and saw no reason why something should not be done; but he told me that President Taft had selected Hon. J. M. Dickinson as Secretary of War, and he did not wish to take any action, in view of the short time he would remain, preferring to leave it to his successor.

President Taft granted me an interview on March 24th, 1909. My understanding of that interview was that President Taft heartily approved of what had been done and desired that I see Secretary Dickinson and arrange with him to visit Panama and make a full investigation of conditions there as to the physical ability of the Panama Railroad Company during the construction of the canal to develop commerce by this route. I was very much encouraged. I met Secretary Dickinson and outlined to him what had been done with his predecessor, Mr. Wright, and he promised to look into it very fully. He also promised to notify me as to the date of his leaving for Panama.

On Wednesday, the 31st of March, 1909, the question was taken up with Assistant Postmaster-General Stewart as to whether or not a mail contract would be justified. Mr. Stewart stated that he saw no reason why the Post-Office Department would not be justified in advertising for mail proposals for fast American ships from New York and New Orleans to Colon, from San Francisco and Los Angeles to Panama; in the development of commerce he thought Portland and Seattle could also be arranged for.

The honorable Secretary of War notified me when he would be in Panama, and on Wednesday, the 14th of April, I left for Panama, where I spent ten days fully investigating conditions. I met the Secretary of War several times.

In a discussion with Colonel Goethals with regard to providing ample opportunity for developing business, the question was taken up as to the use of the Panama Railroad Company during the night hours for canal construction. Colonel Goethals said this would not be possible. There was a final discussion with Secretary Dickinson on May 31st at the Hotel Tivoli, Ancon. Secretary Dickinson concluded that he did not think it came within the province of the Secretary of War to develop commerce *viâ* the Panama Railroad Company, but that it was a matter which should be acted upon by Congress.

I was furnished every facility and opportunity in investigating fully the conditions and now give the actual table of the division of through revenue by the Panama route, showing the Atlantic Carriers' proportion of freight, the Panama Railroad Company's proportion and the Pacific Carriers' proportion in divisions:

SHOWING THE DIVISION OF THROUGH REVENUE BY THE PANAMA ROUTE.

Item.	Between.	Atlantic Carrier. Per cent.	P. R. R. Per cent.	Pacific Carrier. Per cent.
1	Europe and Panama.....	55	45	—
2	" " Central America	41 2/3	23 1/3	35
3	" " Mexico.....	37 1/2	25	37 1/2
4	" " San Francisco..	35	24 3/8	40 5/8
5	" " South Pacific...	41 2/3	25	33 1/3
6	New York " Panama.....	55	45	—
7	" " Central America	33	27	40
8	" " Mexico.....	33	27	40
9	" " San Francisco..	27 1/2	22 1/2	50
10	" " Portland.....	21.3125	17.4375	61 1/4
11	" " Seattle.....	21.3125	17.4375	61 1/4
12	" " Los Angeles....	18.4286	15.0952	66.4762
13	" " South Pacific...	34.1	27.9	38
14	New Orleans " Panama.....	55	45	—
15	" " Central America	33	27	40
16	" " Mexico.....	33	27	40
17	" " San Francisco..	—	—	—
18	" " South Pacific...	34	28	38

N. B.—In the case of Item 12, the percentage varies according to the class of goods.

Any one interested can secure the rate and make the division. The result of these pro-rating arrangements has been in many cases a very decided discrimination against New York and New Orleans traffic *viâ* Panama in favor of European traffic by the same route. In addition to this, the Pacific carriers from Panama to the west coast of South and Central America have also discriminated in favor of foreign traffic.

After collecting these facts and reaching these conclusions, I immediately advised President Taft of what I considered important information and also laid the same before the Secretary of War for investigation.

Now, my object in publishing this is simply, if possible, to give full data to the coming session of Congress, as the honorable Secretary of War thinks Congress the one to provide the remedy for the present conditions. If the people of the United States consider it desirable to develop the commercial route *viâ* the Panama Railroad Company and, later on, the canal traffic, in the building up of their own commerce, they can do so. I wish to state that under no circumstances shall I have any interest, direct or indirect, in any benefits that might accrue.

Surely it must be plain to every one that in order to have full justification for the building of the Panama Canal and the expenditure of the hundreds of millions of dollars of the people,

there must be a reasonable expectation of realizing the benefits in the development of our trade and commerce, in addition to the value of the canal to our Government for the protection of both coasts by a smaller navy. An easy way is open for the next Congress. It is to be found in the enlargement of the Act of March 3rd, 1891, of which the following is the enacting clause:

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled that the Postmaster-General is hereby authorized and empowered to enter into contracts for a term not less than five nor more than ten years in duration, with American citizens, for the carrying of mails on American steamships, between ports of the United States and such ports in foreign countries, the Dominion of Canada excepted, as in his judgment will best *subserve and promote the postal* and *commercial* interests of the United States, the mail service on such lines to be equitably distributed among the Atlantic, Mexican Gulf and Pacific ports. Said contracts shall be made with the lowest responsible bidder for the performance of said service of each route, and the Postmaster-General shall have the right to reject all bids not in his opinion reasonable for the attaining of the purposes named."

In my opinion, the most direct and most effective way to build up our Merchant Marine for the ocean trade and provide suitable vessels for use to our Navy and War Department, is for Congress to amend this Act of March 3rd, 1891, so that it will include a larger amount per ton per mile, and leave it discretionary with the Postmaster-General and the President of the United States to make such contracts as in their judgment will best accomplish the objects of the Act. Further provision should give the President authority to appoint a commission of three men with power of investigation, and in an advisory capacity only, one naval officer, one man from the east and one from the west coast, thoroughly familiar with maritime commercial needs. I believe that in the United States three experienced and exceptional men can be found with wide knowledge of commercial and maritime conditions. Furthermore, Congress could limit the amount that the President and the Postmaster-General could use under this Act.

To-day England is paying about $16,000,000 for mail contracts and encouragement to shipping. I know of a number, particularly the one recently granted to the Elder, Dempster West India Steamship Company, that were without justification as mail contracts, but which were most important for the development of commerce. To-day the United States is paying for its entire

foreign mail service of every kind and description, including such things as the Panama Railroad, steamboat and railroad service and transfer in New York, about $3,000,000.

Three plans have been proposed to build up the Merchant Marine. That for free ships has made a failing fight for many years and seems further from success now than ever. Another plan is by discriminating duties. But how is this possible when on an enormous percentage of cargoes imported no duty is paid—when in some particulars this percentage amounts to as much as sixty-seven per cent. of the total cargo, and when we must face the certainty that it will increase with every change in the tariff? The other plan is the one I have suggested; and I have gathered much help from the discussions which I have had with a number of Senators and Representatives who have interposed no objections to its practicability.

Here, then, we have an acute situation demanding immediate attention; and more important than that, we have the national duty of beginning to erect a Merchant Marine that will be prepared to take advantage of the greatest investment which the nation has ever made. We must get away from the smug idea that we are sufficient unto ourselves between the shores of our great oceans. The time will come when we shall be importing foodstuffs from South America and seeking South-American markets as a necessary outlet for our manufactured products. Not many years ago we had hides in overabundance, and we shipped them to every country that would buy. And yet the hardest fight in the recent tariff debate was to get the duty off hides because this country had to import them for its factories. That change may come in most of the other staples, and we must prepare to take care of ourselves on sea as well as on land in whatever corner of the earth trade is to be found.

I have not thought it necessary to bring into this discussion the opportunities in the Far East, but they are none the less important, and their relation to the new canal adds other reasons why we should be up and doing in the work for providing for to-morrow.

B. N. Baker.

SENSATIONAL JOURNALISM AND THE REMEDY.

BY SAMUEL W. PENNYPACKER, LL.D., GOVERNOR OF PENNSYLVANIA, 1903-07.

FROUDE wrote with much truth: "There is a long twilight between the time when a god is first suspected to be an idol and his final overthrow." All human institutions seem to follow a natural and almost invariable process of growth, ending in final decay. They originate in an effort to meet some pressing social need. If they are found to be adapted to the purpose, they have a period of development and elaboration. After the conditions which made them necessary have disappeared, they remain for a time, more or less extended, as pure conventions retained by habit, mental inertia and recognition of the good they have accomplished. Finally, like the broken pottery which the housewife bears aloft to the garret, they are cast aside as the cumbersome rubbish of the past. The button to which in the days of personal combats the sword of the gentleman was attached, remains on his coat only as the plaything of the tailor. The doctrine of the Liberty of the Press, though embedded in the Constitution of the United States and in the Constitutions of all of the States, is today, in its application to existing conditions of life, little more than a Shibboleth. We tingle mentally when we hear it reiterated in Fourth-of-July orations or in solemn editorials, just as a horse shies at a leaf because hundreds of generations of absence have not been sufficient to remove the nerve impression caused by the concealed tiger, but the substance which made it a living presence has departed. Logically there is no reason whatever why men should be more favored in their utterances than in their conduct. To touch another upon the shoulder, no matter how lightly, even with a silk glove, constitutes a trespass and an assault, for which

the offender may be compelled to pay damages or to suffer punishment, though the actual harm inflicted is infinitesimal. On the other hand, the most severe attacks are made in the journals upon men, especially if they be engaged in the service of the public, often most injurious to their interests and reputations, sometimes entirely unfounded in fact, and it is rather expected of them by the community that they should submit in silence and accept the results as a matter of course. It has come to be considered almost as one of the risks of the game. The grounds for this remarkable distinction are found not in reason, but in history. There was a time when a King ruled with an assertion of divine right and exercised at his will all of the powers of the state. He opened and closed the doors of prison houses. At his nod the axe of the headsman fell on the neck of the victim. Before the French Revolution *lettres de cachet* were the subjects of barter and sale in Paris, as indulgences had been sold before the Reformation. It happened occasionally that men were sent to their deaths, as Uriah the Hittite was sent to the forefront of the battle, in order that their wives or their property might be seized. At that time the untrammelled liberty to publish event and comment was a safeguard to the community. To make public the occurrences in prisons, courts and palaces was often to aid in the protection of the innocent and to curb the propensities of the vicious. That condition of things has departed, never more to return. "He that goeth down to the grave shall come up no more," is as true of ways, customs and institutions as it is of man and was in the days of Job. Other wrongs will no doubt arise to be corrected, but never again that particular form of iniquity. The times have changed and we have changed with them. The Kings are dead or content to exist as "the first gentlemen of Europe," doing nothing more forceful than winning prizes at bridge whist, the priests no longer seek to punish heresy with fire, the Bastile has been torn down and the Tower of London and Le Steen at Antwerp have been converted into museums. The faults of present-day rulers are of an entirely different hue. So far from seeking to exercise arbitrary power, they are so eager to win the applause of the populace that they are prone, if they be bold, to become demagogues striving to get the benefit of every wind that blows, and, if they be timid, to become mere placeholders content if they can slide through their terms without

reprobation. The public journal has likewise changed, but in the opposite direction. It is no longer the cautious and modest advocate of the truth, contending against entrenched power and needing encouragement. It has become bold, blatant and in some instances brazen. There was a time when its purposes were limited to gathering information of current events and publishing this information with comment intended to be guiding and instructive. With the growth of advertising the entire perspective has shifted. It is now generally published by a corporation organized as a business venture to secure a profit. It has a business policy, inspired by the hope of gain, toward which the editorial and even the news columns are required to bend. The directing forces are undisclosed, and it not infrequently happens that the same ambitious personality is the owner of journals advocating opposing views of public questions and policies.

The growth in the volume and the importance of the advertisements has led to the genesis of what is colloquially called the "Yellow Journal." Since the compensation from the accurate report of current news is very slight, and the returns from abundant advertisements are comparatively very great, the tendency has arisen and rapidly grown of so furbishing up the news as to make it a feeder to the more profitable feature of the paper. Head-lines, type of exaggerated size and gross pictures are all devices used for the purpose of catching the attention of the reader so that ultimately he may be led to purchase the wares of some merchant. Crimes of a startling character, scandals, especially if they affect people in good repute, divorces, especially if they occur among people of social prominence and are accompanied with uncleanly suggestion, and sensations of all kinds are sought with avidity from a like motive. Since that which is sensational loses its effect and fails as an attraction when often repeated, and since both the mind and the senses soon become accustomed to the same din, however loud it may be, there is a continual effort to find the strange, the abnormal, the *outré* and the wicked. Moreover, the line which divides finding from creating is presently passed. Just as the cook puts the mustard on the ham, so the newsmonger adds condiment to his dish of news which would be insipid if nothing but the truth were told. Or what is worse, the whole tale is invented by an enterprising person who is safe from observation and responsibility, and who is driven by necessity

to the invention of something startling to meet the daily and increasing demands.

The harm done to the community by this tendency, which up to the present time has been almost unchecked and is affecting more or less all journalism, has been incalculable. When an unmarried young woman, whose parents happen to have wealth, cannot meet socially a scion of the European nobility without having their engagement announced and their portraits published over two continents, and thereafter cannot board a railroad train or a ship without a repetition of the story, and the added statement that she goes to seek her lover, journalistic standards of decency and propriety have fallen to the level of those of the fishwife.

The rude, vulgar and often malicious pictures put forth in the guise of wit and caricature are destroying the artistic sense, if not the kindly instincts, of a whole generation of young people, who are growing to maturity looking upon them as one of the ordinary incidents of life.

Suggestion is known by all who have any acquaintance with the principles of psychology to be one of the most potent causes for the commission of crime. There are numbers of people in the community who feel the temptation and approach the brink of crime who only need a slight incentive to convert the impulse into action. The man who killed the Duke of Buckingham happened to be passing a hardware store and saw displayed in a window a huge knife with keen edge. It was enough. He bought the knife and flayed the Duke. A man was once tried before me for attempted murder, who had been handed a cleaver in a butcher shop. He walked with it out to the step where stood an entire stranger with his back turned and struck him several blows over the head. Who, then, can measure the effect of daily placing before the masses of people the details of horrible crimes? Who can tell how many young girls are lured from the hard labor of the kitchen or mill to destruction by seeing the portraits and reading the tales of the luxurious lives of mistresses and courtesans in the public prints? Every extraordinary crime is at once followed by efforts of a like character, which fact proves that they were brought about by the publicity. The crime so much dreaded in the South does not exist in Jamaica where the proportion of negro population is very much greater. What is the reason for its frequency in the South? It is largely because the wide publica-

tion of the event and of its aftermath of horrors is brought to the attention of every negro in the land, and he is taught to believe that in a sense to assault a woman is a race achievement. The great increase of divorces in the United States may be explained in the same way. When every day divorce suits, and the charges made, and the evidence given in them are set forth with huge head-lines on the front pages of the sensational journals, is it any wonder that young people are made familiar with the thought that marriage is a mere experiment and often act accordingly? In the cases of atrocious crimes and of public officials charged with breach of duty the courts are in effect superseded and the defendants either convicted or acquitted before they have been heard, since the alleged facts and the editorial conclusions are scattered broadcast without hesitation and without accuracy.

The sensational journal has succeeded in almost destroying the old-time confidence of the people in, and their respect for, those vested with authority. It used to be in England that even the county magistrates and constables were regarded as worthy of honor. It was a very desirable and proper condition of affairs helpful to the officials and beneficial to the community. The constable was more careful of his conduct because he knew that it was expected of him to abide within the law and because he had a certain dignity to maintain. At the present time in the United States the Mayors of our cities, the Governors of our commonwealths and the Presidents of the nation at once become the target for the sensation-monger; and the higher and more important the office, the more audacious are his efforts and the greater his hopes for reward. The courts alone have remained unassailed, and within the last few years the process of undermining their supports has begun. When public confidence in the integrity of the administration of affairs is destroyed the end of our system of government is not far away.

The most far-reaching evil inflicted by the sensational journal is that it perverts the processes of thought. All reasoning begins with the ascertainment of fact. If the false be presented and accepted as the true the inferences drawn are hopelessly erroneous. The people in arriving at their conclusions as to men and measures are dependent upon the newspapers for their information. It is not true that the world is made up of men with wickedness in their hearts, ready either to break their marital vows or to

rob the treasury, and the daily pictures of life painted with such colors ought to be obliterated. On the contrary, men are almost exclusively earning their bread by their labor, supporting their wives and children as best they know how, and if perchance they have been chosen for public service, performing their duties according to the measure of their abilities.

The evils above described, universally conceded to exist, are certainly very grave, probably the most serious of all those with which society is at present contending. In the course of time and in the whirligig of events the press has come to be the most conspicuous example of the very wrong to correct which its privileges were conferred—that is, the secret use of arbitrary power. An institution is attacked in its interests, an individual is assailed in his character, and nobody knows whose is the hand which strikes the blow or what the motive which inspires it.

The "Public Ledger" of Philadelphia, one of the most reputable journals of the country, said in an official communication to the Governor of Pennsylvania, on the 26th of June, 1909:

> "We realize fully that the time was ripe for the law, by a rigid enforcement of its decrees, to punish the reckless and vituperative speech and writing which have been so prevalent in certain classes of American newspapers as to bring the whole profession into disrepute."

What is the remedy? There is little or nothing to be hoped from the efforts of those connected with the press who deprecate these tendencies. The current carries them along. The commercial interests are too strong. When degeneracy once sets in and proves to be temporarily profitable, each strives to outdo the other and things go from bad to worse. The slaveholders, no matter how disadvantageous they knew the system to be for the South, could do nothing to prevent its growth. Even the Church could not, when confronted with the Lutheran movement in the sixteenth century, correct its errors. Reformation must be sought from without and must be found. The press has done too much brilliant service to humanity in the past, has too many men of high intelligence associated with its work, and is too important for the interests of the race to be permitted to fall into moral decay. It is unphilosophical to attempt to apply the principles elaborated in the past to the changed conditions of the present. When a prosperous merchant purchases the journals of one of our principal cities in an effort to elect himself to the United States Senate, and

another man of wealth purchases journals over the country in the hope of electing himself to the Presidency, and such are the interests they serve, the exceptional favor shown the press when it was making a struggle for the public weal is entirely out of place.

The remedy is very simple and plain. It is to subject the press to the same law and the same authority of the State which governs the other relations of men. It is for the people to cast aside what has become nothing but a superstition. It is for those in legislative, executive and judicial authority to have sufficient courage to meet every attempt at oppression or abuse of right, in utterance as well as deed, no matter whence it comes or how powerful those making it may have grown. If there may be inspection and supervision of boilers, engines, food-supplies, barbers' tools and the knowledge of a lawyer and of a doctor, there may likewise be supervision of that which is put forth as news to prevent it from being unwholesome. If working-men may be prevented by injunction from committing riot, so may newspapers be prevented by injunction from publishing falsehood and scandal. Such material has no part in the liberty of the press any more than sewerage has place in the streams. Both constitute nuisances which may be suppressed and in time will be suppressed. It is upon the principle of suppressing a nuisance that smut and filth are excluded from the mails and destroyed when they appear, although the Constitution protects the freedom of speech. There is no freedom to propagate and disseminate falsehood and vileness, and a large proportion of what appears daily in the journals could be excluded upon application to the courts. Suppression would result in loss of profit, and when scandal ceases to be profitable it will soon disappear. In Pennsylvania, that State which has so often been in the advance in the betterment of American life, a substantial step forward was taken in 1903. An Act was passed applying the principles of the law of negligence to newspapers, making them responsible for the want of ordinary care and requiring them to publish with each issue the names of owners, editors and managers. While with the advent of another Legislature and another administration four years later, the newspapers succeeded in having the Act in part repealed, it yet remains the law in that State that the names of those responsible for the publication must be disclosed.

SAMUEL W. PENNYPACKER.

CUBA'S CLAIMS TO THE ISLE OF PINES.

BY GONZALO DE QUEŞADA, FORMER MINISTER OF CUBA TO THE UNITED STATES.

In the September issue of The North American Review and under the title "Have We mislaid a valuable Possession?" the Hon. Senator M. E. Clapp attempts to revive popular interest in a question which is a closed chapter, as far as the American Executive and the American people are concerned: the alleged title of the United States to the Isle of Pines.

Nevertheless, and as there is pending before the Senate a treaty in which the matter is finally settled, it is well that Cuba's side be presented before the public and the facts rehearsed on which Cuba has always based her title to this part of her territory and on which the Supreme Court, the highest tribunal in this country and one whose impartiality cannot be questioned, opined that the Isle of Pines is Cuba's.

Considering the question from its geographical, historical, political, administrative and international point of view, the Isle of Pines has always belonged to Cuba.

The geographical term Cuba, since the first maps were made, from 1492 to 1502, to date, has included the hundreds of surrounding islets, keys and archipelagoes, such as the Canarreos in which the Isle of Pines figures, and in no case the Isle of Pines has been considered other than a part of Cuba as much as Staten Island or Long Island is a part of New York State; the keys to the southwest of Florida, extensions of the mainland; Nantucket a portion of Massachusetts, and the Isle of Wight a part of England.

This assertion can be substantiated by the examination of all the maps of all epochs since its discovery, prepared by cartographers of all nationalities. Every text-book of geography

used in the schools of this country also confirms the fact. The War Department of the United States, in its military maps, as well as those of the census taken under its direction in 1899, have the Isle of Pines as a part of Cuba, and the Navy Department in its charts and hydrographic publications has so considered it, as also the Treasury Department and the Department of Commerce and Labor in the publications of the United States Chart and Geodetic Survey.

There are almost one hundred maps in the Congressional library of Washington which contradict the statement of Senator Clapp that the Isle of Pines is not geographically a part of Cuba. These maps comprise official and private issues of Great Britain, France, Germany, Spain, Holland, Mexico, Italy and the United States and other countries, covering a period of over four centuries and at intervals of about five years, and all contain the Isle of Pines as belonging to the geographic entity of Cuba.

This geographical argument alone would bear out Cuba's contention. No less an authority than William Edward Hall, an English writer in his "International Law," said, in 1895, many years before the right of Cuba was discussed:

"The territorial property of a State consists in the territory occupied by the State community and subjected to its sovereignty, and it comprises the whole area, whether of land or water, included within the definite boundaries ascertained by occupation, prescription or treaty, together with such inhabited or uninhabited lands as are considered to have become attendant on the ascertained territory through occupation or accretion, and when such area abuts upon the sea, together with certain margin of water. . . .

"Apart from questions connected with the extent of territorial waters, which will be dealt with later, certain physical peculiarities of coasts in various parts of the world, where land impinges on the sea in an unusual manner, require to be noticed as affecting the territorial boundary. Off the coast of Florida, among the Bahamas, along the shores of Cuba, and in the Pacific, are to be found groups of numerous islands and islets rising out of vast banks, which are covered with very shoal water, and either form a line more or less parallel with land or compose systems of their own, in both cases enclosing considerable sheets of water, which are sometimes also shoal and sometimes relatively deep. The entrance to these interior bays or lagoons may be wide in breadth of surface water, but it is narrow in navigable water. To take a specific case.

"On the south coast of Cuba the Archipielago de los Canarios stretches from sixty to eighty miles from the mainland to la Isla de Pines. The

length from the Jardines Bank to Cape Frances is over a hundred miles. It is enclosed partly by some islands, mainly by banks, which are always awash, but upon which, as the tides are very slight, the depth of water is at no time sufficient to permit of navigation; spaces along these banks, many miles in length, are unbroken by a single inlet; the water is uninterrupted, but access to the interior gulf or sea is impossible. At the western end there is a strait twenty miles or so in width, but not more than six miles of channel intervene between two banks, which rise to within seven or eight feet from the surface, and which do not, consequently, admit of the passage of seagoing vessels. In cases of this sort the question whether the interior waters are, or are not, lakes enclosed within the territory must always depend upon the depth upon the banks and the width of the entrances. Each must be judged upon its own merits. But in the instance cited, there can be little doubt that the whole Archipielago de los Canarios is a mere salt-water lake, and that the boundary of the land of Cuba runs along the exterior edge of the banks."

And the same general principles of international law applicable to such coasts and shores can be seen in Louisiana *vs.* Mississippi, 200 U. S., 1, 53; the Anna 5 C Reb. 273.

Against this overpowering evidence it is puerile to cite as a geographical argument the fact that in a land map of the United States of 1899 the Isle of Pines was placed by the Commissioner at the verbal direction of President McKinley, for it has never been claimed that there existed a written order.

From a historical, administrative and political point of view, the evidence as to Cuba's right to the Isle of Pines is equally conclusive. The history of the Isle of Pines is a chapter in the history of Cuba, and it so appears in every authoritative history that has ever been written from the earliest time to the present day. In the same way the political division of the Spanish Kingdom called "Cuba" has always included both the island which has the specific designation "Cuba" and the island which has the specific designation "Isle of Pines," as also the hundreds of adjacent islets and keys, each of which has its specific designation, like "Cayo Romano," "Cayo Coco" and "Jardines del Rey." This is evidenced by a long series of statutes, royal decrees, orders and dispositions of the Spanish Parliament and Throne in which authority and jurisdiction were expressly conferred upon the Government of Cuba over the Isle of Pines, and by the unvaried practice during four centuries of treating the Isle of Pines as a part of Cuba, showing that the assertion of Senator Clapp

that in former times the Isle of Pines was not included in the Spanish administration of Cuba is entirely erroneous. At the time of the discovery of the Isle of Pines, in 1494, by Columbus, it was considered by the Indians themselves a part of the entity of Cuba, being the twelfth of the thirteen divisions and called "Camaraco," and when, in 1511, Diego Velazquez was appointed Lieutenant Governor his powers were "over Cuba and its dependent isles and keys." It has been a part of Havana during every one of its political administrative changes, beginning with 1511, when the whole island was but one province; in 1607 when the said Province of Havana was denominated "Western Department"; in 1827 when the Island of Cuba was divided into three departments—Eastern, Central and Western, Havana being designated by the last name; in 1850 when the Island of Cuba was again reduced to two departments—Eastern and Western, Havana being called by the second; and in 1879 when the island was divided into six provinces, as it exists to-day, and Havana province resumed its actual name.

The local Government of the Isle of Pines has always been subject to the jurisdiction of Havana; in 1765 when it was declared a "partido"—district—of Havana; in 1828 when it became "Colonia Reina Amalia" by royal decree; and in 1880 when it became an "ayuntamiento"—municipality—as it has continued to this day. Since 1855 it has been as to judicial administration—up to recently when, to facilitate transactions, a court was established in the Isle of Pines, but dependent on Havana—in the judicial district of Bejucal in the Province of Havana. As to the maritime, ecclesiastical, fiscal and military administrations, it has from the earliest date belonged to the same province. Since 1773 it has paid taxes to it in one form or another, and from 1765 it has been the object of governmental dispositions, decrees, etc., of the Captain-General of Cuba.

In every census of Cuba the Isle of Pines has been included, beginning with the first, dated 1774, and continuing with those of 1841, 1861 and 1887, and the inhabitants of the Isle of Pines went to the polls in all the elections held during the Spanish *régime,* under the electoral law for the Island of Cuba, in 1879, 1890 and 1898 when the so-called home-rule Government was decreed for Cuba; they also voted in the election for the Havana Provincial Council.

In everybody's mind the Isle of Pines was associated with Cuba when the United States by joint resolution of April 19th, 1898, declared that the Cuban people were and of right ought to be free and independent. And these people of Cuba were the ones for which the patriots had fought and had promulgated two Constitutions—the one of Jimaguayu of September 16th, 1895, and the one of La Yaya of October 29th, 1897, both of which included in the territory of Cuba "the adjacent islands and keys."

The Act of April 25th, 1898, declaring war against Spain was for the purpose of compelling the relinquishment by Spain of its authority and government in Cuba—which government included the Isle of Pines—and the withdrawal of its forces from Cuba and Cuban waters, in which waters was the Isle of Pines.

On August 12th, 1898, there was signed at Washington a protocol of agreement for a basis for peace between the United States and Spain which provided:

"Article I. Spain will relinquish all claim of sovereignty over and title to Cuba.

"Article II. Spain will cede to the United States the Island of Porto Rico and other islands now under Spanish sovereignty in the West Indies, and also an island in the Ladrones to be selected by the United States."

This was followed by the Treaty of Peace ratified April 11th, 1899, containing the following articles:

"Article I. Spain relinquishes all claims of sovereignty over and title to Cuba.

"And as the island is upon its evacuation to be occupied by the United States, the United States will, so long as such occupation shall last, assume and discharge the obligations that may, under international law, result from the fact of its occupation, for the protection of life and property.

"Article II. Spain cedes to the United States the Island of Porto Rico and other islands now under Spanish sovereignty in the West Indies and the Island of Guam in the Marianas or Ladrones."

By this treaty and the proceedings of which it was the result, the United States defended the interests of the people of Cuba, the principal one being to refuse to admit the island being saddled with the enormous so-called Cuban Debt, and as Judge Harlan put it in Neely *vs.* Henkel, U. S., 109 (Jan. 14th, 1901):

"It is true that as between Spain and the United States, indeed, as between the United States and all foreign nations, Cuba, upon the cessation of hostilities and after the Treaty of Paris, was to be treated

as if it were conquered territory But as between the United States and Cuba that island is territory held in trust for the inhabitants of Cuba to whom it rightfully belongs and to whose exclusive control it will be surrendered when a stable government shall have been established by their voluntary action."

It is this relation of trustee that would have precluded the United States—even if it were not by the noble action of the American people which had given unstintedly its treasure and blood that Cuba might be free—from taking advantage, in transactions in which Cuba had no voice, of any *ex-parte* statement of any Spanish Commissioner. The only one adduced to support the claim that the Isle of Pines belongs to the United States is far-fetched and only shows the spiteful animus of Spain toward Cuba and was a contemptible innuendo hinting at duplicity in the motives of this great country; it is as follows:

"They—the United States—did claim sovereignty over the latter—Porto Rico—and over the other islands surrounding Cuba, which will render impossible the independence of the latter, without the good-will and gracious consent of the United States, which will always have it at their mercy through their control over the islands which enclose it like a band of iron."

This claim, on the part of the United States, is not on record, nor was the contention of the Spanish Commissioners ever admitted by the American representatives.

The cession of the islands in Article II, it is clear, does not refer to the Isle of Pines under Cuba's administration at the time and does refer to Vieques, Culebra and Mona islands adjacent to Porto Rico and which, being ceded to the United States, left Spain without an inch of territory in the Western Hemisphere.

The subsequent acts of the political department of the United States were in harmony with the fact that the Isle of Pines was comprised in the term "Cuba."

Neither under Major-General Brooke, who took possession, on January 1st, 1899, of the Government of Cuba, nor under General Leonard Wood, who succeeded him, until the Republic of Cuba was inaugurated on May 20th, 1902, were the "ayuntamientos," or municipalities, disturbed, and the Isle of Pines continued as theretofore as a subdivision of the Province of Havana. Major-General Fitzhugh Lee, in obedience to orders in 1899, made a

visit of inspection to the Isle of Pines and found, as he stated in his official report, sixty Cuban insurgents under a captain there.

It was during 1899 that a few American speculators bought large parcels of land in the Isle of Pines and published glowing and exaggerated prospectuses with which they palmed off, at enormous profits, especially in the west, the divided tracts.

On August 14th, 1899, the Assistant Secretary of War, in answer to an inquiry, said, with what orders nobody knows, as he was subsequently disauthorized:

"The island was ceded by Spain and is, therefore, a part of our territory, although it is attached at present to the Division of Cuba for governmental purposes . . . and the disposition of public lands must await the action of Congress."

Yet three days after, on August 17th, 1899, President McKinley ordered a census of Cuba to be taken, and when the Island of Cuba was divided into enumeration districts the Isle of Pines was included in Cuba and three enumerators took its census. The Isle of Pines, in the official documents, was described as a municipal district of the judicial district of Bejucal, in the Province of Havana, and the Americans in the Isle knew all this and were enumerated.

In the report of the census, as published by the War Department in 1900, it is stated:

"The Government of Cuba has jurisdiction not only over the island of that name, but also over the Isle of Pines lying directly to the south of it and more than a thousand islets and reefs scattered along its northern and southern coasts."

On January 16th, 1900, an election was held throughout Cuba to elect municipal officers and the Isle of Pines elected theirs, and when on September 15th of the same year delegates were elected to the Constitutional Convention of Cuba the people of the Isle of Pines voted as a part of the Province of Havana, as it had heretofore done, and afterwards for Governor and Councillors of the said province; and when the Government was transferred to Cuba on May 20th, 1902, it was under the Cuban Constitution which included in its appendix the Platt amendment, adopted March 21st, 1901, which provided in Article VI:

"That the Isle of Pines shall be omitted from the proposed constitutional boundaries of Cuba, the title thereto being left to future adjustment by treaty."

As a member of that convention and of the committee in charge of fixing the political relations between Cuba and the United States, I recollect that when the other provisos, afterwards included in the Platt amendment, were suggested nothing was said as to the Isle of Pines; but the general opposition shown by the Cuban people to the granting of coaling stations undoubtedly caused the matter of the Isle of Pines to be included, some believing, in the United States, that the Isle of Pines could be made the basis of defence for American interests in the Caribbean Sea, or that, if the Isle of Pines was found unsuitable—as it was afterwards shown to be—for coaling and naval purposes, it could be made the basis of negotiation for the acquisition of other sites.

On February 16th, 1903, the Senate of the United States requested the President to inform the Senate as to the then status of the Isle of Pines and what Government was exercising authority and control. President Roosevelt submitted a report from the Secretary of War, Mr. Root, with an endorsement of General Leonard Wood, late Military Governor of Cuba, dated February 20th, 1903, of which the following is a part:

"The Government of the island to-day is in the hands of its municipal officers, duly elected by the people, under the general control of the civil governor of the Province of Havana and the Republic of Cuba. As I understand it, the Government of the Isle of Pines is vested in the Republic of Cuba, pending such final action as may be taken by the United States and Cuba looking to the ultimate disposition of the island. No special action was taken to protect the interests of the citizens of the United States who have purchased property and have settled in the Isle of Pines, for the reason that no such action was necessary. All Americans in the island are living under exactly the same conditions as other foreigners, and if they comply with the laws in force, it is safe to say that they will not have any difficulty or need special protection. At the time these people purchased property, they understood distinctly that the question of ownership of the Isle of Pines was one pending settlement, and in locating there they took the risks incident to the situation."

On July 2nd, 1903, the Government of Cuba leased to the United States the areas of land and water for the establishment of naval and coaling stations in Guantanamo and Bahia Honda, and on that same date, and as a part of that same transaction, a treaty was signed by which the United States in Article I

"relinquishes in favor of the Republic of Cuba all claim of title to

the Island of Pines situated in the Caribbean Sea near the southwestern part of the Island of Cuba, which has been or may be made in virtue of Articles I and II of the Treaty of Peace between the United States and Spain, signed at Paris on the tenth day of December, eighteen hundred and ninety-eight."

And Article II states that:

"This relinquishment, on the part of the United States, of claim of title to the said Island of Pines is in consideration of the grants of coaling stations in the Island of Cuba heretofore made to the United States of America by the Republic of Cuba."

Had the Cuban Government doubted for a moment that the agreement of the lease would be ratified—as it was at Washington on October 6th, 1903—and the treaty of the Isle of Pines would fail of ratification, it would have cast the two documents into one, making the lease agreement dependent on the success of the treaty of the Isle of Pines.

The Hon. John Hay signed with me, on March 2nd, 1904, another treaty of identical tenor, in which the United States relinquished the claim of title to the Isle of Pines, modifying the previous treaty by making indefinite the time of the exchange of ratifications, which, being definitely fixed in the previous convention, had been the cause of its expiring by limitation. It stands to reason that if the United States does not ratify the treaty it should give back the coaling stations to Cuba.

On November 27th, 1905, the Hon. Elihu Root, Secretary of State, who had repudiated the action of the Assistant Secretary of War as having been done without his knowledge, replied in part to the president of the American Club of the Isle of Pines:

"The island is lawfully subject to the control and government of the Republic of Cuba, and you and your associates are bound to render obedience to the laws of that country so long as you remain in the island. If you fail in that obedience, you will be justly liable to prosecution in the Cuban courts and to such punishment as may be provided by the laws of Cuba for such offences as you commit. You are not likely to have any greater power in the future. The treaty now pending before the Senate, if approved by that body, will relinquish all claim of the United States to the Isle of Pines. In my judgment the United States has no substantial claim to the Isle of Pines. The treaty merely accords to Cuba what is hers in accordance with international law and justice.

"At the time of the Treaty of Peace, which ended the war between the United States and Spain, the Isle of Pines was, and had been for several centuries, a part of Cuba. I have no doubt whatever that it continues to be a part of Cuba, and that it is not and never has been territory of the United States. This is the view with which President Roosevelt authorized the pending treaty, and Mr. Hay signed it, and I expect to urge its confirmation. Nor would the rejection of the pending treaty put an end to the control of Cuba over the island. A treaty directly contrary to the one now pending would be necessary to do that, and there is not the slightest prospect of such a treaty being made. You may be quite sure that Cuba will never consent to give up the Isle of Pines, and that the United States will never try to compel her to give it up against her will."

The treaty was favorably brought to the consideration of the Senate on February 1st, 1906, by Senator Foraker from the Committee of Foreign Relations with an exhaustive and conclusive report; Senators Morgan and W. A. Clark, submitting a minority one against its ratification. It has not yet been voted upon. In the mean while, on April 8th, 1907, the United States Supreme Court decided the case of Pearcy *vs.* Stranahan. Plaintiff brought his action in the Circuit Court of the United States for the Southern District of New York against the then Collector of the Port of New York to recover the value of certain cigars seized by him which had been brought to that port from the Isle of Pines, where they had been produced and manufactured. This seizure was made under the Dingley Act and the regulations of the Secretary of the Treasury thereunder. The Dingley Act provided for the imposition of duties "on articles imported from foreign countries," and in plaintiff's complaint it was asserted that the Isle of Pines was "in possession of and part of the United States" and hence domestic territory. The Government demurred, and the demurrer was sustained, the complaint dismissed and the case brought to the Supreme Court on a writ of error.

In the course of the opinion delivered by Justice Fuller, of which no mention was made by Senator Clapp in his article, the learned court took the ground that the Isle of Pines was foreign territory and declared that when the United States intervened in Cuba "all the world knew that the Isle of Pines was an integral part of Cuba," many of the uncontrovertible facts which have been brought out in this article being quoted to support the arguments in the lucid and just decision.

The Government of Cuba has done more than it was expected in favor of the inhabitants of the Isle of Pines, and in proportion to the taxes collected, the amount of expenditures for roads, schools and other improvements is extraordinary and no other section of Cuba has been, in comparison, so well favored. This periodical agitation of some investors in the lands of the Isle of Pines is to be deplored for the sake of the excellent relations which have been, and are, maintained between the United States and Cuba. These interests attempted before to bring about a settlement of their pretensions by having the Cuban Republic buy their holdings at fancy prices and to devote the lands to public purposes, using the non-ratification of the treaty as a club; but Cuba has confidence in the honesty and good faith of the Senate of this country, and that when such able men as Senator Clapp will give the Cuban side a fair hearing they will bring the matter to an end by doing the proper thing towards Cuba, which is the ratification of the treaty recognizing her rights so forcibly maintained by American statesmen. The one who to-day directs the affairs of this nation, President Taft, while in Havana as Provisional Governor, said in 1906 that it would be "absolutely impossible for the Provisional Government to recognize for one moment that the Isle of Pines is not completely under the jurisdiction of the Provisional Government as a part of the Republic of Cuba," and added that any separation of Cuba and the Isle of Pines "would be a violation of a sacred trust."

American public opinion and fair play will be Cuba's best champions, and the sacred trust will not be violated. The Isle of Pines has been, is and will be Cuba's.

GONZALO DE QUESADA.

THE AMERICAN "TRAMP" QUESTION AND THE OLD ENGLISH VAGRANCY LAWS.

BY BRAM STOKER.

THE "Tramp" question is eternal. No age or country has been able to solve it satisfactorily, for the idle of each age and nation more or less adapt themselves to surrounding conditions. At the very start the matter requires differentiation: to separate those who are by nature idle from those who are poor by circumstance. It may be of some service to compare, with regard to this matter, the circumstances of England before and up to three centuries ago with those existing to-day in the United States of America. Up to the middle of the sixteenth century rural England was very much in the same circumstances as rural America to-day. We must, of course, leave out the facilities of movement, which are very different; but this latter advantage is largely in favor of the vagabond. According to Froude, the population of England was in the middle of the sixteenth century somewhere about a million persons. In this he probably underestimated to a great degree, but his statement will serve as an illustration; the figures really do not matter. The population was scattered largely amongst little villages and hamlets; of these many were mere clusters or groups of small houses far apart from similar congeries, and were cut off from one another by dense forests and imperfect roads. There was in the country no police force as we understand it now; but little, if any, organized local protection. Such protection as nominally existed was in the King or the great nobles who up to Wolsey's time held courts of their own and, under feudal tenure, controlled troops. The change of Sumptuary laws made by Wolsey, for the purpose of furthering trade and in order to bring the nobles round the King, had the effect of enlarging the groups of houses from villages to towns and cities.

Up to that time the Sumptuary laws were prohibitive and repressive: what individuals and classes might *not* do or wear, rather than helpful to trade and manufacture; but under his clever statesmanship—exercised mainly on behalf of the King—the nature of these laws changed and trade and manufactures increased. But for a long, long time villages and towns were practically far apart; and in the wide spaces between the smaller communities were still under the old conditions.

Whilst this state of things existed, it was vitally necessary that wandering persons — who being without home were not easily made responsible—should be under some overt restraint, or at any rate, suspicion. The very word finally applied to such persons in the Acts of Parliament is in itself illuminative.

The first Vagrant statute recorded is that in the XXIII year of Edward III (1349). It runs as follows:

"Item because that many valiaunt beggers, as longe as thei maie live of begginge, do refuse to labour, gevinge them selfe to idlenes and vice, and sometyme to thefte and other abominations: None upon the saide peine of imprisonmente shall, under the colour of pitee or almes geve any thinge to suche, which maie labour, or presume to favour them towards their desyres, so that therby thei maie be compelled to labour for their necessary lyvinge. Wherfore our saide Soveraine lorde the Kynge, the xiii daie of June, the xxiii yere of his reigne, hath commanded to all the shiryffes of Englande by divers writtes, that thei shall do openly to be proclaimed and holden, all and singular the premisses in the counties, boroughs, marchaunt townes, sea portes, and other places in their bailywekes, where to them shall seme expedient: And that thei do therof due execucion, as afore is saide."

This Statute XXIII Edward III was called the "Statute of Laborers" and was ordained to enforce the necessary labor required, "because a great part of the people, and especially of workemen and servauntes late died in pestilence." In this condition of things those remaining often refused to work except at wages unknown in those ages of political economy. In fact, the whole purpose was directly to insure a sufficiency of labor, or, at any rate, to secure such as existed. By means of the carrying out of the statute there would be a sort of registry of labor—certainly of the rebellious side of it. Its practical force was to bind every worker to his own town or tything.

In the next session of Parliament XXV Edward III this Statute was re-enacted, but with greater detail.

This purpose was still further maintained in a later Act—XXXIV Edward III, Cap. 1—wherein power was given to arrest and imprison laborers unwilling to work as well as all guilty or even suspected persons and such Englishmen as "have been pillours and robbers in the partyes beyond the sea; and be nowe come agayne and goeth wanderynge and will not labour as they were wonte in times past."

Herein we get an idea of the cause for such rigid enactments regarding "vagrom men"—to use Dogberry's phrase. Small communities were at times easily terrorized. The cities and towns had sheriffs and bailiffs and constables; but villages having no such official force at command could be easily "held up" by a few men with cross-bows. There had, indeed, been cases on the Continent of Europe where towns had been attacked and sacked by masses of disbanded soldiery. Indeed, wanderers of every kind were harmful; for very often they were thieves or "roberdsmen" or "drawlatches"; and even if they did not commit heinous crimes they were a source of uneasiness and possible loss.

As yet in the history of British legislation, Parliament had only taken note of beggars and rebels against work at statute wage; but in the seventh year of the reign of Richard II an Act (Cap. 5) was passed in which amongst other things is the following:

"And moreover it is ordayned and assented to refrayn the malyce of dyvers people, faytours and wandrynge from place to place reumynge in the countrey more habundauntlie than they were wonte in tymes paste, that from hence forth the Justices of Assyses in theyre cessyons the Justices of peace and the shyriffes in every countie shall have power to enquyre of all suche vacabundes and faytours and of theyre offences, and upon them to do that the lawe demaundeth. And that as well the iustices and shyryffes, as the mayres, baylyffes, constables and other governours of townes and places where such faytours and vacabundes shall come, shall from henceforthe have power to examyne them diligently and compell them to fynde suretye of theyr good bearynge by sufficyent mainpernours, of such as be distreynable, if any defaulte be founde in suche faytours and vacabundes. And if they can not fynde suche suretye they shall be sent to the next iayle, there to abyde tyll the Commynge of the iustices assygned for the deliverance of the iayles, who in suche case shal have power to do upon such faytours and vacabundes so imprysoned that that thereof to them best shall seme by the lawe."

In the above enactment the word "vacabunde" is mentioned for the first time. It is taken from the French through the

low Latin word *vagari*—to wander; wandering beyond bounds. The previous enactments had compelled every man to remain in his own place; this one made the wandering itself from it an offence. We shall see how as time went on this was modified or intensified.

Five years later, by XII Richard II, Cap. 7, the rule against wandering was made more severe.

"Item it is accorded and assented, that of every persone that goeth begging, and is able to serve or labour, it shal be doen of him, as of him that departeth out of the Hundred, and other places aforesaid, without letter, testimonial, as afore is said, excepte people of Religion and Heremites, having letters testimoniall of their ordinaries, and that the beggars impotet [impoteut] to serve, shall abide in the cities and tounes, where they bee dwelling at the time of the proclamacion of this statute, and if the people of Cities or tounes, will not, or maie not suffice to finde theim: that then the saied beggars shall drawe them to other tounes within the Hundredes, Rape, or Wapentake, or to the tounes where thei were borne, within XL daies after the proclamacion made, and there shall continually abide, durying their lives, and that of all them that go in pilgrimage as beggars, and be able to travaille, it shall be doen as if the said servauntes and labourers, if thei have no letters testimoniall of their pilgrimage, under the saied seales. And that the scolers of the Universities that go so begging, have letters testimoniall of their Chaunceler, upon the same pein."

The Act XI Henry VII, Cap. 2, is intended to be merciful and to spare undue cost to the public. By it "vacaboundes," instead of being put in jail, are to be given several chances of reformation:

"that the shyryffes, mayres, bayliffes, highe constables, and pety constables, and all other officers of cities, boroughes townes, townshyppes, vyllages and other places, within three daies after this Act proclaymed, make due serche, and take or cause to be taken all such vacaboundes ydle and suspecte persones, lyvyng suspiciously, and them so taken to set in stockes, there to remayne by the space of thre daies and thre nightes and there to have none other sustenance but breade and water. And after the saide thre daies and thre nightes, to be had out and set at large, and then to be commaunded to avoide the towne. If the misdoer 'eftsones' be taken in 'suche defaute in the same town or township he is to be set in the stocks for six days on the same diet; and every one giving him meat or drink or favouring in his misdoing is to be fined in each time to pay a penalty of twelve pence.'"

And also it is ordained by the same authorities that:

"al maner of begers, not able to work, within six wekes next after the proclamacion of this act, go, rest, and abide in that hundred where last he dwelled, or there where he is best knowen or borne there

to remaine and abyde without beggyne out of the saide hundred, upon peine to be punished as is aforesaide."

Then it goes on that no man is to be excused by being a "clerke of one universitee or the other," unless he show letters from the Chancellor of that University; nor is one calling himself a soldier, shipman or travelling man unless he bring a letter from his captain or from the town where he landed "and that he then to be commanded to go the straight high waie into his countrey." If any sheriff or other officer omit to discharge this duty with regard to strangers he is to be fined for each case twenty pence. This regulation is protected by giving the Lord of the Manor or the Alderman of the ward a personal interest in such fines and to secure his reward by distraint. The last clause of the Act runs:

"Provided alwaie that diminucion of punishment of vacaboundes and beggers aforesaide, may and shall be had for women great with chylde, and men and women in extreme sicknes, by him that hath auctoritee to doe the sayde punishmentes, this acte notwithstandynge."

By an Act of eight years later (XIX Henry VII, Cap. 12) the severity of punishment for first offence in vagabondage was reduced to one day and night in the stocks on bread and water; and for a second offence to three days and nights of similar durance. The same penalties are to be enforced on officers neglecting their duties under this Act as in the earlier enactment.

In the first year of Edward VI an Act (I Edward VI, Cap. 3) was passed repealing all former Acts relating to vagabonds. This Act was in turn repealed by another passed in the third year of the same King (III Edward VI, Cap. 16). In the same year another similar Act was passed which was in turn repealed by XIV Elizabeth, Cap. 5. There were other temporary Acts of the time of Edward VI, Queen Mary and Philip and Mary; also Acts I Elizabeth, Cap. 19, and V Elizabeth, Cap. 19. All of these were repealed by XIV Elizabeth, Cap. 5, which was the most elaborate and comprehensive Vagabond Act passed by the British Parliament up to that time, 1572.

This Act of 1572 is much too long to quote, but a survey of its provisions can be interesting. The preamble gives the necessity of its enactment:

"Whereas the parts of this realme of England and Wales be presentlie with roges, vagabonds, and sturdie beggers, exceedinglie pestred,

by meanes whereof daylie happen murders, thefts, and other great outrages, to the high displeasure of Almightie God, and to the great annoy of the common wealth," etc.

Then came the provisions. All persons above the age of fourteen who were in the class of "roges, vagabonds or sturdie beggers" caught begging, vagrant or misordering themselves were to be put in prison and kept there without bail till the next coming sessions. Such persons, being convicted, "he or she shal be adiudged to be grievouslie whipped and burnt through the gristle of the right eare, with a hot yron of the compasse of an inch about, manifested his or her rogish kind of life, and his or her punishment received for the same, whereof entrie shall bee made of records by the clerke of the peace in the same shire, in the recordes of the same sessions, which iudgement shal also presentlie be executed, except some honest person" (here is stated the property qualification of such) "will of his charitie be contented to take such offendour . . . into his service for one whole yeere." Such employer is to be under recognizance to carry out the obligation thus undertaken. And if such offender abscond before the year is out he or she "shall be whipped and burnt thorow the gristle of the right eare with a hot yron, as is aforesaide." Fourteen days' grace are to be allowed to the offender if sanctioned by two justices. Then if the offender fall again within three weeks into the same way of life if he or she be of or over eighteen years of age shall be adjudged a felon and suffer the penalties of such unless some honest person give recognizance (of double the former amount) to keep him or her in his service for two whole years. If the person thus taking service abscond a second time, then "such roge or vagabond shall be taken, adiuged and deemed as a felon in all respectes, and shall in all degrees have, suffer and forfeite as a felon, without allowance or benefite of clergie or sancturie."

"And if such roge or vagabond after fortie dayes next after he or she shall be two severall times taken into service as is aforesaide, doe either in the sayde Countie, or else where eftsoones the third time fall againe to a kinde of rogish or vagabond trade of life: that then such roge or vagabond shall be adiudged and deemed for a felon, and suffer the paynes of death, and losse of landes and goods as a felon, without allowance or benefite of clergie or sanctuarie."

The stringency of this Act is fortified by laying heavy penalties on any person harboring or aiding a rogue or vagabond

"marked or not marked" travelling without a license from the justices; and by heavily punishing negligent constables.

There are in the Act some clauses of thoughtful benevolence. Certain travelling persons, shipmen, soldiers having licenses, are exempt. So also the following: "any cockers or harvest folks . . . either corne harvest, or hay harvest, if they do worke and labour accordinglie, neither yet to any that happeneth to be robbed or spoyled by ye way"; nor serving-men turned away or who have lost master or mistress by death. The Lord Chancellor's license is to go everywhere. Young persons under the age of fourteen are exempt from all consequences—except whipping or stocking—as by former Acts. Hospitals are empowered to harbor and help aged and impotent persons. Certain "abyding places" are to be appointed locally in every shire, etc., in which the poor are to live and be provided for; but any poor person refusing to live in such place is to be deemed a rogue for the first refusal, and for the second to "suffer as a roge or vagabond in the last degree of punishment set forth by this acte in all points." The same punishment is to be meted to "aged and impotent persons, not being so diseased lame or impotent, but that they may worke in some manner of worke" who refuse to do such work as the overseers appoint them to.

There is a special clause to the effect that in case of "any begger's childe," being above the age of five years and under fourteen years, being male or female, "who may be liked of by any subject of this realme of honest calling," such may be taken by them into service. This must be done under bond, and the master is bound to keep them till a stated age—twenty-four in the case of a male and eighteen in the case of a female.

This statute was the mother statute of many vagabond Acts or portions of Acts which lasted down to 1822 and became in certain ways the guiding legislation in the establishment of poors' houses and reformatories. Of course as time went on and social conditions changed the provisions had to be altered. As towns multiplied, bringing more constant and easier communication from place to place, the mere fact of being an unlicensed traveller ceased to be in itself an offence. In a populous country with much trade and many manufactures and industries it would be quite impossible to "keep tab" of all vagrants. But till this day those who will not work are practically regarded as a more

or less dangerous class. Indeed, the passing of the "habitual criminals" Act has a common basis. When certain persons—or classes of persons—are manifestly dangerous to more peaceful and better-ordered classes of communities it is the essence of good government — indeed, a necessary duty to responsible officials—to keep them in restraint, or certainly under observation. In both civil and rural communities they are dangerous; in America as in England; to-day as well as in the time of "Good Queen Bess." In cities they are practically rogues; in the country vagabonds and sturdy beggars, whose presence is attended with fear if not with danger.

"It is the germ of the future which we seek in the past"—to use the luminous phrase of Victor Cousin. Why not apply this historical lesson to existing conditions? The reign of Queen Elizabeth was an enlightened time; and benevolent and tolerant ideas did not lack. If then the statesmen of that expansive and formative period found it necessary to rule tramps with so heavy a hand that cumulative penalties beginning with "ear-marking" —which was the name applied to the branding in the ear—and ending with the extremest possible punishment, death, were ordained, why might it not be wise to adopt some drastic measure, though one necessarily more in accord with the humanitarian development of three centuries? If it was found necessary in the earlier period to put on the ill-doer some mark of which he could not divest himself, why should we not repeat the custom in some fashion in accord with the spirit of the times? If it was then found necessary to keep tramps within districts where they were personally known to officials, why not now keep them within certain bounds? If it was worth while then to try to break them in to the practice or habit of labor, why not repeat the benevolent enterprise?

For it is necessary to accustom the long-idle to labor by gentle exercise. The muscles, almost atrophied by disuse, cannot all at once either adapt themselves to or continue in strenuous work. I remember some years ago making a round of the police "shelters" in New York; those most thoughtful refuges for the not, or not-yet, criminal poor. Two rooms, one for either sex; well warmed and furnished, with only plank beds and a can of cold water and tin cup. The weather was dreadfully cold, and that night the various shelters must have saved many lives. In one

station the kind-hearted old sergeant of police took me into both rooms. It was a lesson to remember. In either room were as many persons as could find resting-place. Almost all of them had taken off all their poor rags, which they had hung to dry on lines stretched from wall to wall overhead. The smell of them was noisome. I had been talking to the sergeant of the possibility of reforming tramps and getting them to work. In the men's room he said to me:

"That will bear out what I told you, sir. Look at that man's muscles. He *can't* work. Not all at once, at any rate. His legs are all right, for he uses them. But mind his arms! Why, they're like those of a child of twelve. It would take him a couple of months, beginning easy, before he could use a spade, or chop wood!"

He was quite right. The man's arms were almost of skeleton leanness; and there was no rigor in the muscles at any moment.

In England the corresponding class to the American tramp is that of the "bone-idle" who live nearly all their lives in the so-called workhouses. These men never work. When they are brought to book for refusing to work they go to gaol.

The time is fast coming when something *must* be done regarding the wilfully-idle class. Already in Germany if they refuse to work they must starve. The result is that they work enough to keep them from the latter alternative. In England the working-classes are beginning to lose patience with the idle. The feeling has become more or less acute, now that a system of old-age pensions has come over the horizon. Naturally enough, the workers and earners are not satisfied with a scheme of pensioning at a certain age all who require it. They say that it is not fair that they who have lived honestly and worked hard—and in so doing have helped to gather the money required for the scheme of pensions—should be treated in the same way as the habitually-idle. Or they put it in a more reasonable form that the habitually-idle should not be given the same consideration as those habitually-industrious.

In America the class of "tramp" is a perpetual menace; and that not merely to individuals. The lesson of the "Coxey" army of tramps who gathered in thousands and made their way to Washington should not be forgotten. As they took their way the public on the route were so fearful of some excesses being committed that they bribed them with food and help to pass on from

their own district. It was just such armies, only better equipped and trained to arms, which made the vagabond Acts from Edward III down a necessity of British Government.

How, then, could this historical lesson be applied?

If the "tramp" of the twentieth century be so dangerous, or at best a source of fear or embarrassment—as was the "Roge" or "Vagabond" or "Sturdie Beger" of the sixteenth; and as he was in the former age treated in such a way as to minimize his harmfulness, why not repeat the treatment, suitably altered to meet the new conditions! As ear-marking with a "hot yron" be treatment of a drastic quality not acceptable to a less rude age, surely the resources of science are equal to some method of personal marking of an indelible quality. This step achieved, all idle persons, wandering and obviously undesirable to any ordinary intelligence, might in the first instance be arrested and tested as to the existence of modern ear-marking. If unable to show license or to account for themselves in any reasonable way they might be sent to a Labor Colony set far away in the heart of some fastness, there to be detained for a sufficient time to learn to be industrious in some form, and to have their physique brought by degrees up to the standard requisite for such work. It could be made apparent that there was no spirit of unkindness in such precautionary, and ultimately benevolent, doing.

The first relegation might be for a year; after which the reorganized tramp could, if considered to be physically suitable, allowed to go free. Such would be in the routine of the old law. If a second time he were sent back to the labor colony he should have to pass two years in the service—again fulfilling the old conditions. By this time it would be known and proved whether he was simply a loafer or one who wished to do well. He had had his two chances and he could ask no more. The third period of duress would match the last stage in this eventful history. In this age we do not, and could not kill, because of mere idleness. But the offender could be given a life sentence. In England a life sentence really means twenty years. At the expiration of such times, if reformation were possible, it would be seriously undertaken now. If the intention of reform were not now apparent he could remain where he was—not dangerous, even if inefficient.

BRAM STOKER.

THE RELATIONS OF STATE AND FEDERAL FINANCE.

BY EDWIN R. A. SELIGMAN, MCVICKAR PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL ECONOMY, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

THE existence of several concurrent or overlapping tax jurisdictions has always been a source of more or less difficulty. It is especially, however, in federal states that the problem assumes its most acute form, and it is primarily in recent years that the complications have been vastly increased by the new developments of economic life. The problem is not peculiar to the United States, for the relations of local and imperial finance have long agitated the minds and taxed the abilities of British statesmen; while in federal states like Germany, Switzerland, Canada and Australia we have, as in the United States, the threefold complications of local, state and federal fiscal adjustments. The problems are with slight variations everywhere analogous.

In the United States it is only of late that the difficulties have presented themselves in full force. Local expenditures were at first of slight importance; State revenues were derived from tacking on an addition to the well-nigh sole source of local revenue—the general property tax; Federal revenues were by constitutional arrangement and by well-settled custom restricted, as a rule, to import duties and to a few categories of internal revenue taxation. Of late years, however, a threefold change has occurred. In the first place, the growing inadequacy of State and local revenues has led to the selection of new sources of income, some of which were also occasionally utilized by the Federal government. Secondly, the vast economic changes which have broken down State lines and made industry national have disclosed to a great degree the inherent weaknesses of certain forms of State taxation, and have led to the demand for some method of national

supervision or regulation in order to secure uniformity. In the third place, the well-nigh complete failure of the general property tax in State and local finance and the growing belief that large fortunes are evading their share of the public burdens has engendered a wide-spread demand for some more effective method of reaching the wealthier classes of the community. These three causes have conspired to bring the subject of the relations of State and Federal finance to a focus, so that it is now in the forefront of popular interest.

It behooves us, therefore, to give careful attention to this topic, and to endeavor to ascertain whether there do not exist some underlying principles of wide-spread application which may serve as a guide to the legislator and the administrator.

Looking at the subject in its largest aspect, it may be stated that there are at least three general considerations which must be borne in mind in the attempt to make a permanent choice of revenues for each of the competing tax jurisdictions. These are, respectively, the considerations of efficiency, of suitability and of adequacy. Let us take these up in turn.

The problem of efficiency in taxation is naturally of vital importance. No matter how well intentioned a scheme may be, or how completely it may harmonize with the abstract principles of justice, if the tax does not work administratively it is doomed to failure. It is clear that the effectiveness of different taxes depends upon the nature of the tax as well as upon the character of the administration. A tax on land, for instance, is apt to be best administered by local authorities; for it is, after all, the local assessors who may be presumed to possess the most exact knowledge of the local conditions upon which the value of the land depends. State supervision may, indeed, be desirable for certain purposes, but into that question we do not propose here to enter. In the main a locally administered land tax will be relatively efficient.

Other taxes are less obviously local in character or are less well fitted for local assessment because of administrative difficulties. A good example, for instance, is to be found in the liquor-license tax known in New York as the Excise Tax. When the assessment of the tax was transferred a few years ago from local to State officials, the effectiveness of the administration was so enhanced as vastly to increase the revenue. The administration was

removed from local politics, but was not plunged into State politics. Centralization of administration here, as in many other domains of political life, has been found to approve itself to the popular mind.

Just as the State-administered revenues have been found in some cases to be superior to locally administered revenues, it may be expected that Federally administered revenues will in some cases be superior to State-administered revenues. For not only is the Federal administration in some respects superior in efficiency to that of the State, but the very character of the tax may render effective supervision far easier in the one case than in the other. The administration of the income tax, for instance, would undoubtedly be far more effective in the hands of the Federal government than in those of the State government because of the difficulty, as we shall see, of localizing and adequately controlling incomes. Other instances of this distinction between administrative efficiency and inefficiency might be multiplied.

The second consideration is that of suitability. Are there any sources of revenue which are naturally more suitable for utilization by one tax jurisdiction rather than another? This is really a problem as to the basis of taxation. Is the basis of a given tax wide or narrow? Obviously in proportion as the basis of a tax is more and more extended the argument in favor of its utilization by the broader tax jurisdiction becomes correspondingly strong. Thus one of the principal reasons, in addition to that previously mentioned, why the tax on real estate is not employed by the central government is because the basis is so narrow a one. It is chiefly because the tax on real estate is unsuitable for the general revenue system that it is everywhere becoming more and more relegated to the local jurisdictions. This tendency is universal throughout the civilized world, and the seeming counter-tendencies which are illustrated by some of the proposals in the new British budget could easily be explained away for entirely different reasons. So far as the relations between State and Federal finance at all events are concerned, there is no doubt that a tax on real estate is obviously unfitted for the Federal government. We in the United States have had but three instances of such a tax, of an entirely ephemeral nature, and in the main so unsuccessful that its repetition is exceedingly doubtful.

While real estate, with its narrow basis, stands at one extreme of the scale, we find at the other extreme, with a very wide basis, articles of general consumption. The widest possible basis is afforded by commodities of so-called mass consumption, like tobacco and spirituous beverages; and we accordingly find that in the United States, as everywhere else, taxes on these commodities are reserved for the use of the broadest tax jurisdiction. Almost without exception the American States have voluntarily refrained from utilizing this source of revenue because of the obvious unsuitableness of these taxes on consumption for State purposes. The same is true to a still greater extent of customs duties, which are almost everywhere kept for national or Federal use. So strongly were these conditions of suitability present in the minds of our forefathers that the American Constitution not only expressly reserves the employment of import duties to the Federal government, but provides in effect that the indirect tax should be uniform throughout the country. It is clear that this desirable uniformity would be completely lost if the separate States were to arrogate to themselves this important source of revenue.

The problem of suitability, however, with its considerations of wide *versus* narow basis, has become of special importance to us in connection with three great classes of revenue—the corporation tax, the inheritance tax and the income tax. In each of these cases various reasons, as we shall see, have conjoined to put them forward as desirable constituents of a Federal tax system; but it is beyond question that one of the controlling factors in this demand is the proven unsuitability, from some essential points of view at least, of this tax for State purposes. This is due, above all, to the existence of interstate complications and to the fact that the economic basis of each of these three taxes is a wide one, while the State administrative basis is a narrow one.

With reference to corporations this statement scarcely needs any further proof. There are, indeed, still to be found many small businesses in corporate form supplying primarily local needs. But the striking characteristic of modern business life is the existence of corporations whose products are consumed throughout the country and whose very location, as in the case of the transportation companies, is interstate in character. From the economic point of view, interstate lines have been completely broken down, and the attempt to elaborate a successful system

of State taxes on corporations has been frustrated in large measure by the existence of these interstate complications. It is well known, for instance, that the new national tax on corporations is due almost exclusively to the endeavor to secure an adequate and uniform administrative supervision of corporations. As a purely fiscal measure the new tax is open to almost every conceivable objection.

The corporation tax is, for instance, repugnant to the principles of accounting, because it deducts taxes before arriving at taxable net earnings, a proceeding as little justifiable as would be a State tax on corporations which deducted from the taxable basis the locally assessable taxes, or *vice versa.* It is repugnant to the principles of justice in taxation in that it provides for the deduction of all sums payable as interest on bonded indebtedness. This practically means that the tax is a tax only on the stockholder and not on the bondholder. Why the man who invests $10,000 in railroad stock should pay taxes and another who invests $10,000 in bonds should go scot-free has never yet been shown. The old argument that the bond represents indebtedness while the stock represents property is, as every student knows, of no economic weight. It is a legal and not an economic consideration. Economically the mortgage is a part of the property; the stock and bonds together constitute the property, the stock being worth so much the less because of the existence of the bonds. If the real intent of the tax was to reach the people who owned the property there would be no justification in taxing only the class of property-owners known as bondholders. The legal situation is not the economic situation. The exemption of bondholders may, indeed, be necessary as a result of the judicial decisions on the income tax; but the economic consequence is lamentable in the extreme in causing the corporation tax to remain a torso.

Finally, thirdly, even if the intent is to reach only the stockholders, the corporation tax is repugnant to sound principles of finance. For, as is familiar to all students, a special tax on a particular class of capital invested in corporations will lead to a so-called amortization of the tax—that is, the market value of the corporate shares will fall by an amount equivalent to the capitalized value of the tax, so that the future purchaser of corporate shares will have bought them free of the tax, discounting

future taxes in the lower purchase price of the security. Thus the burden of the corporation tax will be borne by present stockholders, leaving future stockholders free.

From all these points of view, therefore, the Federal corporation tax might be declared to be violative of sound economic and fiscal principles. Nevertheless, all these objections are beside the mark, because the real intent of the tax is not fiscal, but social or regulative. It was because of the failure of the States adequately to regulate interstate corporations that this tax was devised. As a revenue-producer or even as a fiscal measure, it is lamentably inadequate, but as a regulative measure it is pregnant of the most far-reaching beneficial results. Whether a satisfactory scheme of regulating large corporations can be attained through a purely fiscal measure may well be doubted. But since taxation can be, and often has been, utilized for social and regulative purposes, it may well be expected that one regulative side of the corporation tax will serve as an entering-wedge to a more effective system. Thus the national corporation tax is a natural, not undesirable, consequence of existing interstate complications.

In the same way the demand for a Federal inheritance tax is in large measure the result of interstate conflicts of tax jurisdiction. Any one who has taken the trouble to follow with care the working of the inheritance tax in our foremost commonwealths will realize that as a revenue-producer it would be far more successful were it not subject to the difficulties of interstate conflicts of tax jurisdiction. The fact that the English inheritance tax yields about twenty times as much as the New York inheritance tax cannot be explained simply by the difference in population or in the tax rate. It is in large measure due to the fact that the Englishman cannot evade the tax as can the New-Yorker by transferring himself or his property to adjacent States where no such tax exists. On the other hand, there have been in America frequent instances of double taxation, as in the well-known case of the estate of a man, whose property happens to be situated in another State, being taxed by each State in turn. Thus the State assessment of inheritances means now undertaxation and now overtaxation—the net result being glaring inequality. From this point of view a Federal inheritance tax would be as superior to a State inheritance tax as the latter would be to a local inheritance tax.

The same considerations, but in an intensified form, applies to the income tax. If there is anything that may be considered a well-settled induction from experience, it is that an income tax is more and more unsuccessful as the basis of the tax becomes narrower. In former times a local income tax was fairly workable because incomes were chiefly local in their nature. In modern times, however, the income of the taxpayer, and especially the income of the larger taxpayer, has very little to do with the locality in which he happens to live. Nay, more, incomes nowadays, through the working out of economic forces, have become national and international in character and at all events have far transcended State lines. A man may live in one State and may secure his income partly from real-estate holdings situate in another State and partly from investments in securities of corporations whose earnings are derived in many other States. How is it possible for any local or State administration successfully to ascertain or adequately to control such income of its resident citizens? The State income taxes in the United States are largely for that reason the veriest farces, and under present economic conditions can never become anything else. If we are to have an income tax of any kind that is at all in consonance with fiscal principles, it must obviously be a Federal income tax rather than a State income tax. For in no other practicable way shall we be enabled to avoid the numberless complications of interstate double taxation which would assuredly render nugatory any attempt to introduce a State income tax.

It will be seen, therefore, that so far as concerns the question of suitability, resting on the existence of conflicts of tax jurisdictions the arguments in favor of Federal corporation, inheritance and income taxes, are of considerable weight. It would, however, be rash to conclude that the argument is convincing; for there still remains the third point, adverted to above, without a careful consideration of which no final conclusion can be reached. We come, in other words, to the principle of adequacy in taxation.

If we look at revenue measures from the point of view of adequacy, it will be seen that the problem assumes a different form. Let us apply it first to the income tax.

So far as considerations of revenue are concerned, it can scarcely be contested that the income tax is unnecessary for Federal purposes. Federal revenues in the past have in normal times

been derived almost entirely from custom duties and internal indirect taxes. There is no reason why these sources should not suffice for the future. Without entering here upon the general question of the protective tariff, it may be confidently asserted that we can continue to secure a large and growing revenue from import duties whether the principle of protection be upheld in its integrity or not. Either a revenue tariff with incidental protection or a protective tariff with incidental revenue can be made to yield the desired income. And when we consider the immense population in the United States, it is beyond all question that even a simple system of indirect taxes will suffice to raise the remainder of the needed revenue. The internal revenue, exclusive of the income tax, yielded at the close of the Civil War almost $300,000,000 a year, and if we take into account the prodigious increase in wealth and in consumption during the forty years that have elapsed, it will be apparent that the internal revenue system of the United States might be made to yield to-day many hundred millions of dollars more than it actually does without even approaching the number of taxes or the rate of taxation that existed during the Civil War. It is quite safe to say that so far as we can look into the future the prospective expenditure of the United States may be readily and easily supplied by import duties together with a well-chosen system of light internal revenue taxes.

A national income tax, therefore, is not needed for revenue purposes. Nor is the demand for a national income tax based upon such reasons. The argument in its favor, however, is none the less exceedingly strong. If not needed for revenue, it is needed for justice. This is due to the complete breakdown of the general property tax in State and local finance. Under the existing State and local systems there is no doubt that we are unable to reach the possessors of large fortunes. The wealthy man stands from under, not necessarily because he commits perjury, but because the loopholes in the general property tax have become so numerous that any adroit individual can avail himself of them. A Federal income tax is justifiable on the score of equity under prevalent American conditions.

I would here, however, sound a note of warning. It must not be imagined that a Federal income tax would at once work well. The experience of Germany and even of England must not lead

us astray. We have neither the administrative machinery of Prussia nor the methods of doing business which are found in Great Britain. The lump-sum, or direct, income tax of Prussia would be hopeless in this country; the schedule, or indirect, income tax of Great Britain would meet with great difficulties in its application here. It has taken England half a century to work out the problem of its income tax and to make it fairly successful. It would take us, perhaps, almost as long to make even a Federal income tax an administrative success. Thus those who hope for a fiscal or a social panacea in the Federal income tax are bound to be wofully disappointed. Moreover, if introduced into this country, an income tax measure must be framed with the most extreme care on the lines far different from those of 1862 and 1894.

One final advantage of the Federal income tax which must not be overlooked is that it would render far easier the struggle that is going on in our various States to amend or to abolish the iniquitous personal property tax. The taxation of intangible personalty has become a byword and a reproach to our American public life. All efforts to reform the system of the general property tax have thus far shattered against the rock of popular conviction that such wealth as consists of personal property ought not to be allowed to escape. If now we were to have a Federal income tax, however unsuccessful it might be at first, it would take the wind out of the sails of these objectors; and the would-be reformers of the system of local and State taxation would no longer be met by the contention that personal property must be listed for taxation. For personal property would then be reached through the Federal income tax. It is most significant that in Great Britain personal property was entirely exempted from all local taxation in the very same decade that the national income tax was imposed.

Our conclusion would then be that so far as the income tax is concerned, even though it be not needed for purposes of revenue, it is nevertheless a desirable adjunct to our scheme of Federal taxation. It goes, of course, without saying that even apart from this question the projected constitutional movement, legalizing the income tax, ought to prevail. For even if the income tax were not to constitute a part of our normal revenue system, it would be deplorable in the extreme if a mighty empire like

the United States were unable to use this potent engine of revenue in time of need.

When, however, we come to consider the inheritance tax and the corporation tax, we find that the argument from the principle of adequacy is somewhat different. The income tax is not employed, and is not needed, for State or local revenues; but the same is by no means true of the inheritance tax and the corporation tax. Every one who is familiar with the recent developments of tax reform in the American States knows that the tendency is very clear. There is an undoubted movement toward the separation of State and local revenues, with a reservation of the real-estate tax to the localities. On the fundamental reasons for this world-wide movement it is not necessary or proper here to enter, but it is pertinent to call attention to the fact that the general property tax is coming more and more to be restricted to the localities, and that the State governments have in consequence been compelled to reach out for new and independent sources of revenue. These new sources of revenue have consisted primarily of the corporation tax and the inheritance tax, supplemented in a few cases like New York by some other forms of taxation. In some States this process has been entirely completed, and the general property tax is no longer employed for State purposes, to the great advantage of all concerned. If now the Federal government were to seize upon either, or still worse, both the inheritance tax and corporation tax, this entire salutary movement would have to be checked. The assumption by the Federal government of what it does not need for fiscal purposes and of what is seriously needed by the State governments would be a calamity of the first magnitude—a calamity the full significance of which can be appreciated only by those who during the past few decades have patiently watched and labored to help in bringing about the beginning of the great reform which is now visible. The abandonment by the States of reliance on the aid afforded by the corporation tax and the inheritance tax is something that cannot be entertained for a moment.

On the other hand, as we have seen, both the inheritance tax and the corporation tax, like the income tax, are really better fitted for Federal administration. How, then, are we to escape these two horns of the dilemma? According to the principle of suitably the inheritance tax and the corporation tax should be

Federal taxes; according to the principle of adequacy they should be State taxes.

May I venture to suggest a method which will prevent us from being impaled on either of the two horns of the dilemma and which may extricate us from the difficulty? Why is it not possible to secure all the ends of suitability by having the taxes administered by the Federal government under general Federal laws, and why is it not possible to secure all the ends of adequacy by having the proceeds apportioned in whole or in part to the various States? This is my solution of the difficulty: let the national government assess the taxes and let the State governments profit by the taxes.

This is by no means so new or revolutionary a suggestion as it may appear. It is found in some form or other in many countries and in not a few of the American commonwealths. In England, for instance, the inheritance tax is assessed by the central government, but a part of the proceeds are allotted to the local governments. The same is true of some other taxes in England. In Germany the proceeds of certain indirect taxes are divided between the federal and the state governments, and one of the important features in the recent budgetary scheme of Chancellor von Bülow was to have a federally administered inheritance tax, a part of the proceeds to go to the states. This scheme has only temporarily been abandoned. In Canada it is well known that a large part of the provincial revenues is derived from the proceeds of taxes that are levied by the federal government. Other instances might readily be multiplied. In the United States also many of our separate commonwealths raise revenues which are apportioned to the local administration. Even the Federal government, as in the one famous instance of the Distribution of the Surplus, apportioned to the various States the proceeds of Federally assessed taxes. The question of the constitutionality of the scheme that I have suggested may be left to the lawyers. My own opinion, expressed with all diffidence, is that a constitutional method can be devised. But my additional opinion, expressed without any diffidence, is that if constitutional methods cannot be devised, the sooner a constitutional amendment is procured the better it will be. I can see no other avenue of escape from the complications that are looming up on all sides. It may, indeed, be claimed that the difficulties connected with

the conflicts of State jurisdiction can be overcome in another way—namely, by interstate agreements based on considerations of interstate comity, whereby each State will obligate itself to refrain from levying more than its equitable and proper share of the tax. While this consummation would be exceedingly desirable, it may well be doubted whether it is at all feasible. American experience has, unfortunately, driven home the lesson that the separate commonwealths cannot be depended upon voluntarily to relinquish any weapons which may constitutionally be employed in the struggle of local and sectional interests for economic advantage. Even if the majority of the States could be induced to enter into such a compact, the defection or refusal of a few States would be sufficient to defeat the whole scheme. In other federal states, like Germany, *e. g.,* it has been found necessary to achieve the desirable uniformity by imposing it upon the states through national regulation. It is clear, however, that the American commonwealths would not brook such national interference, and that the accomplishment of the desired end would require a constitutional amendment which it would be well-nigh impossible to secure.

Moreover, even if such interstate uniformity could be reached in this way, it would at best apply only to the inheritance tax. It would still fail to meet the problem involved in the corporation tax—the problem, viz., of reaching the corporate earnings derived exclusively or in large measure from interstate business. When even the economic apportionment to each State of its proper share of revenue from such complex sources is so difficult a matter to accomplish, the problem of the fiscal adjustment by purely State administrative methods may be declared to be well-nigh insoluble.

We are, therefore, forced back to the scheme suggested above as the sole practicable alternative. The method of Federal administration and State apportionment will accomplish everything that is needed. It will conform to the principles of efficiency and of suitability, because the taxes in question can best be administered by the Federal government and because in that way alone the gross inequalities of the present system can be overcome. While, on the other hand, the separate States will secure the revenues which they need and will be able to continue in the path of tax reform upon which they have so auspiciously entered.

Thus we reach the conclusion that of the three great taxes about which the controversy has now become so acute, the income tax ought to be levied by the Federal government and its proceeds utilized not only to diminish the burden of the national indirect taxes, but more especially in order to facilitate the reform of the State general property tax; and we reach the further conclusion that the corporation tax and the inheritance tax should be levied as national taxes by the Federal government, but under a clear understanding with the separate States that the proceeds should be distributed in whole or in greater part to them. To determine the exact methods of repartition would be comparatively easy. For that would be a matter of detail, not of principle. The important point is that some adjustment be reached whereby the legitimate demands of equality and of uniformity may be complied with without those of efficiency and adequacy being sacrificed. The interests of the States must at all costs be safeguarded, but the difficulties inherent in a State administration of what has become national in character must be avoided. The plan outlined above will accomplish this end. In this way, and probably in this way alone, can we do justice to the underlying principles of fiscal and social reform. In this way, and probably in this way alone, can the relations of State and Federal finance be put on an enduring and a completely satisfactory basis.

EDWIN R. A. SELIGMAN.

LOCAL OPTION AND AFTER.

BY RUSSELL E. MACNAGHTEN.

THERE is a growing demand that the Temperance question shall be solved on sane and rational lines. This feeling is by no means confined to those who have arrogated to themselves the name of the Temperance party. On the contrary, though it is impossible to dogmatize on such a point, it seems reasonable to hold that at least four-fifths of the electors in any English-speaking country would heartily welcome any measure that, without going to extremes, would offer on a rational basis some permanent solution of this vexed question.

The most recent example of a tendency which is world-wide is afforded by the British Isles, where the Licensing Bill of the present Government passed the House of Commons by a very large majority, notwithstanding the vast vested interests which the liquor traffic has accumulated throughout Great Britain. That the House of Lords should have temporarily succeeded in stopping this measure of reform is no disproof of the fact that even when enormous pecuniary interests were at stake a very large majority of the electors voted through their representatives for a measure of reform which (1) set a definite limit to the continuance of vested interests, and (2) positively established the principle of Local Option, as a main factor in future licensing developments. Nor was this measure in any way the result of crude or hasty legislation. On the contrary, every section of the bill was the product of the most careful and mature consideration and had been discussed in every newspaper throughout the length and breadth of the land. Again the principles of "Time Limit" and "Local Option" had for many years been suggested as inseparable concomitants of any scheme of reasonable reform. The whole bill, in fact, represented a wise, deliberate and mature

compromise between all sections of Temperance opinion, Prohibitionist and moderate, lay and clerical. No measure was ever more carefully or dispassionately considered, and under these circumstances the prominence there given to Local Option is a striking testimony to its merits. It is with the object of showing some of the latent possibilities of this great principle that this article is now written. It is curious how little the wide scope of Local Option, or the results which it has already actually accomplished in other parts of the world, are recognized by the general public. To a great extent, especially on the American continent, the true potentialities of Local Option have been obscured and limited by the action of the extreme section of the Temperance party, who have endeavored to convert Local Option into a contrivance for securing under a different name the principle of Prohibition. Unfortunately, the discretion of this class of reformers has not been in proportion to their zeal.

Provided that in any given locality a proportion of the population sufficiently large to insure the enforcement of the law could be found to vote for the total abolition of the saloon, the cause of morality and order would undoubtedly be furthered in such a place. But, as Bacon says, "there is no greater torture than the torture of laws," and there is similarly no more humiliating or degrading spectacle than the open and flagrant violation of a law placed on the statute-book in defiance of a considerable body of public opinion. If Prohibition, then, is to be secured by local option, the goal for which the reformer must strive is "*Prohibition in fact*" and not merely "*Prohibition in name.*" For this reason it seems perfectly clear that, except in the case of small towns, the "bare majority" principle which the less enlightened Prohibitionists regard as the ideal is not capable of enforcement and must therefore be rejected. To take a concrete instance, it seems unreasonable to expect that if, in a city containing a hundred thousand persons and one hundred saloons, the principle of local option were introduced, and the closing of all saloons were voted for by a majority of one, it would be possible to enforce such a decision. On the other hand, it is perfectly certain that if a principle to which no reasonable reformer could object, namely, the limitation of saloons to a fixed minimum of the local population were introduced, actual Prohibition would *ipso facto* prevail in all rural and semi-rural locali-

ties. Thus no reasonable reformer could cavil at legislation limiting saloons to one for every thousand of the population; and I am personally inclined to believe that there would not be much difficulty in raising the limit to one for every two thousand of the population. Yet by so simple and reasonable a measure actual* Prohibition would be made effective all over the rural districts and in numerous small towns, without the necessity for periodic recourse to a local-option vote. Vast and numerous Prohibitionist areas would thus be established; which in itself would be an enormous aid towards promoting Temperance habits and principles in the more populous urban centres.

But the problem of regulating or abolishing the liquor traffic in large urban centres is a very different and a much more difficult task; and the difficulties of absolute Prohibition increase in direct proportion to the numerical size of the town or city. Admitting the principle that no more than one license should be permitted for every one (or two) thousand of the population, we should probably be confronted with no very serious difficulty in enforcing Prohibition in a town of five thousand inhabitants, even by a bare majority vote, provided there was a real desire at headquarters that the police should enforce the popular mandate. Double the size of the town, and it is almost certain that if the option of a bare majority were in favor of "no license" the sale of alcoholic liquors would not cease, but would merely be replaced by sly grog-shops and other forms of illicit traffic. On this point the evidence accumulated in many lands by Messrs. Rowntree and Sherwell in their monumental work, "The Temperance Problem and Social Reform," seems conclusive. On the other hand, it is equally certain that even in large cities it must be perfectly possible to enforce actual and total Prohibition of the saloon, provided that a sufficiently preponderating number of the electors cast their votes in favor of such a policy, and it is of vital import that we should at least form a tolerably accurate estimate of what that preponderance should be. It is clear, for instance, to take an extreme example, that if ninety per cent. of the electors were determined to enforce Prohibition the saloon would immediately go out of existence; and there seems every reason to think that a far lesser majority would be equally ef-

* By "Prohibition" I mean Prohibition of the licensed saloon or hotel; not necessarily exclusion of the importation of alcoholic liquors.

fective, especially if the principle of option were extended in another direction to which I shall presently refer. If nine men can compel one man of equal strength to refrain from thwarting their purpose, it is really almost equally the case that two can impose their wishes on one, even when the numbers on each side are multiplied to any extent. Again it should be remembered that the principle of a two-thirds majority would not only have a far greater chance of success from mere numerical superiority than a bare majority, but the principle itself is one which many, who would refuse to assent to the bare majority view, would be willing to support, especially if the alternative option of reduction of licenses were always joined to it. It is, indeed, extraordinary that temperance reformers should have been so blind to the possibilities of this form of option. While absolute Prohibition is a drastic remedy, which only commends itself naturally to the more advanced sections of the Temperance party, Reduction is a remedy which must appeal to all bodies of the citizens, irrespective of creed or party, with the single exception of those whose pecuniary interests are directly concerned in the maintenance of the liquor traffic. This principle of Reduction might be introduced in two ways. I have already pointed out the desirability of regulating the number of saloons in proportion to a certain minimum unit of the population. If the very reasonable law were passed that no licenses should be granted in excess of one saloon to every thousand of the population, it is clear that by these means alone there would be a large and automatic reduction without any need of assistance from Local Option. But there is not the least reason why, if the maximum basis of one to a thousand were once established, the people of any particular town or city should not be given at the time of a local-option poll the further option of saying whether they wished for a greater reduction than that necessitated by the general law. Suppose, for instance, that the law which I have been advocating had been passed. A city of 100,000 inhabitants, which before the passing of the law had one hundred and fifty licensed saloons, would immediately possess only one hundred. Why should not the inhabitants (in addition to the right of deciding whether they would have saloons at all) have the further right of reducing the number of saloons to fifty or even to a lesser figure? Such an option would in many cases be far more effective than the method of voting "yes"

or "no" for absolute Prohibition, because it would rally to its support many who might be disinclined to vote for a more drastic alternative.

There is another matter, which, though it does not strictly fall within the scope of Local Option—being, indeed, rather a subject for legislative enactment—yet is so closely allied to it that it may receive passing mention here. Under the absurd and haphazard system under which licenses have been granted in the past, one frequently sees from half a dozen to a dozen licensed houses crowded together within a few hundred yards of each other. Under any properly organized system of licensing such a state of things would be impossible. If it is desirable that licenses should be limited in number to a certain proportion of the population, it is equally desirable that a space limit should be set. If licensed premises were not allowed in closer proximity than a quarter of a mile to each other, much of the temptation to which workingmen are so constantly exposed would be at once removed.

Nor are the possibilities of local option or choice by any means confined to the matters I have mentioned. While it is clearly necessary that the Government should fix certain maximum hours for the sale of alcoholic liquors, outside of and beyond which it is illegal for alcohol to be sold even in a licensed house, there is no logical reason why any particular district, supposing it should vote for the continuance of the licensing system, should not have the power of reducing the number of hours during which within its own borders alcoholic liquor might be served in public. Thus the electors of a particular town might reasonably hold that 9 P.M. was a sufficiently late hour for the public sale of alcoholic beverages. If a preponderating majority of the voters held this view, why should they not have the power of enforcing it? Again the same electors might even more reasonably hold that ten o'clock in the morning was at least a sufficiently early hour for the retail sale of alcoholic liquors to commence. Why should they not be able, provided they could secure a preponderating vote at the local polls, to make such a restriction of hours a part of the local licensing law?

The real reason why this and other similar possibilities of local option have been neglected in the past is because the extreme and fanatical section of the Temperance party has endeavored to force its will on the rest of the population. To the extent that one

form of Local Option seemed to lead the way to Prohibition, to that extent they have supported it, but they have confined their efforts entirely to this one side of the subject and have wilfully and deliberately refused to support anything which did not seem to lead directly to their own immediate goal. Indeed, to some extent the extreme Prohibitionists seem to take a morbid delight in raising as much antagonism as possible in the minds of all those who are not prepared to adopt their views in their entirety. A so-called "Local-Option Campaign" has lately been inaugurated in British Columbia. As one who believes in the potentialities of this great principle I attended several of the meetings. I was shocked and grieved to find that the main object of the speakers seemed to be to outrage moderate public opinion to the utmost extent. Persons who were not absolute teetotalers were classed as worse than drunkards, while one of the female orators more than hinted that no one had a right to belong to any of the churches who was not a total abstainer. These speakers, while deploring the ravages caused by intemperance, did not seem to realize that in order to produce any salutary or effective reform it is absolutely necessary that every shade of public opinion that is in any way favorable to the promotion of temperance should be enlisted on their side.

Again to a large extent those who are most eager in promoting Prohibition by means of local option are not persons who have received what is called "a college education." The almost necessary result of this is a biased and prejudiced attitude in regard to any views differing from their own, and a complete ignorance of what has been accomplished in other parts of the world in the direction in which they themselves are endeavoring to proceed. Undoubtedly the most remarkable development of the principle of local choice or option is that which has taken place in Norway. Local Option is the general rule in all towns of any considerable size (the rural districts being generally under absolute Prohibition); but the choice is not between Prohibition and the saloon selling liquor for the maximum profit, but between Prohibition and saloons managed by disinterested companies whose maximum profits are limited to five per cent.

In other words, the Norwegians, while recognizing the merits of the principle of local option, also realized that the radical and supreme curse of the liquor trade was the fact that alcohol was

sold for a maximum profit. By combining the two principles of "Local Choice" and "The Abolition of Private Profit" they have evolved what is in theory the one scientific method of combating the liquor traffic; and when they succeed in their endeavors to apply these principles to the sale of all alcoholic beverages, whether fermented or distilled, instead of as at present to the sale of brandy alone, they will establish a principle of double option which will be almost ideal in character. At present in practically all English-speaking countries local option means the choice between total Prohibition and a system of licensing which is so pernicious in its effects that, though its growth has really been fortuitous, it could not have been worse if all the ingenuity of man had been employed to devise the most vicious scheme that it was possible to produce. The radical and initial mistake has been to treat the saloon or public house as an ordinary shop with a license attached for the sale of its particular wares; and it is from this initial error that all the misery and degradation that are everywhere the inevitable accompaniment of such a system have necessarily sprung. For this state of things it is absurd and illogical to blame the publican or saloon-keeper. Economically, he is merely fulfilling his mission when he pushes the sale of his wares to the utmost extent; and it would be just as unreasonable to blame the proprietor of a boot-store for pushing the sale of boots and shoes as to find fault with the individual publican for adopting the same process in regard to his own particular wares. Every storekeeper is only fulfilling the general and salutary law of trade when he pushes the sale of his own goods; and when once the sale of alcohol was brought under the general rules of retail commerce, it was inevitable that the same result should follow. If it had been recognized at the outset that alcohol was not a fitting subject for ordinary commercial treatment, what an enormous amount of sin and misery would have been saved to the world! And the reason is not far to seek. When the purveyor of ordinary commercial wares, be they boots or any other ordinary mercantile commodity, pushes the sale of his wares, he is not only benefiting himself, but also incidentally his customers, because no man in his senses will buy more boots or the like than are necessary for his reasonable requirements; and even if he did, it would be only his pocket that would suffer. But with the case of alcohol it is very different, because the small-

est amount taken in excess of the most moderate quantity will not only injure the customer himself at the time by incapacitating him for work; but, if the habit be indulged in, will mar his usefulness as a citizen, and in all probability render him an actual burden if not a menace to the community. Moreover, the retailer who, under the present system, is licensed to sell alcoholic wares for private profit not only has all the inducements of any other retail trader to push the sale of his particular wares, but, as he has to pay in return for his license an extra and a fairly severe price for the privilege, he has an extra inducement even beyond other storekeepers to push his own trade. Until, therefore, the element of "private profit" is eliminated from the saloon, it is impossible to expect real or permanent reform. Unfortunately, the average Prohibitionist does not recognize the extreme danger of the present system and is from his very tenets prevented from making any personal or first-hand observation of the situation. It is clearly a flaw in the reformer's position when he is unable to diagnose with accuracy the evils which he is attacking. To a man who has never been inside a saloon, it is almost impossible to convey any idea of the main evil of the present system, or to make him understand to what an extent intemperance is fostered and encouraged by the notion that its customers are bound to keep on drinking "for the good of the house."

On this part of the subject I can speak with some authority. Nearly a quarter of a century ago, it occurred to me that an actual and personal investigation of the public-house system might probably throw considerable light on some of the main causes of intemperance. From a stay of several months in Germany, I knew the German "Guest-house" was a place to which perfectly respectable people of both sexes could and did resort without indulging in excess, and even without partaking of alcoholic beverages at all. I accordingly determined to visit a certain number of English public houses at night, and to keep a record of my impressions and experiences. Altogether I visited nearly fifty public houses in different parts of the country. My method was a very simple one. I took off watch and chain, put on an old coat and, after entering the place of my particular quest smoking a pipe, asked for a newspaper, which I pretended to read while I took mental notes of what was going on. In order to give my experiment a fair trial I never stayed less than half

an hour, and as I had been told that the closing-time on Saturday night was a scene of special orgy, I on one occasion stayed for two hours and a half in a public house at St. Helens, Lancashire, being the last man to quit the premises. During part of my tour I was staying at Toynbee Hall, the University Settlement in East London, and as one or two of the inmates were interested in my experiment I was enabled to visit in their company houses in some of the worst slums of East London, whose reputation was worse than the reality, for we were never molested in any way. My general impressions were recorded in "Macmillan's Magazine" for September, 1885, in an article in which, after briefly narrating some of my experiences, I drew special attention to the need of eliminating the principle of private profit from the retail trade in alcoholic liquors. After a lapse of considerably more than twenty years, I am convinced that this is the one thing essential in dealing with this part of the question. So long as saloons are conducted for private profit, so long will their frequenters be tempted to keep on drinking "for the good of the house," and so long will the owners of these saloons continue to push the sale of their wares to the utmost extent.

Local option can do much in the solution of the temperance problem, but it cannot accomplish everything; and to obtain really effective reform it must be linked to a system of licensing under which private profit shall be completely eliminated. I do not personally think that this particular phase of the question is a matter for local choice; it should rather be settled by direct and decisive legislation. Under the law of 1845—supplemented by the Licensing Acts of 1871-1904—the people of Norway have* Prohibition in the rural districts; while in the towns they have by the Act of 1894 the dual option of (*a*) Prohibition of the retail trade in spirits or (*b*) disinterested company management. The Norwegian law does not provide for a reversion to private license; the evils of which have been too conspicuous to permit of any possibility of their repetition. The dual option prevalent in Norway is the system which should be adopted on the American continent, supplemented in each locality by additional options in regard to (*a*) the reduction of the number of licensed houses, (*b*) the hours of closing.

* "Prohibition" in Norway does not extend to the wholesale trade, nor does it affect beer or wine; it is concerned with the native spirit.

Under such a scheme of reform as is here proposed, we should have absolute Prohibition in every rural district and in small towns whose population was less than one thousand persons. In towns from one thousand to ten thousand persons we should have the two alternatives of (*a*) Prohibition and (*b*) disinterested company management, to be settled by a local vote, in which women as well as men should have the privilege of the franchise. As it is obviously easier to prevent the surreptitious sale of alcohol in a small town than in a large one, I think that in towns of less than ten thousand inhabitants Prohibition might be secured by a sixty-per-cent. or even by a bare majority of those actually recording their votes.

In towns and cities above ten thousand, Prohibition should only be carried by a two-thirds majority; but a bare majority should be sufficient to bring about either a reduction in the number of licensed houses below the statutory limit of one to every thousand of the population or to reduce the hours during which the sale of alcohol was permitted.

It remains to consider what should be the character and management of such licensed houses as might be permitted under such a system of local options as has been here suggested.

In the first place, I would urge as the prime necessity of reform that the bar should be completely and irrevocably abolished. Nothing struck me so much during the course of my inspection of the English public house as the insidious and pernicious influence of the bar. The bar is really nothing else than the counter of the ordinary store, and it is used for precisely the same purpose, namely, to push the sale of the particular wares which the publican has for sale. That the bar at least doubles the number of sales I have no manner of doubt, and this is indeed the sole reason of its existence. A good deal was said during the recent discussions on the English Licensing Bill about barmaids, and a vigorous effort was made by a certain class of reformers to make their presence in public houses illegal. That barmaids are stationed behind the bar for precisely the same reason as the existence of the bar itself is undoubtedly the case; but if the bar itself were abolished the same result would be accomplished. And I am personally inclined to believe that the presence of waitresses in a licensed house from which the element of private profit was eliminated would tend to sobriety rather than intemperance. But

as regards the bar itself, I have not the slightest doubt that it is the most objectionable feature in an objectionable system, and its disappearance is absolutely necessary to any scheme of rational reform.

In the next place,I am decidedly of the opinion that the prevalent idea that it is conducive to temperance to compel the holder of a license to provide a certain amount of sleeping accommodation is wholly mistaken. As a matter of fact, the persons who make use of the sleeping accommodation and those who frequent the bar are not necessarily or generally the same. I was much struck by this fact during a tour which I made from Montreal in the spring of 1906 to Saskatchewan and Alberta. The boarding accommodation at the majority of the hotels was extremely reasonable in price, and had it not been for the adjunct of the bar-rooms could hardly have recouped the proprietors. These bar-rooms, however, did a roaring trade, not amongst the boarders, but practically almost entirely with the local inhabitants. The net result of such a system is really this: that the licensee is virtually compelled to recoup himself for any deficit incurred in providing boarding and sleeping accommodation by pushing the sale of alcohol in the bar to the utmost possible extent. That he is blameworthy under the circumstances I cannot see; he is merely pursuing a course which is the logical effect of the law. It is the law which is to blame.

Of equal importance with the abolition of the bar is the removal of any incentive to private profit. The methods employed in the Scandinavian peninsula in regard to the sale of spirits should be adopted in every licensed house in regard to the sale of all intoxicating liquors, whether fermented or distilled. To the extent that the Gothenburg system has been a failure, it has been so because it has only been partially and imperfectly applied; but, while some of its details are not worthy of imitation, these are certain features which should certainly be utilized to the fullest extent. There are grave objections, especially on this continent, to any system of direct Government or municipal control. Under the semi-municipal company, with profits limited to a maximum of five per cent., experience has shown in Sweden, Norway and England that it is possible to get men of high character and civic ability to serve on the board of directors; while if the profits of the shareholders be limited to a maximum of

five per cent. there is no incentive to push the sale of alcohol. Indeed, with profits so limited, it is not always easy to secure the necessary capital, because the net result is that it is practically only those who are philanthropically inclined who are willing to contribute where the profits are limited to a low percentage, while there is always the possibility of no return whatsoever. To further safeguard the licensed house from being exploited for the sake of private gain, it is essential that the employees, in addition to their salaries, should receive a liberal commission on the sale of food and non-intoxicating beverages, but no commission whatsoever on the sale of alcohol, whether distilled or fermented. The adoption of this simple yet admirable device is imperative in any scheme of scientific reform. It immediately becomes the active interest of every employee to curtail to the utmost extent the sale of alcohol, for the simple reason that every glass of alcohol sold is a waste of time so far as their own pockets are concerned, while the more food and non-alcoholic beverages which they can sell the larger will their own incomes be.

The question of the distribution of surplus profits—namely, those which may accrue after the maximum of five per cent. has been divided amongst the shareholders—is a very serious one, and one where it is of the utmost importance to draw experience from the errors committed elsewhere. At Gothenburg itself a grievous initial mistake was made. A large portion of the surplus profits was devoted to objects which might legitimately have received support from the rates, and to this extent therefore the system, as originally conducted at Gothenburg, might not unreasonably seem to have a direct interest in the increase of the liquor traffic. The difference in this direction between the Gothenburg and Norwegian systems is well put in the recent "Report on the Liquor Licensing Laws of Norway" issued by the Scottish Temperance Legislation Board:

"The most important difference between the Gothenburg and Norwegian systems lies in their respective provisions for the distribution of the surplus profits of the companies. Under the Swedish system, private profit is supplanted by a very direct form of public profit, the Bolag surpluses being used to reduce the public burden of the rates, and therefore the towns of Sweden have a very tangible interest in the liquor traffic, whereas that interest is entirely absent from the municipal politics of Norway, and the purity of Norwegian municipal life is safeguarded against one of the most insidious and deadly kinds of attack."

At present, excepting for those who might prefer that some arrangement be made for the redemption of share capital out of the surplus profits, this method of distribution seems practically ideal. The state receives sixty-five per cent. of the surplus net profits; the municipality (in lieu of larger license duties now abolished), fifteen per cent.; while the remaining twenty per cent. are devoted to objects of public utility, not chargeable on any rates, but operating as counter-attractions to the public house. I must confess, however, that I am personally attracted by the possibility of converting the company system into a purely public trust by utilizing annually a fixed proportion of the surplus profits to that end. Why, for instance, should not the surplus profits be partly utilized in redeeming the share capital annually at par? An example will serve to explain my meaning. Suppose in some town of 12,000 inhabitants who decided, after a local-option poll, to license a restricted number of houses a company were formed with a capital of $50,000 and with shareholders' profits limited to five per cent. Suppose, again, that the total average annual profits were fifteen per cent. In such a case it would be clearly possible to redeem the whole of the original share capital in the space of ten years; so that at the end of that period the town would possess in its licensed system an independent public trust in which no private citizen would have one cent of pecuniary interest.

In conclusion, brief consideration may be given to details of site and internal economy. It is of the utmost importance that no licensed houses shall be placed in alleys or by-streets. On the contrary, the location should in every case be such that the public can be aware of any infringement of the licensing law. At the same time, it is equally desirable that nothing should be done to advertise the licensed house. I was much struck with this feature of the Swedish system when I visited Gothenburg. We reached the harbor before noon, and during the afternoon I walked about the city endeavoring to discover some of the licensed houses belonging to the system which I had come to inspect. I spent two hours walking all over the main streets of the city, and at the end of that time had come to the conclusion that the Gothenburg system did not exist! It was not till I called on some of the directors on the following day that I discovered where my error lay. I had passed several of the houses belonging

to the company in my walk, but, though they nearly all had corner situations, there was nothing whatever in their outside appearance to indicate that they were places of alcoholic refreshment. I have since noticed that other visitors to Gothenburg have been struck by the same fact; and this marked absence of any endeavor to advertise their houses is certainly a most commendable feature of this system. Again, it is extremely desirable that great attention should be paid to providing a proper system of ventilation. There is nothing which more encourages excessive drinking than a poisoned and unventilated atmosphere, and in this particular I have found nearly all public houses to be extremely deficient, partly, no doubt, from carelessness or ignorance, but partly, it is to be feared, from a knowledge that proper ventilation would seriously affect the sales at the bar. The "tobin" principle, by which a circular pipe is admitted from the outside, is so simple, economical and effective that there is really no excuse for such a constant violation of sanitary principles in the ordinary licensed house.

And now let me briefly sum up the main points of my article. I have endeavored to show that the true solution of the Temperance question lies in Local Option combined with a licensing system of disinterested management; and that in no case should the unit of one licensed house for every thousand of the population be exceeded. Local option should for this purpose embrace the power of deciding, by a substantial majority, the simple question of "License or no License"; while a bare majority should have the further power of reducing the number of licensed houses and also reducing the daily period of hours during which alcohol could be legitimately sold.

Disinterested management should combine the principles of a company (*a*) limiting its shareholders' profits to five per cent. and (*b*) giving to its employees, in addition to their salary, a liberal commission on the sale of food and non-intoxicants. The bar should be absolutely abolished, and the surplus profits be so disposed of as to remove from the municipality or city any motive for encouraging the traffic in alcoholic liquors. If genuine Prohibition is ever to be attained, I submit that it is by proceeding on the lines of least resistance that such a reform can most effectively and speedily be accomplished.

R. E. MACNAGHTEN.

THE GEORGIAN BAY CANAL.

BY S. J. MCLEAN.

FROM the beginning of its canal policy, Canada has been interested not only in obtaining a cheap water route for its own produce, but also in attracting traffic to this route from the United States. While the Canadian Parliament declared, in 1875, in favor of a fourteen-foot waterway from the Lakes to the seaboard, it was not until 1900 that this was obtained. The fact that the Erie Canal, owing to its lagging behind in point of technical improvements, has become of minor importance in the transportation of grain to the seaboard has caused New York to fear the diversion of traffic to the St. Lawrence route. This was used as an argument by the Erie Canal Commission in 1899 in favor of the improvement of the Erie Canal. The diversion of a large part of the export grain traffic to Montreal during the season of 1908 has attracted further attention to the competition of the Canadian route. Canada has expended, in round numbers, $116,000,000 on its canal system; $94,000,000 of this amount have been expended in the last forty years. Over seven-eighths of the latter sum has been expended on the route from Lake Superior to Montreal.

While a large part of the expenditure has been concerned with the development of a waterway competitive for American traffic, it is only of recent years that the anticipations have begun to be realized. The canal at the Canadian "Soo" competes for American traffic. This canal was opened in 1895. In 1896 the tonnage passing through was 7.9 millions; by 1907 the tonnage had doubled. The Canadian canal percentage of the total traffic passing through the two "Soo" canals is gradually increasing. In 1901 it was 8 per cent.; in 1907 it amounted to 26 per cent.; this represents both a relative and an absolute increase. The

tonnage passing through the Canadian canal, like that using the American canal, consists almost wholly of low-grade bulky freight, the greater part being east-bound. In 1907, 12.5 millions of tons of freight passed down through the Canadian canal, an increase of 76 per cent. over 1906. The canal is not, however, successful in carrying a large portion of this down by the St. Lawrence route. Of the 1907 grain shipments from Port Arthur and Fort William 24 per cent. went by water to Canadian points east of the Welland Canal; while 43 per cent. went to Georgian Bay and Lake Huron points, whence it was handled by rail. It must be remembered that, while the "Soo" Canal permits the passage of the large Lake-going vessels, conditions are different in the case of the Welland and the St. Lawrence canals. In general, a vessel 247 feet in length, 42 feet 6 inches wide, drawing 13 feet and carrying 2,212 tons of cargo may be regarded as typical of the ordinary vessel accommodation afforded by these canals.

Early in 1907 a deputation of vessel-owners and grain-shippers memorialized the Dominion Government to so deepen and improve the Welland Canal as to accommodate the largest vessels of the Upper Lakes. The Government has at present under consideration a project for deepening the canal to twenty-five feet. The various commercial organizations are, however, by no means agreed on this question. At present it takes a vessel from sixteen to nineteen hours to lock through the canal, according to the conditions of traffic. The same expenditure of time would permit the vessel to get back to the Detroit River. In the case of the larger vessels it would be more economical to pick up a coal cargo on Lake Erie and go west to the river than to continue east, attempting to pick up a cargo west-bound from the light traffic offering from Lake Ontario or the St. Lawrence River. It is true that if the canal were improved the time disadvantage would be lessened, but it would not be eliminated. As regards the deepening of the St. Lawrence canals, it may be noted that the transportation of grain in barges from Prescott to Montreal has certain advantages. The exporter can bring his barges alongside the ocean-going vessel at Montreal, thus saving elevator charges which have been complained of as exorbitant. If the ocean vessel is not ready to load, the demurrage charges on the barges are low.

It is under such conditions of dissatisfaction with the Lower

Lake and river canals that there has been a renewed interest in the Georgian Bay canal route. The project for a canalized waterway from the Upper Lakes by way of the French River, Lake Nipissing and the Ottawa River to Montreal attracted attention so early as 1845. In 1856 and in 1860 surveys were made. Undoubtedly this route has great advantages in point of distance. A vessel going from the "Soo" or from the Straits of Mackinaw to Montreal would by this route practically take one side of a triangle, as compared with two sides of the triangle by way of the Lower Lakes. The following table shows some of the distance advantages of the route:

From.	To.	Via Lower Lakes in miles.	Via Georgian Bay Canal in miles.	Advantage in favor of canal.
Chicago	New York	1,389	—	—
Chicago	Montreal	—	905	484
Duluth	New York	1,500	—	—
Duluth	Montreal	—	997	503
Fort William	Montreal	1,296	—	—
Fort William	Montreal	—	934	362

The earlier surveys were concerned with obtaining a depth of from ten to twelve feet, and the cost of construction was estimated at from $12,000,000 to $24,000,000. In more recent years the increase in the average draught and carrying capacity of Lake-going vessels has led to a change of opinion in regard to the depth and cost of construction. While some, at an earlier period, favored a barge canal, the recent interest has been concerned with a waterway which will permit a Lake vessel to unload at Montreal. The Canadian Government has recently completed a comprehensive engineering survey of the whole route based on a minimum depth of twenty-two feet. The project submitted would permit the passage of the largest Lake vessels from Lake Huron to Montreal. In finding that the route was feasible from an engineering standpoint, the report of the survey was confirmatory of the opinion expressed by the "Engineering News" in its issue of March 5th, 1903:

"From an engineering standpoint, disregarding for the moment political boundaries, there can be no doubt that the Ottawa route is by far the best for a deep waterway from the Upper Lakes to the sea. So far as export traffic from the northwest to Europe is concerned, it offers by far the best possible route. . . ."

In comparing this route with existing or projected routes the question of the elevation to be overcome is of importance. Be-

tween Montreal and Georgian Bay there are 440 miles of navigation. Natural channels are available for 80 per cent. of this distance. To reach the summit level, 659 feet of lockage will be necessary. By the Welland Canal route only 534 feet of lockage are necessary. The Georgian Bay route has also to be compared with the proposed deepening of the Mississippi River as well as with the artificial waterways projected to connect Georgian Bay with Lake Ontario. The proposed deep waterway from Lake Michigan to the Gulf of Mexico would give a route of 1,625 miles. It is true that the estimated cost of a deep waterway by this route does not call for more than $40,000,000. But there must also be considered the nature of the stream, its tortuous course, which is 60 per cent. longer than the direct distance, and the large amount of silt carried down by the river. These conditions will necessitate a continuous expenditure for dredging which will not be present in the case of the Ottawa River route. In addition, the longer ocean voyage from the mouth of the Mississippi and the higher ocean freight rates prevailing by way of the Gulf of Mexico are disadvantageous to this route. The voyage from Chicago to the Gulf of Mexico is 274 miles shorter than from Chicago to the Straits of Belle Isle by the Ottawa River. From such an Upper-Lake point, however, as Duluth the Ottawa River route is 600 miles shorter. In both cases there must be remembered the disadvantages of the longer ocean voyage from the mouth of the Mississippi.

Brief mention may be made of the two competing Canadian projects. The proposed Huron Ontario Canal from Georgian Bay to Lake Ontario has had almost as long a history as the Georgian Bay Canal project. It is not clear, as was pointed out by the United States Deep Waterways Commission, whether there is a sufficient supply of water at the summit level to feed the locks both ways. The Trent Valley Canal, which is partially constructed, affords a tortuous water connection between Georgian Bay and the eastern end of Lake Ontario by a route which is six times as long as the direct land route. The canal is being constructed as a barge route. From an engineering standpoint it has attracted attention by the construction of two large hydraulic locks, one of which has a lift of sixty-five feet. The lockage by this route is about 500 feet greater than by the Welland Canal.

While the Georgian Bay Canal is feasible from an engineering

standpoint, the important question is its probable traffic future. The saving in time, consequent on the shorter distance, and the reduction in rates consequent thereon, may be expected to attract traffic. Taking the Panama Canal estimate, four miles per hour would be the maximum speed on the canal portion of the route. It may be noted in passing that on the Welland Canal, which has, however, some sharp curves, the speed falls below this. But on the basis of four miles per hour we find that this route would permit vessels to move from Georgian Bay to Montreal in seventy hours, giving an advantage of from one and one-half to two days over existing routes. This calculation is based, however, on the conditions affecting the existing fourteen-foot waterway by way of the Welland Canal. If the St. Lawrence route to Montreal were deepened to twenty-two feet, it is probable—subject to the traffic conditions spoken of above—that the Georgian Bay Canal would have no advantage in point of time. The deepening of the Lower Lake and river canals and the increase in the size of the locks would lessen the amount of lockage. At the same time, the longer stretches of lake and river navigation would permit higher speeds than would be possible on the northern route.

During 1907 the wheat rate from Chicago to Buffalo by Lake averaged 1.5 cents per bushel, while from Duluth to Buffalo it was 1.8 cents. During the same period the rail rate on export wheat from Buffalo to New York was from five to five and one-half cents. The Lake and canal rate by the St. Lawrence to Montreal has averaged over a period of years four and one-half cents. Since it is estimated that the Georgian Bay Canal can carry wheat to Montreal at a profit at two cents per bushel, its rate advantages are apparent.

One of the objections urged against this route is the shortness of the season. The Lake season opens with the opening of the Straits of Mackinaw about April 20th and ends about December 12th. During the season of 1906 the Canadian "Soo" Canal was open 253 days. The Georgian Bay route would be available for about 210 days out of the year. By the Welland Canal twenty-two days more navigation would be afforded. Another factor to be considered is that of wind detention in the canalized portions of the route. The high sides of steel vessels make them difficult to handle in a high wind. On the Welland

and St. Lawrence canals there have been cases where a vessel has lost two days on a trip on account of wind detention. It must be remembered, however, that such detentions have taken place where vessels which, while capable of greater loaded draught, were unable to draw more than fourteen feet because of the limited depth of the canals. With a deeper channel by the northern route, the vessels would be stiffer and less subject to wind resistance. Against the shorter season and the possible factor of wind resistance must be set the fact that the shorter distance would permit a larger number of trips during the season.

A significant fact in the development of Lake transportation has been the increasing importance of the Upper Lakes. The great increase in the traffic passing through the "Soo" Canals is one index of this. With the development of the United States, the westward movement of grain centres and the expansion of population have lessened the transportation importance possessed by the Lower Lakes in the early days of the Canadian canal system. The northwestward trend of the wheat centre is especially significant. The result of these changes is that the shortest lines of communication from the northwest to the seaboard lie across Canada. The great development which the Canadian Northwest is undergoing further accentuates the importance of this. In the United States a fractional change in rates determines whether a section, whose grain normally moves south, shall send it to the Lakes. The States of Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, Michigan and Minnesota, which lie within the sphere of influence of the Georgian Bay Canal, had, in 1900, a population of 18.8 millions. If one foot of a pair of compasses is placed at Chicago and the other at Duluth, the circle described with this radius will pass through Kansas City. In Canada all the provinces, with the exception of British Columbia, would be vitally interested in the Georgian Bay route. The possibilities of traffic from the Canadian Northwest are of great importance. In Manitoba the percentage of the total land area under cultivation is only 7 per cent., while in Alberta and Saskatchewan it is only 2 per cent. Recognizing that the cultivable area will fall short of the total land area, there is still great opportunity for development. The minimum estimate of the ultimate wheat yield of the northwestern provinces of Canada is 254,000,000 bushels, the maximum 812,000,000.

Mr. G. Y. Wisner, an American consulting engineer of high repute, estimates that the canal will attract 8,000,000 tons of traffic. In 1907 the corn receipts at Buffalo were 28,000,000 bushels. In competition for a large portion of this tonnage the canal would have an advantage, and an especial advantage, over the Mississippi because of the cooler route through northern waters. In 1888 Sir William Van Horne stated that anything that would tend to lessen the cost of transportation between the northwest and the seaboard must unquestionably have a beneficial effect. As he has elsewhere graphically stated, the difficulty has been that Canada has enlarged the transportation funnel in the northwest without enlarging the spout. In his evidence before a committee of the Canadian Senate, he said that the canal should lead to the utilization of various kinds of forest products which could not, under existing conditions, stand the cost of transportation. It should also have a most favorable effect on the development of the mineral resources of the Ottawa Valley. So far as the railways were concerned, he held that the canal would create more traffic than it would take away. The power possibilities of the route are emphasized by the report of the Government Survey, which states that 1,000,000 horse-power are available along the route.

In addition to traffic in grain and lumber, a considerable part of the dairy and packing-house products of the sections of the United States adjacent to the Lakes might be attracted by the supplying of cooling and refrigerating facilities. At present there is a great disparity between the east-bound and west-bound Lake traffic. The large amount of empty cargo space west-bound gives a low rate on coal. The location of the canal would not permit it to compete for American coal. In the movement of salt, chiefly from New York points, the location of the canal would also rule it out of the running. A considerable part of the west-bound traffic might be obtained from general merchandise and package freight, of which about 1,750,000 tons moves on the Lakes, chiefly westward. In the transportation of cement the canal could also develop a large traffic. Canada manufactures over 2,000,000 barrels of Portland cement annually. Seven-tenths of the cement plants of Canada are located in Ontario; an increasing demand for cement may be expected in the Canadian Northwest. The traffic in Nova-Scotian coal may also be largely increased. At

present over 1,000,000 tons of this coal reach Montreal annually. It would be possible to expand the demand for this coal in the West both for manufacturing and for domestic purposes.

The American people have always been interested in the development of the Canadian transportation system. In the meetings of the National Ship Canal Convention at Chicago in June, 1863, the advantages of the Canadian waterway system were recognized even by those who feared the competition. The Legislature of Illinois passed, in 1863, a joint resolution appointing commissioners to proceed to Canada to solicit the "earnest consideration and early action upon a subject of great and increasing importance of enlarged and cheaper outlets to tidewater by way of the lakes and rivers and new or enlarged canals of Canada. . . . The great avenue to the Atlantic through the St. Lawrence being once opened to its largest capacity, the laws of trade, which it has never been the policy of the Federal Government to obstruct, will carry the commerce of the Northwest through it." At the Commercial Convention in Detroit in 1865, Mr. Aspinwall of Detroit said the navigation of the St. Lawrence River and canals could be improved to give a safe and clear draught of fourteen feet to tidewater, and that this would be important to "the future welfare of the great and growing Northwest." The United States Deep Waterways Commission gave a qualified approval to the Georgian Bay Canal when it said: "The function of the Ottawa route is as a future loop line for through business when traffic conditions shall have been sufficiently developed by the Erie-Ontario route." The importance of the direct-rail route across Canada is manifested by the growth of the in-transit trade. When, partially through a belief that economic pressure would lead to annexation, there was a proposal to rescind the bonding privilege the outburst of protest from the New England and the Northwestern States showed how important the short lines across Canada were to the welfare of the United States.

From time to time arguments have been advanced against Canadian and in favor of American routes on the ground of the assumed hostile intent from a military standpoint of the former. With those who insist on looking at the matter from this standpoint it is useless to argue. But those interested in commercial development will agree that any transportation route which must be supported by a reference to a war scare thereby condemns

itself. The low rate is the thing; and the sober sense of the American people may be relied upon to see that the only war Canada is interested in is that of commerce, not of arms.

The Georgian Bay Canal project brings up the important question of the increasing size and draught of Lake vessels. It must be recognized that, notwithstanding the shorter route, there is some question whether there will be sufficient traffic west-bound from Montreal to attract large Lake vessels in preference to the run to Lake Erie ports. In favor of the canal it may, however, be urged that the development of a large bulk of east-bound tonnage will increase the volume of ocean-going tonnage entering Montreal and that the result of this will be a large volume of inbound tonnage. Enthusiasts have claimed that not only will the canal attract the Lake type of vessel, but that it will also lead to direct voyages from the Great Lakes to European ports, thus obviating the disadvantages of breaking bulk. Although ocean voyages were made in earlier days by small sailing-vessels sailing from Lake ports, for example, the "Dean Richmond" in the fifties, this is not conclusive. The experiences in 1901 of the vessels built for the Counselman Syndicate by the American Ship-building Company are more in point. Although they journeyed under their own steam from Chicago and Detroit to European ports, the venture was so unprofitable that it was given up after one season. There are, it is true, vague hints that this was due to the underhand machinations of those adverse to this route. Without speculating in regard to motives, sufficient economic causes exist to explain the lack of success. The fact that the vessels could not load to their full depth of twenty feet until Montreal was reached was peculiar to the existing canal depth. In addition, they could not compete in cargo capacity with the larger vessels either of the Lakes or of the ocean. Their sailors were paid on the Lake scale of wages, which is about twice as great as the ocean scale. In addition, the vessels were subjected to high insurance charges.

In Canada the ship-building industry on the Lakes has not been greatly developed. The largest vessel so far built, one 510 feet in length, was recently launched at Fort Erie. The bonding system used in vessel construction on the American side of the Lakes is practically non-existent in Canada. In general, Canadian firms interested in Lake traffic find they can save time by

obtaining vessels from Great Britain. Such vessels have, of course, to be built to withstand the stormy passage of the north Atlantic. The American vessel engaged in the Lake traffic can be more lightly constructed. The stronger hulls, etc., needed for the ocean voyage add about twenty per cent. to the cost. The Lake vessel, on account of the smaller amount of coal needed to be carried, has greater cargo space in proportion to size than the ocean-going vessel. In general, the latter costs about twice as much per ton of cargo capacity as the former. A combined Lake and ocean type of vessel would lack the economic advantages attaching to the more specialized types.

The Georgian Bay Canal will be a costly work. Construction through the Laurentian formation will be expensive and will take about ten years to complete. It is estimated that the canal will cost $105,000,000; even if money can be obtained at three per cent., the interest charge will exceed three millions; in addition, maintenance charges must be considered. Although Canada has greatly increased its resources of recent years, the demands upon these are also great. The Government, while favoring the construction of the canal, has not given a definite indication of the policy it proposes to adopt. The English Company, known as the Montreal, Ottawa & Georgian Bay Canal Company, which was chartered in 1894, has done considerable survey-work. It has offered to construct the work if interest on its bonds is guaranteed, the right to regulate the tolls being reserved to the Government. Pending a definite announcement of policy, the Government has reserved the right to expropriate the private company. Conditions favor Government construction and operation. The fact that the canal would be, if in private hands, a toll canal gives point to the desire for Government ownership and management. For since 1903 there have been no tolls on the through traffic of the Canadian canals. The advantage of canal development is looked for in the expansion of Canada's trade and resources, not in direct contributions to the revenue of the country from the tonnage utilizing the canals.

S. J. McLean.

BLIND SIGHT.

BY COLONEL CHARLES WILLIAM LARNED, UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY.

In the sixth book of the "Republic" of Plato, Socrates, in his colloquy with Glaucon and Adeimanthus upon the Beautiful and the Good, observes:

> "But have you remarked that sight is by far the most costly and complex piece of workmanship which the artificer of the senses ever contrived? . . . Sight being, as I conceive, in the eyes, and he who has eyes wanting to see, color being also present in them; still, unless there be a third nature specially adapted to the purpose, the owner of the eyes will see nothing, and the colors will be invisible."

Although the "third nature" of which Socrates makes mention is Light, and the purpose of his discourse is to bring out the analogy between Light and Truth, between the Eye and the Soul, I shall take the liberty of reading another interpretation into the term, and of maintaining that the "third nature" specially adapted to the purpose of true vision is Reflection; and that from habitual lack of conscious reflective vision the majority of mankind are disdaining and dishonoring their noblest faculty.

"Blind sight" is a term I employ to designate a malady that is especially characteristic of man in general as a highly civilized being, and in proportion as he recedes from a nomadic and aboriginal state. It is an attribute of the mechanical and artificial environment in which we live; of our intense subjectivity; of our minute and narrowing specialization; of our physical deterioration; of our preoccupation; of our indifference to that which is not immediately concerned with our activities . . . of our overwork. It is also due, and under these tendencies mainly due, to the inefficiency of education which fails to train synthetically the sense organs and to endow men with expert facul-

ties of perception. Sense training should be the first, most thorough and persistent labor exacted in primary and secondary education. The faculties of sight, of hearing, of touch, of smell, of taste, should all be developed to refinement, and every youth should possess these organs of sense and their attendant faculties as perfected tools with which to enter upon his career of development as an intelligent member of society. Some day when education shall have taken on a rational and coherent form, it will appear pathetically absurd that so many centuries of laborious servitude at the treadmill of schooling exacted of childhood and youth should have been barren of results in any way commensurate with the toil, the physical and nervous energy expended.

Blind sight means specifically the suppression of the faculty of conscious vision; the gradual atrophy of visual perception as an act of discriminating observation. It means that the camera of the eye is focussing countless pictures—of beauty; of interest; of perhaps vital importance in potential result, if noticed; of delight, if intelligently considered—upon sensitive films that are never developed. The reagents—*apprehension, comparison, judgment, reflection*—do not act; the image is not fixed upon the consciousness and filed away by the memory for future reference: and the man's intelligence is so much the poorer; his nature so much the more meagre; his range of sympathy so much the more restricted and barren, for the neglect of the bounties of God's supreme gift of vision.

Unconscious or slovenly sight exists in all degrees of development. With most it is a habit resulting from neglect. Indolent indifference to the features of the objective panorama becomes habitual and fixed, so that the conscious attention is asleep and does not act unless aroused by some special exciting cause. It is more or less a case of blind stare like that of the philosophers of Laputa who were attended by bladder-carriers to rap them over the head whenever it was necessary for them to take notice of their environment. The pity of it is that the opposite habit of conscious, attentive vision is readily cultivable and quickly responds to treatment, especially in childhood and youth.

Alas! for the weary little jailbirds of the schoolhouse who serve their terms in chain gangs in the ill-ventilated penitentiaries of the mighty Juggernaut of the text-book; conning conventions from the dirty pages; crammed with *a priori* formulas and for-

malism and the diluted pap of the sophistry of the ages; but forbidden the free use of their faculties, and tied to the car until the natural impulse of independent observation and reflection has gone to sleep, perhaps forever! What if Nature and the objective world had been the first and chief text-book, and the teacher the interpreter and guide developing the faculties, stimulating observations, encouraging inquiry and initiative — being himself the medium of translation of formulas, philosophy and art in terms of visible and tangible fact, until the machinery of thought operates smoothly under the impulse of the natural forces of living inquiry and interest? Under such conditions, would school for the most of us have seemed a dismal drudgery; college a dull cram; and life a patchwork of arbitrary and stupid conventions, accepted without thought or discrimination?

Dear Average Man, consider with me what immeasurable opportunities elude our grasp; what a wealth of delightful, intelligent perception is lost to us; what a mass of valuable reminiscence and reference matter is missing from our stores; what a world of sympathetic understanding is absent from our comprehension; what "oodles" of fun escapes us—all through the lack of vigorous habits of observation and refined organs of sense. Why should we sell our birthright of acute sense perception for a mess of mechanical inactivities and a pulpy life of automatism? Why are we becoming more and more parasitic and morbid in our art; more sophisticated and self-conscious in our literature; less spontaneous and sincere in our social relations; less clairvoyant in our perceptions of Nature and of the natural man? Is it not mainly because we no longer see with the natural eye nor observe with the reflective brain? We take our observation at second hand out of books or newspapers, even of things under our noses, just as we take our notions of art from histories of art and the deliverances of our Ruskins, our Taines, our Wincklemanns and our Hammertons; just as we swallow open-mouthed our literary standards from literary compendiums and essayists, or are plundered of them and all the rest of our inherited conventions and beliefs by such critical Knights of the Jolly Roger as Baudelaire, Stirner, Stendhal, Nietzsche, Shaw and the rest, the bladder-carriers of our Laputa.

As we are forfeiting the power of clear and independent visual observation by disuse and the atrophy of these faculties, so we are

losing the power of vigorous and individual judgment by relying upon others to do our thinking, and in our mental vision looking through other eyes than our own. We are awake; we hear; we read; we talk; we fancy we think, but it is only mental blind sight. By and by all our thinking will be done for us by thought syndicates; and in science, art, literature and politics, opinion will be officially determined by specialists and left at our doors with the morning paper. In religion we fancy we are independent, but it is only indifference. If we are not orthodox we accept our liberalism, our atheism, our agnosticism or our paganism at the hands of the higher and supercritics, the scientific rationalists or the classical culturists, because we are too lazy or too busy to think for ourselves. Even for vision of the objective world we will rely, in the new automatic existence, mainly upon moving pictures prepared in France and accompanied by phonographic dialogue.

It may be that we are not far from these conditions at the present moment; that in the midst of our vast and rapidly growing urban population we are rearing a race of men who hardly ever look upon the face of nature, and never with recognition; slaves of the machine and treadmill, whose opinions of men and affairs, such as they are, are moulded by the yellow sheet of crime; and whose vision of Truth rises not from a well, but from a sewer. The smattering education given by a great deal of our public-school instruction by the formal and *a priori* method of the average text-book does not suffice to give fixed ideals, or definite concepts, or exact habits of thought; it does not even teach how to study. It flutters over the surface of elementary information and leaves the child and youth possessed of disconnected clots of confused impressions. Had it taught them to use their eyes, their ears, their tongues, their fingers, to think clearly about a few things, and to know some elementary facts thoroughly, no matter how limited the range, it would have been well worth while, whether the child left the primary, the secondary or the high-grade years. To be able to see and observe—that alone is a talent more to be desired than knowledge of many books. But surely ours is the case of that people of whom it was written: "By hearing ye shall hear, and shall in no wise understand, and seeing ye shall see, and shall in no wise perceive."

Let us consider a common instance of heedless vision, such as is habitual with the modern burgher who is "autoed" through a high-pressure round of commercial activities by an ever-increasing variety of mechanical substitutes for physical and mental effort; who never uses his eyes with vigorous attention, except in dodging auto-cars; and whose visual range of the natural universe for ten months or more of the year is a narrow streak of smoky sky at the top of a hideous architectural cañon. You, average reader, are the man. You attend a social function where you meet and talk with an interesting stranger for the better part of an evening upon topics of common interest. You part, and a few days later learn that you had been talking with the famous Mr. Nemo of Utopia. You struggle to recall, for the benefit of your wife, his personal appearance—his physical "accidents"—but you find that you have been staring at him in a conversational way for an hour without seeing him. He has been simply a mouth and a voice. If he had worn green hair, like Baudelaire, a glass eye and a false nose, your only consciousness of it would have been a vague notion that there was something queer about him.

He had lost his left ear in the arctic regions, you had not observed it; his right arm in the Transvaal, it had escaped your attention; he wore a red, white and blue striped waitscoat, you were not sure of the colors, but had an impression that his dress was peculiar; one leg of his trousers might have been scarlet and the other blue, you did not specially notice; you could not recall whether he wore a dressing-gown or a bathing-suit, but you were aware that there was something unusual about him and let it go at that. You did remember that he used an ear-trumpet, because it bored you to talk through it; and that his breath smelled of onions, because they make you sick. Further than that you cannot go with positiveness, and call upon your friend Holmes a few days after for descriptive assistance, which he renders with delightful accuracy and detail and which you wonder at and envy. In a similar state of somnambulism you take a walk through the land either alone or in company. If alone, you are thinking; if with company, talking, and your eyes are turned inwards. Certain interesting events of public importance had taken place under your nose, and you are chagrined to find that you are entirely worthless as a source of information regarding

them to yourself or others. Interrogated about persons, localities and details, you can render no coherent description thereof—you "didn't notice." Moreover, concerning objects and localities with which you have been familiar for years, you cannot give accurate account. Your case is that of ninety-five out of every hundred of your neighbors. As a matter of fact, I doubt if one man in every hundred has the habit of conscious vision—or, in other words, habitually observes.

But in reply I hear a chorus of curt protest: "What of it? We are no longer aborigines. We do not stalk our food and skulk in fear of ambush. We are no longer dependent for sustenance and hourly safety upon keen vision and habits of minute observation. In our advanced civilization we do not need to bother our heads with objective detail. Are we all to become Sherlock Holmeses and occupy ourselves with a perpetual inventory of detective details when we converse with our friends or walk abroad? Is it of any consequence to me, when I commune on politics or immortality or small beer, that my friend wears a wig, a red necktie, a glass eye and twiddles his thumbs? Am I to concern myself in my morning walks because my neighbor has three gables and four dormers on his roof and a broken door on his woodshed? Must I be always platting topographic maps of my surroundings and scanning the stupid crowd about me for fear lest I may be the centre of an unobserved tragedy or historic episode? Does not the prevalence of heedless vision go to show that man has advanced to a higher plane of development where the eye of the hawk and of the mountain-goat is no longer an essential to safe and satisfactory existence?"

To which I make categorical reply: The prevalence of heedless vision, my somnambulant brother, does *not* go to show our independence of precise and intelligent observation, any more than the prevalence of astigmatism and near-sightedness goes to show that sound eyes are a matter of indifference. I am firmly convinced that we should be, as nearly as possible, Sherlock Holmeses in our powers and habits of observation; and the more so in proportion to the increase of specializing tendencies in our activities.

How your neighbor looks, what he wears, and does, *is* of concern to you as a matter of human interest and may be of importance as a matter of fact; and that as many as possible of the

images which your eye is focussing upon your retina of the beauties and activities of the objective world of which you are a part shall be intelligently apprehended *is* of vital moment to your happiness, your understanding, your practical interests and your usefulness as a member of society. You never can be certain that the glass eye and the twiddling thumb will not, by some freak of circumstance, be your eye of destiny or the *pollice verso* of your undoing. Fortune and disaster often have turned upon more trivial determinants; and the broken woodshed door in the next yard is as like to be the gateway of your triumph as the portals of the millionaire magnate to whom you reverently kowtow. Always and everywhere it is the keen observer—the man of the conscious eye that notices—who achieves and arrives.

The master observer of modern time, the protagonist of scrutinizers, was the sagacious and versatile Franklin. Ever on the alert to note, compare, reflect, deduce—nothing escapes his clear, conscious gaze. He was always master of circumstances and of conditions; always self-poised; ever controlling affairs through first-hand observation of phenomena and of men. His eye is always awake. He is incarnate attention; and, as most of the world is asleep most of the time, he and all other Franklins, great and small, are the bell-wethers of their times.

Franklin is the antithesis of the intellectuals of the schools. Everything he does or says has the freshness of originality; the aroma of Nature instead of books; the objective, and not the subjective, flavor. He, the homely son of the tallow chandler and "sope-boiler," walking up Market Street to his destiny, with his pockets stuffed out with soiled underwear and his soul in his eyes; this inquisitive vagabond of science; this homespun, wary diplomat; this pervasive eye—dazzled and amazed men of every school of learning who, with one accord, acclaimed him master.

His prophetic and comprehensive insight into ultimate causes of scientific phenomena is always voiced in the simple phraseology of objective fact. It is the eye speaking. Whether speculating upon the luminiferous ether, the nature of the electric fluid, the properties of matter, the theory of earthquakes, the cause of smoky chimneys, or running with note-book in hand after a whirlwind, his thesis is written in the language of form. He is the man not only "diligent in business," but in vision, who

stands before kings and the wise men of the earth. He "arrives" completely.

But aside from sordid or material advantages, how about the glories of infinite being around and above you; the procession of beauty, of life, of phenomena, of humanity, moving in endless variety of interest before your bovine stare while you chew the cud of the dull, apathetic ruminant? Franklin sympathized and enjoyed supremely also.

Here are the results of some simple tests made, with a view of ascertaining the acuteness of conscious vision, formal judgment and formal memory of a class of eighty-six young men. These results do not, of course, represent an average condition in this regard, since the test is, in the first place, a conscious one; and next, the men, whose ages ranged from twenty to twenty-three years, had had courses of technical graphics and topographical reconnaissance, and had been for two and a half years under the exacting discipline of the Military Academy which stimulates alertness and habits of accuracy. The tests, as I interpret them, gauge fairly well the effect of the habit of attentive or slovenly vision as a constant factor in the personal equation.

Nine geometrical blocks of wood, about fourteen inches in height and painted white, were placed on a dark table against a dark background and distinctly separated. These were screened by a curtain which was quickly raised and lowered at a signal. The class sat in seats ranged after the manner of those in a clinic. The table was strongly lighted from a large skylight. The curtain was raised about six seconds for exposure of the objects, and the test was for number and form.

Fifty-eight gave the correct number; eighteen, one less; three, one more; one, two more; one, three less. None correctly described the form of all; three described eight; eight described seven; twenty-seven, six; seventeen, five; sixteen, four; seven, three; two, two; one could describe none.

The man who could remember nothing of form probably exhausted his five seconds in the effort at enumeration. It will be observed that apprehension of number was much more generally accurate than judgment of form, which was to be expected. As to form, the bulk of the class, fifty-two, were able to discriminate between and remember from but four to six out of

nine in a glance of six seconds. But six seconds is a considerable period in which to concentrate the attention upon a few very bright and simple objects, such as a cube, cone, pyramid, etc.; and this, be it remembered, was an exceptional group of men trying to do their best.

The second test was for conscious, reflective observation, and was taken by eighty-three men. Two white blocks, rectangular in shape and somewhat larger than an octavo volume of medium size, were placed on a dark table, on one side of which was an instructor and on the other a group of five or six men. The instructor, using either his right or left hand, took one of the blocks and moved it with moderate quickness in three different positions with reference to the other—the movements taking about one second each to execute. The men were required to manipulate the blocks in the same manner and order.

Twenty-seven moved the block correctly; thirty-two used the wrong hand; thirteen made wrong movements; ten, wrong hand and movements; one placed the block incorrectly.

In this test, therefore, but one-third were accurate witnesses of a very simple operation carefully watched.

The third test was for partly unconscious observation, and is more interesting in this connection since it tends to show the actual state of the individual as regards his habit of blind sight. In the ordinary work of the class in the course of building construction, it had been sent to examine the structural detail of a simple building—a gun shed—with special reference to its working drawings. A few days later a set of ten observation questions was submitted for answer. "How many windows in the entire building and how located?" "How many bays in the building?" etc. Seventy-seven men took the test. One made over ninety per cent.; four, over eighty per cent.; five, over seventy per cent.; twenty, over sixty per cent.; nineteen, over fifty per cent.; fifteen, over forty per cent.; six, over thirty per cent.; five, over twenty per cent.; two, over ten per cent. In round numbers, about half the class remembered about half of the simple and conspicuous features of an object which they had been on a special trip to examine two days before; and six-sevenths remembered less than seventy per cent.

In another test for wholly unconscious observation but ten men out of eighty-three could recall the number of windows in an

academic room in which they had passed about three hundred hours during a year's attendance; and not one could describe their location or character with entire correctness. Fourteen could not answer simple questions regarding the physiognomy of their parents; and twenty-six failed similarly as to their roommates. One is irresistibly reminded of the oft-told but capital story of the professor of physics who undertook to demonstrate to his class the difference between *seeing* and *observing*. Taking a graduate-glass, he proceeded to fill it with a certain liquid. He then inserted a finger in the liquid and afterwards in his mouth. The students were requested to file past the table, accurately to repeat his action and return to their seats, which they did; each man receiving from his finger in restrained silence a horrible dose of asafœtida, which he was careful to see his successor should not miss. When the class had all resumed their seats with pallid faces and sinking stomachs, the professor, after scanning them sadly for a moment, remarked, with a weary smile: "Gentlemen, you did not *observe* that the finger I put in the graduate was not the finger I stuck in my mouth."

Any demonstration of the universality of this growing atrophy of attentive vision would be futile were the infirmity incurable or beyond prevention. But it is, on the contrary, easily prevented and cured. It is in almost every case an acquired habit which in childhood originates by reason of the absence in our civilization of the incentives to acute vision which are normal to the life of the human being as an active, self-sustaining animal; and it develops progressively as the subjective and artificial conditions of modern life assert their influence in general affairs. The child is a keener observer than the adult. The habit of attention and acute observation can be aroused by persistent effort and made natural and spontaneous. Pleasure in the stimulated vision, and the sense of vastly increased powers of observation, of broadened range, of new beauties, of heightened interest, will suffice to keep it alive and repay the effort.

The story of Houdin, and his marvellous development of visual acuteness and memory by practice, is well known; but an instance of a similar achievement in this country, through causes akin to those of nomadic life, was new to me when recently described by an eye-witness associated with the actors. A gentleman of the Corps of Cadets, whose home is in Texas and who has

lived of choice the cowboy life on his father's ranch, tells me that the herders become so expert in their scrutiny of cattle, so keen-eyed and observant, that in buying cattle on the hoof they often rely for enumeration upon a glance at the herd as they ride past; and that their passing estimate practically never varies more than two or three from the actual number in herds of from fifty to one hundred; and that in much larger herds, of from two to five hundred, their estimates will preserve the same proportion of accuracy. For instance, a buyer will say as he rides through a cattle-range, "I will take that herd of seventy-five; this of one hundred and fifty." Or, after a short scrutiny, he will assert, "You have five hundred head on that range over there." However, in buying a herd as large as this, they are usually strung out and counted, although the result rarely differs from the original estimate by more than two or three per cent. In some cases this ability to estimate is carried to a higher degree of accuracy even for very large herds. In the early seventies, before the day of weighing-scales and railroads, cattle-buyers in the Southwest would buy cattle at so much per hundredweight from their owners. This estimate of weight was based on what the cattle would weigh after they had been driven two, three or four hundred miles to the Kansas City market. Nevertheless, the error would amount to only a few pounds, not enough to affect their profits.

Charles Goodnight, of Goodnight, Texas, and owner of the famous buffalo herd bearing his name, related the following of a famous negro he knew. When the round-up time came, they would place this negro in an advantageous position and drive past him the herds belonging to different men. All these cattle, except the calves, had their owners' brands. Later, when these calves, after having been mixed up in the corral, were taken out to be branded, he could tell which brand to put on each from having noted at the time to which cow each belonged.

This astonishing acuteness is even more clearly demonstrated in their detection of diseased or defective animals in herds which they are inspecting for purchase. I am informed that in this discrimination they equally rely upon a rapid visual sweep of the cattle while grazing, the inspector merely riding through the herd. A sound herd is appraised as such and accepted at a glance; and, similarly, at a glance any deviation from uniform perfection is

remarked, and a demand for special examination is made on the spot. But this special examination is as astonishing in its expertness as the others. There is no dismounting for individual scrutiny. The herd is simply run past the purchaser at a gallop, and the defective heads are indicated with unerring certainty as they pass. These statements the narrator was at pains to substantiate by corroborative testimony from friends on the spot actively associated with the business of cattle-raising.

Let any one who is sceptical regarding my contention that observant vision, if cultivated in childhood, would be prolific of most important and far-reaching results in after-life, not alone in vastly increased mental acuteness, but in enhanced capacity for pleasure, a widened range of sympathy and a more profound insight into the life of Nature and Humanity—let such a doubter take himself in hand, and for a time each day divert the ruminative current of his thought from subjective to objective contemplation. Begin by a determination to observe your interlocutor, dear Average Man, upon all occasions. Endeavor to recall the details of physiognomy, of dress, of carriage, of habit both of friends and of casual acquaintances; finally, of passing strangers. From that pass to action and associations. Next, carry your range of visual acumen into Nature in your daily walks. Upon your return from your various excursions take a few moments for the preparation of a brief mental memoir and itinerary—develop your negative and file it. Presently your interest will be very much stimulated, and you will be considerably astonished not only at the enormous amount of significant matter that has hitherto wholly escaped you, but at your latent capacity to seize and retain it. Finally, you will discover that the old habit of blind-sight has departed; that in its place has developed the more natural and fruitful habit of live-sight; and that through the window of your soul there will flow a stream of living forms, facts and feelings to inhabit the treasure-house of your memory, instead of the train of pallid ghosts, vague and speechless, that vanished in oblivion and left behind only the damp and chilly residue of a fog.

CHARLES WILLIAM LARNED.

WOMAN'S RIGHT TO GOVERN HERSELF.

BY MRS. OLIVER H. P. BELMONT.

To our *living* population—to those awake to the requirements of the hour—to women and men beyond the A B C of life, I do not presume to address this article. In all ages there has existed a class of human beings who, either wanting in intellect, hampered by inheritance or unconscious of their own strength, have remained under the yoke of circumstance. Government and social reforms, burdened by this passive type of humanity, have carried it onward, through no efforts of its own, but only by the power of the ever-rising tide of evolution.

Drones are found in all classes, existing by the brain development of those who act, or clamoring for help from those who give. To them cling the barnacles of worn-out fallacies, and from them come the cries of ludicrous protestations against the achievements of civilization. It is this incongruous mass that opposes Woman Suffrage, the movement which demands that the political standard of woman shall equal that of man. The brain which has evolved its own material and stands untrammelled by the past, when confronted by new propositions will approximately solve the situation. It is from men of such intellect that women expect the ballot.

Of what use is this education, these possibilities for woman in business, in all the activities of life, her work for men, her strength and devotion, her courage, her relentless energy, if in the end she is to meet this barrier. You are not free citizens of the United States, you are bondwomen, for you must bear servitude and obligation without representation. You are of inferior capacity, therefore incapable of self-government. In the already polluted political arena you would but add to the chaos that exists.

Woman is told that Motherhood is her sphere; that children will bless her, comfort her old age, that the husband will forsake all others and cling to her; that the home, the centre of the family, will represent the idealism of purity, and man the head of it all will be the protector of woman. My sisters, you who read this, if such has been your lot, if God in His goodness has given you this fulfilment, beware how you neglect those women who stand *without.* If in this great battle of life you do not need the power, the strength, that Suffrage will give, what right, you, in your plenty, have you to raise your voice against the cry of the needy? You of the luxurious, educated class, know well, or if you do not, shame upon you! that the working-woman vitally needs the help of the ballot. Men at the head of large systems of industries, you know, and know well, that you are not the protectors of women!

I, who am capable of seeing the light ahead and know the wisdom that suffrage will bring to women, and far greater still, to men; I, rebelling at the necessity of an argument for Woman Suffrage; I, with more than humiliation, with a great repulsion —I might almost write with shame—agree now, in a few brief sentences to respond to some of the antediluvian objections made by men and women of this country and this century.

Are not men the protectors of women, and if so why give them a vote?

You and I know there are fathers, there are brothers, there are husbands and there are sons standing out from the ranks of the past and of the present, who have protected and do protect the women of their own family. But what has the question to do with this handful of self-centred men? What is the King without his subjects? Of what value are Generals with no army? How long would stand your railroad magnates without the toilers of their vast systems?

I shall write the truth, and men to whom it comes home may cry out against me, but the overworked, underpaid woman, the mother toiling for hungry children, the drunkard's wife, the woman of the scarlet letter, the wife replaced by one younger and fairer, and saddest of all, the unprotected girl, these will bear me out. They came to you with the faith of earlier days, and one by one the idols of your fairy-tales tottered from the pedestals of untenable sophistry, and with the broom of ex-

perience they swept the shattered pieces of man's boasted protection into the realms of inevitable realism.

Sisters, I ask you to put behind you these fallacies of the past; discard vain dreams; rely upon yourselves; have valiant aims, believing that your rights are the same as those of man. Encourage attainable possibilities. Believe that Motherhood should be no greater than Fatherhood, that the wife should not be the unpaid servant of the husband, but both must be equal. As in man's life the idea of the Father does not predominate, making him subject to it, even so must the idea of Motherhood be in woman's life.

Centre not your whole life in the life of others, for has not this made your past slavery? Full of courage, with faith in yourself, go forth as an equal in the race. Let the life of the united home be to you as it is to man—a part, but not the whole of existence. Let no obligation, no sacrifice which he does not share be yours. You do not belong to him nor he to you. You are co-workers. The mind must feed on facts rather than on dreams, for you face an age of realism.

Women of this century, build your castles no longer in the azure skies of vanishing theories, but on earth, with wills of steel. Draw from your intellect and the wisdom of your observation the great lesson that each must stand alone. By what right do you forever cling to man? Is his road not hard enough without this? His promise to bear *your* burdens, made perhaps in all sincerity, he cannot keep.

View for yourselves the fields strewn with the myriads of these fallacies; with broken lives, with shattered faiths! Is this where you, too, will tread? Have you learned no lesson from the past?

Look backwards! Remember a face of resignation, stifled sighs, a smile that did its best to beam, an atmosphere you could not penetrate—something of grief, of sorrow, above your knowledge. Do you not see your mother, the victim of old dogmas as to "woman's sphere"?

Does a realistic public, unmoved by sentiment or emotion, demand the cold, hard facts in its consideration of the vital question now before it: Shall woman have a voice in her own government? I am asked to present the other side of an argument opposing this in the August number of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

But how is one to answer an argument which from beginning to end contradicts its own statements? For instance: "All the efforts of the Suffragists for sixty years have not aroused resistence except spasmodically." (Page 169.) "The Suffragists have aroused a spirit of unrest among all classes of women." (Page 165.)

Another: "More women have their individual bank accounts in the United States than in any country in the world." (Page 159.) "Woman's dependence on her husband is her safeguard, the rock on which her ease and security rest." (Page 166.)

Again: "Universal Manhood Suffrage is the crowning result in the long evolution of Government." (Page 162.) "The question is, Should we not have more restriction rather than add to our mixed voting population?" (Page 161.)

"Man forms the *only* basis on which any Government *can* rest. The *man* is the rock on which the Government is built, whatever its form. Woman never was and never will be." (Page 160.) "Motherhood will still be Motherhood, whether the state is a democracy or a despotism. . . . The state depends on it as it depends on the rain that falls or the sun that shines in the heavens." (Page 162.)

"Instinct and tradition have made men the protectors of women. This is a natural law." (Page 160.) "Supreme Court Justice Brewer has said, 'Woman must be protected from the greed as well as from the passion of men.'" (Page 165.) "The American man feels that he is and always must be the protector of his 'women folk. . . .' He is willing to give women everything they ask. But if he is going to protect women he will not give them the 'ruling power.'" (Page 169.)

In other words, no woman shall have the right to protect herself, no matter how much she may desire it; she has simply got to be protected whether she wants to be or not. As for the "woman folk" who happen not to have any man to protect them —they must get one. And yet when they see the kind of protection some women receive from some men they are inclined to prefer for themselves what we are glad to have the "antis" admit is a "ruling power."

How is one to answer such a mass of contradictions and misstatements? The quotation used from Judge Lindsay's interview to the effect that "woman suffrage had not helped much in

Colorado" was repudiated publicly by him as soon as it was printed. In this same interview the Judge characterized as "an outrageous statement" and "a deliberate lie" a report on woman suffrage in Colorado by a special investigator sent out by the League for Civic Education.

The assertions as to the bad effects of woman suffrage in Colorado and the other States where women vote are practically all anonymous and cannot be traced to their source. When somebody of prominence is thus quoted he at once denies it, as did Judge Lindsay, and a little later former Governor Buchtel of Colorado. The mass of signed and authorized testimony from those four States as to the excellent results of the woman's vote is overwhelming. This may be had in printed form at the National Suffrage Headquarters in New York and should be examined by those who want the facts. There is nothing whatever on which to found the declaration, "The thoroughly unprejudiced opinion is that woman suffrage has proved to be utterly futile." United States Senator Heyburn of Idaho, where women have had the franchise thirteen years, writes: "The general tone of political affairs in the State has been improved and greater care in the selection of candidates has resulted from woman suffrage. Between sixty and seventy per cent. of the women vote at the general elections." United States Senator Borah, of the same State, says: "I would be entirely unwilling to see woman suffrage abolished. . . . I believe it has been distinctly beneficial and the influence exerted, while not as great as is sometimes claimed, is, in so far as it goes, entirely on the side of cleaner politics and better government." The present Governor Brady declares:

"Politically, the effect of woman suffrage has been immeasurably uplifting and beneficial. Men who, before woman suffrage was adopted, attempted to control the political situation through organizations perfected in saloons and at headquarters of political bosses have been deposed from leadership, and the standard of citizenship has been raised. Through the enactment of this principle of justice to women into the law of the State better men have been induced to become candidates for office, administration of governmental affairs has been constantly placed in more honest hands and the affairs of the commonwealth have been benefited. Legislative activities have been along wiser and cleaner lines. Laws have been passed of remedial and reformatory character, and the beneficial results of woman suffrage are everywhere noticeable. Women who are elected to office prove among the most efficient servants of the

people. Woman suffrage has been an unqualified success not only in Idaho, but in all Western States adopting the principle. I am heartily in favor of the wide expansion of woman suffrage."

Former Governor Hunt says: "The woman vote has compelled not only State conventions, but more particularly county conventions of both parties to select the cleanest and best material for public office." Former Governor Steunenberg, after expressing himself in still stronger terms, said: "In Idaho women are to-day the same loving wives, kind mothers and capable home managers that they always have been; nor has there been the least belittling of the sex in the eyes of the men, nor any falling off in that tenderness and respect which men universally accord to women. There is not the slightest interruption of family ties." The Chief Justice and all the Judges of the Supreme Court signed a statement unqualifiedly endorsing woman suffrage in Idaho, and this testimony might be continued indefinitely.

The same is true of Utah, where women voted seventeen years while it was a Territory. The State constitution, framed in 1905 by men alone, both Mormons and Gentiles, provided for woman suffrage. It was voted on by men alone and carried by an immense majority. Former United States Senator Sutherland, a Gentile, wrote: "Woman suffrage has raised the whole tone of our politics. As large a proportion of women as of men vote. It has never tended in the slightest degree to create a sex party. Women have taken a particularly keen and useful interest in educational affairs. It has been just as beneficial in Salt Lake City as in the rural districts." Governor Cutler said last year: "Instead of being unsexed or debased, the women have been broadened and bettered intellectually and socially through the study and practice of civic affairs entailed by the franchise. Politically the influence of women has been on the side of peace at the polls and the selection of better officials. Socially it has resulted in a more chivalrous regard for women and the unquestioned acknowledgment of their equality with men and their right of participation in affairs of State. With the experience Utah has had we should not think for a moment of returning to the male suffrage system."

Women voted twenty-one years in Wyoming as a Territory, and woman suffrage was made a part of the constitution for Statehood in 1890 by practically universal consent. After forty

years' experience there is not a shred of testimony against it. The Legislature has repeatedly endorsed it, as has every Governor, Attorney-General, United States Senator and member of Congress. The Justices of the Supreme Court have many times given emphatic and unqualified testimony in its favor, that it tended "to purify elections and promote good government": and that it "made the women self-reliant and independent, without detracting from their womanly and domestic graces." Present Governor Brooks writes: "I consider woman suffrage of great benefit to any commonwealth. There is no argument which can be made against it." United States Senator Clark says: "I have lived in Wyoming twenty-five years . . . and I have never known either party in State, county or municipal affairs to nominate a man who was notoriously immoral or corrupt. This fact I attribute largely to women voting. . . . Nobody who has the interest of the State at heart has ever desired or suggested a change." United States Senator Warren writes: "During all the forty years as large a percentage of women have voted as of men. . . . The exercise of the right of suffrage has in no degree lowered or injured the standing of the women in our State. They are intelligently active in public affairs, but withal as womanly and devoted to home and family as their sisters in States where the privilege is not enjoyed. In fact, there is nothing in our experience in Wyoming to warrant the opinion that woman suffrage has been unwise, but, on the contrary, it has elevated public morals and has been a material factor in maintaining the good local government we enjoy."

The seekers after evidence against woman suffrage centre all their efforts on Colorado alone, ignoring the other three States where women vote. For this reason its advocates have collected more testimony from that State than from all the others combined—in leaflets, in pamphlets, in volumes—a whole number of this magazine could be filled with it. Every Governor of whatever party, and other State officials, every United States Senator and member of Congress; all the Justices of the Supreme Court and other Judges; the presidents of the colleges, bishops and presiding elders, and many presidents of women's organizations, have declared in print over their own signatures, again and again, their approval of woman suffrage based upon its practical working in Colorado. The noble old Senator Henry

M. Teller, when about to retire to private life, said: "I am a firm believer in woman suffrage. It has worked admirably in Colorado and been a great benefit to the public. . . . Women are much more discriminating as to the class, standing and character of candidates than men. I have closely observed the operation of woman suffrage in my own and neighboring States and am now more strongly in favor of it than when the law was enacted." During the present year he said: "We have had woman suffrage in Colorado since 1893. If the question were re-submitted to the voters to-day the opposition would be negligible. It works as well in Denver, with its over 200,000 inhabitants, as in the country districts . . . and has produced none of the evils which its opponents predicted." The present Governor Shafroth, after giving the strongest favorable testimony, said: "Do women want equal suffrage? Ask the women of Colorado. Submit the question to those who have tried it, and scarce a corporal's guard will be found to vote against it. . . . The contention that good women will not vote is flatly contradicted by the returns from the four equal suffrage States."

The recent article in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW said: "Anti-Suffragists have ample evidence to prove woman suffrage in those States a dismal failure." Let them produce the evidence properly signed and authenticated. They never have done this, they never can do it, because such evidence does not exist. It is idle to say that all those distinguished public officials only speak in favor because they fear to do otherwise. If this were the case a mere word of approval would be sufficient and their splendid testimony would be unnecessary. But if the vast majority of men and the vast majority of women disapprove of equal suffrage, as the "antis" declare, then it ought to be very popular to speak against it and very easy to repeal the law.

Other statements in the article are equally without foundation. "Women are not fitted for holding office." If this is true, why did the anti-suffrage association in which the writer of that article is an officer petition Governor Hughes of New York to put women in such official positions as were under his control? In the complete testimony above quoted, high tribute is paid to the efficiency of the women officeholders, which is omitted for lack of space. Wyoming, Colorado and Idaho have had continuously women State Superintendents of Public Instruction,

and the four States have elected many county superintendents, treasurers, recorders, etc. Colorado and Utah have had a number of women legislators. Men are in the majority—why do they elect women if "unfitted"?

"Able-bodied men would have to be called on to enforce the votes of women." Men do not enforce their own votes through being "able-bodied." Even in the most critical periods of our history—as in 1876—there never has been an attempt to compel by force the acceptance of the majority verdict. The State makes no connection whatever between ability to fight and the right to vote. Invalids and cripples have the same suffrage as the physically sound. In time of war women in many ways contribute their full share towards the protection and defence of the country, besides furnishing the soldiers. In time of peace they pay their proportion toward the maintenance of the police and fire departments, constables, sheriffs and all who enforce the law. In every respect the service of women to the State is fully equal to the service of men and it just as fully entitles her to a voice in the affairs of State.

It is an idle pastime for the anti-suffragists to set up a man of straw labelled "Taxpayers' Suffrage" just for the satisfaction of knocking it over with the cry "undemocratic." They are the last persons to use that word, standing, as they do, for the most undemocratic movement this country has ever seen. The National Suffrage Association has always been uncompromisingly against any form of limited suffrage for women. The small amount of taxpayers' suffrage which has been conferred by Legislatures on women in a few States is simply for questions of special taxation, which are submitted only to such persons as pay taxes. The article had a good deal to say of the great wisdom of the forefathers in denying the ballot to women, but ignores the fact that this same wisdom gave it only to taxpayers.

The article reiterates the stock assertion of the "antis" that the ballot will not raise the wages or improve the condition of the wage-earning women. John Mitchell, former President of the United Mine Workers of America, and the highest authority on questions of labor, said a few days ago that, "If women could vote the wages of women in Government and State employ would be raised and legislation improving their condition in many ways would be quickly effected." Within the present

year a convention of his organization composed of one thousand delegates declared unanimously for woman suffrage. The American Federation of Labor, 2,000,000 strong, every year adopts a resolution demanding woman suffrage "as necessary to the protection of the industrial interests of not only women wage-earners, but of men as well." Over twenty State Federations of Labor and scores if not hundreds of working-men's organizations, national and international, have taken similar action, and the conventions of the Women's Trade Unions never fail to do the same. The public must judge whether these vast bodies of wage-earners or the handful of women "antis," most of whom never earned a dollar, are the better qualified to speak on this subject. There would be just as much sense in saying that the suffrage is of no advantage to the working-man as to say it would be of none to the working-woman.

Nobody is frightened at the attempt to connect woman suffrage with Socialism. Compare the statement that "Woman suffrage *cannot* succeed without the aid of Socialism" with the indisputable fact that in not one State in our Union nor in one country in the world where complete woman suffrage exists was it obtained through Socialism or the Socialist party. Naturally the platform of the Socialists includes a vote for every citizen. A few of the active workers in the Suffrage Association believe the doctrines of Socialism; a large majority do not, and there is no more official connection between the two organizations than between Socialism and any other organized body, some of whose members accept the Socialist ideas. The revolutionary quotations cited were never made at any regular woman-suffrage meeting.

Neither is there the slightest connection between woman suffrage and divorce. The laws governing divorce are no more lax in those States where women vote than in the most of those where they do not. The two Dakotas and Oklahoma, for instance, are noted for easy divorces, and women there have only a fragment of school suffrage. Indiana and also California lead in the proportion of divorces and women in those States have not a shred of suffrage. Wyoming, Utah and Idaho are among those having the smallest proportion and women there have the complete franchise. There is not a solitary instance on which to found the constant assertion of the "antis" that woman suffrage leads to divorce.

Other points in the article may be just as thoroughly refuted as those already mentioned, but space will allow only one more reference. It declares that public opinion has approved and sanctioned the demands of women for all the privileges they now enjoy, and that the reason they do not get the suffrage is because all the sixty years' effort has not succeeded in arousing large numbers of women to demand it or public opinion to sanction it. On the contrary, the demand of women for higher education, better laws and all the rest was infinitesimal compared with the demand they have made and are making for the suffrage. The public sentiment which now favors the enfranchisement of women is so great contrasted with that which approved those other concessions that there can hardly be a comparison. The reason they succeeded is because they required simply the decision of a board of trustees to open the doors of a college, the willingness of employers to experiment with women's work, an act of the Legislature in changing a law which few persons had any object in opposing. From all these lesser gains the suffrage is as far apart as the poles. It means the altering of State constitutions, a fundamental change in the Government itself, whose ultimate results the wisest cannot foretell. No Board of Trustees, no legislative body, can bring this about, but every individual voter in the entire State can pass upon it. In secret he casts his vote and behind it is the prejudice of the ages, the natural disinclination to share one's authority. Opposed to woman suffrage are the powerful liquor interests of the country, the party "machines," the immense moneyed corporations. Superficial, indeed, is the judgment which would place this great political and economic movement on a level with the minor concessions that have already been made to women!

A struggle still lies before us; some men will stand by our side, but the hardest of it must be made by women alone, and to them we say: Demand your suffrage. Hold it with the hand of wisdom; compete with men, but only on the platform of their best endeavors. Rise above unremunerative, unrecognized servitude. Be a strength to your children, never a subordinate. The world is calling for the great half force, so long and so wrongly ignored, and in this union of man and woman lies a future of a wondrous whole.

ALVA E. BELMONT.

THE GATEWAYS OF LITERATURE.

BY BRANDER MATTHEWS.

LITERATURE is now what it was in the past, and it will be in the future what it is now, infinitely various and unendingly interesting. We can venture to project the curve of its advance in the years to come only after we have grasped what it is today; and we can perceive clearly its full meaning in our own time only after we have acquainted ourselves with its manifold manifestations in the centuries that are gone. True is it that literature is the result of individual effort and that its sublimest achievements are due to single genius; and yet it is racial also, and it is always stamped with the seal of nationality, which is the sum total of myriads of individuals. Literature is ever marked with the image and superscription of the people whose ideas it expressed and whose emotions it voiced. Races struggle upwards and establish themselves for a little while and then sink back helpless; mighty empires rise and fall, one after another, each believing itself to be destined to endure; and it is mainly by the literature they may chance to leave behind them that they are rescued from oblivion. What do we really know about Assyria and about Babylon? Where are the cities of old times? Why is it that we can see Sparta only vaguely, while Athens towers aloft in outline we all recognize? The massive monuments of Egypt persist through thousands of years, but the souls of the dwellers in the valley of the Nile are not known to us as we know the souls of the Hebrews, whom they took captive and whose sacred books reveal to us their uplifting aspirations and their unattained ideals. We can extract not a little light from the laws of Rome, but not so much as we can derive from the lighter writings of the Latins; and the code which is known as the novels of Justinian does not afford us as much illumina-

tion as the realistic fiction of Petronius. The many ruins of Rome are restored for us and peopled again with living men and women, only when we read the speeches of Cicero, the lyrics of Horace and the letters of Pliny.

Of all the liberal arts Literature is the oldest, as it is the most immediate in its utility and the broadest in its appeal. Better than any of its sisters is it fitted to fulfil the duty of making man familiar with his fellows and of explaining him to himself. It may be called the most significant of the arts, because every one of us, before we can adjust ourselves to the social order in which we have to live, must understand the prejudices and desires of others and also the opinions these others hold about the world wherein we dwell. Literature alone can supply this understanding. "It is impossible," so Dr. W. T. Harris has reminded us, "for a man to live in a community when he has no knowledge of the world-view of his fellow men and when he does not know the things that make up their daily consciousness." The other arts bring beauty into life and help to make it worth living; but since mankind came down from the family tree of its arboreal ancestor, it is Literature which has made life possible. It proffers freely that which smoothes the path before us, lifting us up as we climb and sustaining us when we stumble. It is the swiftest and the surest aid to a wide understanding of others and to a deep understanding of ourselves. It gives us not only knowledge, but wisdom; and thereby it helps to free us from vain imaginings as to our own importance. Ignorance is always conceited, since it never knows that it knows nothing; and even knowledge may be puffed up on occasion, since it knows that it knows many things; but wisdom is devoid of illusion, since it knows how little it ever can know.

It is not in the barren annals of a nation that we can most readily recapture the soul of a race. Rather is it in those lesser works of the several arts in which the men of old revealed themselves unconsciously and yet amply. The records of the historians and the codes of the lawgivers are assuredly not to be neglected, but they are not more significant than the unpretending efforts of forgotten artists,—the painters of the Greek vases, for instance, and the moulders of the Tanagra figurines. The idyls of Theocritus are not less illuminating than the orations of Demosthenes or the tragedies of Æschylus.

Literature is precious for its own sake, but it has ever an added value from the light it cannot help casting on the manners and customs which disclose the indurated characteristics of a people. The unmistakable flavor of the Middle Ages lurks in the ethereal-ized lyrics of the German *minnesingers,* no less than in the more mundane *fabliaux* of the French satirists. We cannot open a book, even if it shelters only evanescent fiction, aiming solely to amuse an idle hour, without opening also a window on a civilization unlike any other; and he would be a traveller of marvellous ability who could make us as intimately acquainted with the simple rustics of the Black Forest, with the primitive peasants of Sicily or with the deserted spinsters of New England as we find ourselves after we have read a volume or two by Auerbach, by Verga or by Miss Wilkins. Some of us there are who love literature all the more because it can catch for us this local color, fixed once for all, and because it can preserve for us this flavor of the soil, this intimate essence of a special place and of a special period.

"The real literature of an epoch," so Renan declared, "is that which paints and expresses it," and such is the real literature of a race also. Perhaps the epoch is most completely painted and expressed when the author is interpreting the life that is seething about him, dealing directly with what he knows best, as Plautus has preserved for us the very aroma of the teeming tenements of the Latin metropolis, as Molière has limned for us the "best society" of France under Louis XIV, and as Mark Twain has set before us the simple ways of the Mississippi river folk. But, after all, this does not matter much; and even if a writer is handling a theme remote from his own experience, he is still painting his own epoch and expressing his own race, although he may not be aware of it. No man can step off his shadow, whatever ineffectual effort he may make. However violently he seeks to escape, he is held fast by his heredity and his environment. "Hamlet" is a tale of Denmark, "Romeo and Juliet" is a tale of Italy and "Julius Cæsar" is a tale of ancient Rome,—but Shakspere himself was an Elizabethan Englishman; and these tragic masterpieces of his were possible only in the sceptr'd isle set in the silver sea in the spacious days of the Virgin Queen. Racine borrowed his stories from Euripides, and he persuaded himself that he had been able to make Greek drama live again;

but his "Phèdre" and his "Andromaque" are French none the less, and they are stamped with the date of the seventeenth century. So absolutely do they belong to the period and to the place of their author that Taine insisted that these tragedies of Racine could best be performed in the court costumes and in the full-bottomed wigs of the reign of Louis XIV, since only thus could they completely justify themselves.

This intimate essence of nationality is evident not only in the thoughts that sustain the work of the artist and in the emotions by which he moves us; it may be discovered also in his style, in his use of words to phrase his thoughts and to voice his emotion, in the pattern of his composition and in the rhythm of his sentences. The way in which he links paragraph to paragraph may lead us back to his birthplace and the stock from which he sprang. We can catch the accent of his ancestors in the rise and fall of his periods; and sometimes it seems almost as though his many forefathers were making use of him as their amanuensis.

Consider Shakspere and Bacon and set them over against each other. They were contemporary Englishmen, alike and yet unlike, alert and intelligent and energetic, wise both of them, yet with a different wisdom, masters of expression each in his own fashion, and possessed of the interpreting imagination. When our attention is called to it, as Mr. Havelock Ellis has lately done, we cannot fail to find that Shakspere, "with his gay extravagance and redundancy, his essential idealism, came of a people that had been changed in character from the surrounding stock by a Celtic infolding, and that Bacon, "with his instinctive gravity and temperance, the suppressed ardor of his aspiring intellectual passion, his temperamental naturalism, was rooted deep in that East-Anglican soil which he had never so much as visited."

To seek to seize these subtler differences, due not so much to nationality as to provinciality, if the word may be thus applied, is not to inquire too curiously, for it is to advance in knowledge and to draw a little nearer to that secret of genius, which must remain ever the inexplicable result of the race, the individual and the opportunity. There is not a little significance in Mr. Ellis's suggestion that we can perceive in the pages of Hawthorne "a glamor" of which "the latent aptitude had been handed on by ancestors who dwelt on the borders of Wales," whereas Renan came from a family of commingled Gascon and Breton descent,

so that "in the very contour and melody of his style the ancient bards of Brittany have joined hands with the tribe of Montaigne and Brantôme." It was Comte who declared that "humanity is always made up of more dead than living."

There is ever profit in this effort to seize the potent influence of heredity and environment, even upon the genius who may seem at first glance to be the least controlled in the exuberance of his personality. We have grasped a true talisman of artistic appreciation when we can compare the practical common sense and the austere gravity of the Roman with the inexhaustible curiosity and the open-minded intelligence of the Greek, and when we contrast the restraining social instinct of the French with the domineering energy of the English. But however interesting may be this endeavor to perceive the race behind the individual and to force it to help explain him, there are other ways of seeking an insight into literature not less instructive.

We can confine our attention, if we please, to a chosen few of the greatest writers, the men of an impregnable supremacy. We can neglect the minor writings even of these masters to centre our affection on their acknowledged masterpieces. We may turn aside from the authors individually, however mighty they may be, and from their several works, however impressive, to consider the successive movements which one after the other have changed the stream of literature, turning it into new channels and sweeping along almost every man of letters, powerless to withstand the current. We may, perhaps, prefer to abandon the biographical aspects of literature to investigate its biological aspects, and to study out the slow differentiation of the several literary species, history from the oration, for example, and the drama from the lyric. Or, finally, we may find interest in tracing the growth of these critical theories about literary art which have helped and which have hindered the free expansion of the author's genius at one time or at another. There are many different ways of penetrating within the open portals of literature. All of them are inviting; all of them will lead a student to a garden of delight; and which one of them a man may choose will depend on his answer to the question whether he is more interested in persons or in things or in ideas.

There is unfading joy in a lasting friendship with a great writer, whether it is Aristotle, "the master of all that know," or

Sophocles, who "saw life steadily and saw it whole," Dante, who "wandered through the realms of gloom," or Milton, the "God-given organ-voice of England." Such a friendship brings us close to a full mind and to a noble soul. Closely akin to this devotion to one of the mighty masters of literature is the concentration of our interest on a single literary masterpiece. We may prefer to fill our ears with "the surge and thunder of the Odyssey," or to recall the interlinked tales "of the golden prime of good Haroun al Raschid." We may find ample satisfaction in following the footsteps of one or another of the largely conceived cosmopolitan characters, figures which have won favor far beyond the borders of their birthplace. Some of these heroic strugglers live only in the language which they lisped at first, while others have gone forth to wander from one land, one literature, one art, to tarry for a while in other lands, other literatures and other arts.

After all his travels, Ulysses abides with his own people; the gaunt profile of Don Quixote still projects itself against the sharp hills of Spain; and Falstaff is at home only in the little island where he blustered boldly and breezily. But Faust is a seedling of one soil transplanted into another, where he struck down deeper roots, only to tower aloft again in the land of his origin. And Don Juan, the lyrical hero of a mystical Spanish legend, touched at Italy, before he was received in France, where he was transformed into the implacable portrait of "a great lord who is a wicked man." And from the French drama "Don Juan" strays into English poetry and into German music; so Faust, born obscurely in Germany, has ventured out from English poetry into German drama and French music. It is well for the arts that there is and always has been free trade in their raw materials and that no custom-house can take toll on the ideas which one nation sends to another to be worked up into finished products. From race to race, from century to century, from art to art, there is unceasing interchange of intellectual commodities; and no inspired statistician can strike the balance of this international trade whereby men are enabled to nourish their souls.

Nor are these brave figures the sole travellers whose wanderings we may trace from one literature to another, subduing their native accents to the new tongues they are taught. Less lofty creatures have also a varied career in many climes. It has been

suggested that the drama of the future will take for its heroine the woman with a past; but she is no novelty in the theatre, and the Medea of Euripides has emotions as ill regulated as the Fedora of Sardou, the Magda of Sudermann or the Second Mrs. Tanqueray of Pinero. It seems as though art, like nature, was "careful of the type." Even humbler characters may bear a charmed life; and the intriguing slave of Greek comedy was taken over by the Latins, to revive after a slumber of more than a thousand years in the Italian comedy-of-masks and in the Spanish comedy of cloak-and-sword, from which he stepped forth gayly to disguise himself as the Mascarille and the Scapin of Molière, and as the Figaro of Beaumarchais, of Mozart and of Rossini.

Although many lovers of letters may be tempted to devote themselves mainly to the masters and to the masterpieces of literature and to the perennial types which literature has seen fit to preserve through the ages, there are other students who will find their profit in fixing their attention rather on the several movements which have modified literary endeavor. Even to-day one cannot help perceiving the persistence of the irrepressible conflict between the ideals of the Greeks, who sought for beauty always, and the ideals of the Jews, who set aloft duty. Hellenism swept swiftly from Athens to Rome and then to all the shores of the Mediterranean, until it spent its force and finally found itself desiccated into Alexandrianism. Then, in his turn, the Hebraic spirit, softened by Christianity, spread abroad from distant and despised Palestine until it attained to the uttermost boundaries of the wide-flung Roman Empire. The influence of these contending ideals is still evident in this twentieth century of ours, especially in the obvious cleavage between the artistic aspirations of the races of Romance origin and those of the peoples of Teutonic stock.

Certain of the less admirable consequences of a narrow acceptance of the Hebraic doctrines revealed themselves in the misguided asceticism of the Middle Ages, and thereby made easier the early triumphs of the Renascence, which was in its essence an effort to recapture the joyous liberty of the Greeks. The new learning and the new discovery of the wisdom of the ancients was indeed a new birth for the arts, and for literature not the least. Man came into his own once again, and he was in haste to express

himself. He drew a long breath and felt at last free to live. As was inevitable, he pushed back the limits of liberty until he sometimes attained an unworthy and unwholesome license. His new knowledge made him arrogant and intolerant; and he was ready to reject all restraint. Yet in time he was able to recover not a little of the harmony and of the proportion which had characterized the great Greeks, even if he never quite attained to their simplicity and to their sympathy.

Then the reaction came at last and just as Hellenism had shrivelled up into Alexandrianism, so the Renascence in its turn dried up into the empty and formal Classicism of the eighteenth century, with its code of rules for every art. Classicism lost its grasp on the realities of life and it cheated itself with words. It kept the letter of the law and refused to conform to its spirit. It sterilized the vocabulary of verse. It left the poet with no fit instrument for the wireless communication of emotion. In England it gave us the poetry of Alexander Pope and the criticism of Samuel Johnson; and in France it codified the regulations which were responsible for a long succession of lifeless tragedies. And by its emphasis upon legislation to curb literature it brought about the reaction of the Romanticists, who succeeded only in the negative work of destruction and who failed lamentably to establish their more positive contentions.

Romanticism had its rise contemporary with the American revolution and with the French; and in all its manifestoes there rings the tocsin of revolt. It promulgates its declaration of the Rights of Man in the domain of art; and it tends to a stark individualism leading straight to the anarchy which refuses to acknowledge any check upon the caprice of the moment. It exalts the illegal, the illegitimate and the illicit. It glorifies the outlaw and the outcast; and it relishes the abnormal rather than the normal, the morbid rather than the healthy. The violence and extravagance of the Romanticism of Victor Hugo, for example, made inevitable the Realism of Turgenef and Howells. The principle of art for art's sake, which the French Romanticists took for a battle-cry and which is stimulating if it is properly understood, is pernicious when it is misread to mean that the artist has no moral responsibility. Life is influenced by literature as much as literature is influenced by life. Many a suicide in Germany was the result of Werther's self-pitying sorrows; and

many a young man in France took pattern by Balzac's sorry heroes.

As instructive as any study of these successive literary movements is an inquiry into the several literary species, with due consideration of their evolution, their permanence and their occasional commingling one with another. There is a special pleasure in tracing the development of oratory, for example, down from the days of the Greeks to our own time, deducing its essential and eternal principles, and weighing the influence of Demosthenes on Cicero and of both on Bossuet and on Daniel Webster. There is an equal profit in observing how history has been able to separate itself from oratory on the one hand and from the epic on the other. A most interesting illustration of the progress from the heterogeneous to the homogeneous is to be found in the evolution of Athenian tragedy, which included at first much that was not strictly dramatic. It developed slowly out of the lyric; and in the beginning it contained choral dances, epic narratives and descriptive passages. Amid these confused elements it is not always easy to seize the essential action of the drama. But as Greek tragedy grew it came slowly to a consciousness of itself, and it eliminated one by one these non-dramatic accessories, until at last we find a story shown in action and represented by a group of characters immeshed in an inexorable struggle. A parallel development took place a little later in the Greek comic drama, whereby the lyrical-burlesque of Aristophanes became the more prosaic comedy of Menander; the earlier conglomerate of incongruous elements discarded one by one its soaring lyric, its personal lampooning and its license of political satire, while at the same time it steadily strengthened the supporting plot, with the appropriate interrelation of character and situation.

No literary species has had a more unexpected and a more unprecedented prosperity than the novel in prose, which in the nineteenth century became the most popular of forms, essayed by many a writer who possessed only a small share of the native gift of story-telling. The novel is almost the only one of the literary species that the Greeks of the golden age did not develop and carry to a perfection which is the despair of all later men of letters. They seem to have cared little for prose fiction; and when they had a story to tell they set it forth in verse, inspired by the

muse of epic poetry. To-day that forsaken maiden can find work fit for her hands only by laying aside her singing robes and condescending to bare prose.

Two of the foremost of modern masters of prose fiction, Cervantes and Fielding, have claimed that their stories are of a truth epics in prose. On the other hand, Mr. George Meredith seems to consider the novel to be derived rather from comedy; and there is no question also that the expansion of prose fiction was aided by the delicate work of the seventeenth-century character-writers and of the eighteenth-century essayists. We may, if we choose, declare that the series of papers in which Steele and Addison sketched the character and the career of Sir Roger de Coverley was, in fact, the earliest of serial stories. In literature, as in life, he is a wise child who knows his own father; and a writer may have supposed himself to be a nameless orphan when in reality he is the missing heir of many honorable ancestors.

Prose fiction may be the offspring of the epic and it may have received a rich legacy from the essay; but it has grown to maturity under the guardianship of the drama, and in the closest comradeship with both comedy and tragedy. The earlier novelists, Cervantes and Le Sage and Fielding, had all begun as playwrights; so also had the later Hugo and Dumas. The influence of Corneille and Racine on Madame de La Fayette is as indisputable as the influence of Molière on Le Sage and of Ben Jonson on Dickens.

And since it has become the dominant literary form, the novel has in its turn served as a stimulant to the drama. There is no difficulty in tracing the impression made by "Gil Blas" on the "Marriage of Figaro" and by "Götz von Berlichingen" on "Ivanhoe." Nor can any disinterested inquirer dispute that the social dramas of Dumas fils and of Augier are deeply indebted to the "Human Comedy" of Balzac, and that the comedies of Mr. Pinero and Mr. Henry Arthur Jones owe much to the mixture of humor and pathos to be found in Dickens and Thackeray.

Once when an American painter in Rome was told by a purse-proud picture-buyer that she did not pretend to know anything about art, but she did know what she liked, the irritated artist could not repress the swift retort, "So do the beasts of the field!" To know what we like is only the beginning of wisdom; and we ought to be able to give good reason for the faith that is in us. The French, who are subtly curious in their use of words, make

a useful distinction between a *gourmet,* the delicate taster, and a *gourmand,* the gross feeder; and the distinction holds in literature as well as in life. The wise Goethe tells us that "there are three classes of readers,—some enjoy without judgment, some judge without enjoyment; some there are who judge while they enjoy and who enjoy while they judge." It is within our power always to gain admittance into this third group and to attain a reasoned appreciation of the authors whose writings we relish.

Indeed, we may even acquire an open-mindedness which will carry us a little farther until we can understand how it is that sometimes we admire what we do not personally enjoy, and that on other occasions we may for the moment find pleasure in what we do not greatly admire. We can learn to control our likings; and in time we can correct our instinctive tendency to let our personal preferences erect themselves into eternal standards. Of course these personal preferences must ever be the basis of our ultimate judgments, since we are born always with a bias in favor of one school or of the other. Our native tendency is toward the ancient or toward the modern, and we are by instinct either Romanticists or realists, whether we are conscious of this prejudice or not. Our opinion may be as the leaves that change color with the revolving seasons, but our principles are rooted in us. It is fate, rather than free will, which chooses for us in which camp we find ourselves enlisted. Before we were born it was decided for each of us, once for all, whether we should delight in the massive simplicity of the Attic dramatists with their unerring union of a content of high value and a form that seems to be inevitable; or whether we should revel rather in the rich luxuriance and bold energy of the Elizabethans,—the one moving majestically with the sweep of a glacier, and the other boiling over with the impatience of a volcano.

But even if we cannot help being partisans, we ought to strive to master our prejudices so that we may learn at least to understand the spirit of the masterpieces wrought by those with whom we are not in accord. The critic needs not only insight and equipment; his task calls also for sympathy and for disinterestedness. The code of criticism is not as the law of the Medes and Persians which altereth not; it changes from race to race and from epoch to epoch; it is modified by the successive movements of human feeling and of human thought. Man's place does not loom as im-

portant as it did a few centuries ago; and we are now aware that the universe was not built for him alone, even if the sun is still a light to his feet by day.

The scholars of the Renascence, secure in their inheritance of Greek wisdom, had a sublime belief in the comprehensiveness and in the certainty of their knowledge; but now in this new twentieth century of ours we moderns,—

> "Whom vapors work for, yet who scorn a ghost,
> Amid enchantments, disenchanted most,"

—we are at last aware that we are but peering through a chance crack in the dark wall which shuts us in, and that we can only glimpse a fragment of knowledge, glad that even so little is granted to us. We have surrendered the hope of ever attaining final truth; but none the less are we still nerved by the longing for it. Perhaps there are a few who would echo Lessing's proud declaration that he valued the privilege of seeking the truth above the actual possession of it.

Criticism must needs lag behind creation, even if literary criticism may be also creation itself in its own fashion. As Professor Mackail has asserted, "a sharp line can be drawn between the artist and the critic where they work in different materials, as in the criticism of painting or of music," but "no such line can be drawn in literary criticism; for the critic works in the same material and his criticism, so far as it is vital, is also a work of art." Yet, even when the critic is indeed a creator of literature, he cannot do his work until after the lyrist and the dramatist and the orator have done theirs. It is on them that he feeds and from their unconscious practice he derives his reasoned principles. In fact, it is only when the earlier impulse of poetry was beginning to slacken a little that the critic came forward to undertake his parasitic task. He felt it to be his duty—as indeed it is—to apply to the present the standards of the past; and it was long before he was willing to recognize the possibilities that these standards might be found in the living languages as well as in the dead.

Brunetière was, perhaps, the most suggestive of recent literary critics, abounding in fertile generalizations and applying to art ideas supplied by science. Here he was following Taine rather than Sainte-Beuve, who was more keenly interested in the idiosyncrasies of individual authors than in the larger movements of

literature. Sainte-Beuve prefers to give us "biographic psychology"—to borrow Taine's apt phrase. Yet even in criticism there are few real novelties; Sidney's "Defence of Poesy," for example, is imitated from the Italians: Taine's theory of the influence of heredity and environment is amplified from Hegel; and the objections which adverse critics have brought against the veracious realism of Mr. Howells are curiously akin to those that Petronius urged against the Roman poet, possibly Lucan, who had ventured to write an epic in which there was less inventive exuberance and more interpretative imagination. Gaston Boissier even discovered a vague premonition of the struggle-for-life theory in Saint Augustine's "City of God."

Time was when man lived in a cave until he learned how to put together a wooden frame for a more commodious dwelling; and after a while he filled up this framework with the bricks he had found out how to bake, and traces of this temporary device are still evident in the decorations of the later and loftier temples which the Greeks made of marble. Only of late has man gone back to the primitive frame, putting it together now not with wood, but with wrought steel; and the sky-scraper, however modern it may seem to us, is in reality a reversion to the most ancient type of building. A similar spectacle greets us in all the arts, especially in the art of literature,—the new is ever the old, even when it presents itself with all the latest improvements. Genius reveals itself when the hour is ripe; it does its work in its own fashion; it comes and it goes again, leaving us the richer. There have been many men of many minds, speaking in their several tongues; but literature is one and indivisible. It has a voice for every mood. It cheers and sustains; it inspires and uplifts; it lights the path for all of us. It passes the flaming torch from sire to son, Greece to Rome, Rome to the Renaissance, the Renaissance to the modern world.

"All passes. Art alone
Enduring stays to us;
The Bust outlasts the throne,—
The Coin, Tiberius;

"Even the gods must go;
Only the lofty Rime
Not countless years o'erthrow,—
Nor long array of Time."

BRANDER MATTHEWS.

THE COTTON TAX AND SOUTHERN EDUCATION.

BY DAVID Y. THOMAS.

AN Act of Congress approved July 1st, 1861, provided that a tax of one cent a pound should be collected on all cotton held or owned by any person on or after the first day of October, 1862, except such as was held or owned by manufacturers of cotton fabrics on that day. March 7th, 1862, the tax was raised to two cents a pound. In 1866 the committee on revenue actually reported favorably on a proposition to raise the tax to five cents, but this was defeated, largely through the opposition of the New York Chamber of Commerce. However, the Act of July 3rd, 1866, which purported to reduce taxes, raised the cotton tax to three cents. March 3rd, 1867, the tax was reduced to two and one-half cents, and on February 3rd, 1868, it was abolished altogether on all cotton raised after 1867.

At various times since 1871 bills have been introduced in Congress having in view the repayment of the money collected on the above-mentioned Acts. One introduced by the Hon. Frank Clark, of Florida, in the Sixtieth Congress provides, "That the proceeds of the tax on cotton illegally collected," etc., shall be repaid by the Treasurer of the United States to the original payers upon approval of their claims by the United States Court of Claims. The claimants are to be allowed five years in which to file their claims. After that any surplus remaining in the Treasury from this fund is to be paid over to the States in which those who originally paid such unclaimed sums resided and is to be used by them for the benefit of rural education.

The bill has some defects and some excellent points. One defect is the assumption that the tax was "illegally collected." The evident meaning is that the tax itself was illegal. In the only

case affecting its validity the legality of the tax was affirmed in the lower court and by the Supreme Court, though the vote was equally divided in the latter. The main attack on its legality is that it was a direct tax and was not apportioned as the Constitution directs that all such taxes shall be. To the layman it is hard to see why it is any more of a direct tax in theory than the tax on carriages, whiskey, cigars or oleomargarine. In practice, however, it is altogether probable that the producers paid more of this tax than did the consumers. That it was a tax on exports cannot be seriously maintained. Still, the fact remains that a great many people have always considered it illegal.

But, whether legal or not, the question is worthy of consideration whether the money collected under the tax ought not to be returned. The tax can hardly be defended on the grounds of equity. It was intended to operate and did operate on one particular section. Several of the States never paid any at all, and some of those which did were brought under the operation of the law only because some parties purchased cotton on which the tax had not been paid. Doubtless they deducted the amount of the tax from the price paid, knowing that they would have to pay it. By far the larger part of the tax came from the lower South. Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, Texas, Mississippi, Tennessee and South Carolina paid $58,000,000 out of a total of $68,000,000. In 1867 the corn crop of the United States was worth $610,948,390; the wheat crop, $421,796,460; the hay crop, $372,854,670; yet all of these were tax free, while cotton, worth $201,470,495, paid a tax of $22,500,947.77. The tax of the three cents levied in 1866 outdid the ten-per-cent. tax of the Duke of Alva. In some instances it amounted to as much as thirty per cent.

In 1861 a tax of $20,000,000 was levied on lands and dwellings and was apportioned among the States according to population. There was no question about the legality of this Act; yet, thirty years later, the amount collected under it, less cost of collection, $14,000,000, was returned as a gratuity to the States whose citizens had paid it. The fact that the tax had operated on only one section of the country, the seceding States paying very little, undoubtedly was one cause of the repayment. May not the same principle be applied to the cotton tax? At the time the South was paying this tax—only about $3,000,000 was collected before the close of the war—it was also paying its share of all other taxes.

There is one ground on which the cotton tax may possibly be justified in public law—as a punitive measure. Certainly the conqueror has a right to impose his own terms on the conquered. But this will not be seriously urged in justification of the cotton tax. The aim after the close of the war was, or should have been, to pacify, not to irritate. Besides, the punishment was already severe enough in the destruction of so large a part of the wealth of the South.

Those who hold that the tax was an indirect one may urge that it was shifted by the producer to the consumer, and that it would not be just now to repay it to the producer simply because he paid it in the first instance. Some taxes may appear indirect in theory, but prove very direct in practice because not easily shifted. The tax on most manufactured goods can be shifted. This is particularly true with reference to whiskey, cigars and oleomargarine, but it is far from being the case when the tax is levied on raw materials in the hands of the producer. Generally the producers are ill acquainted with market conditions, have to part with their goods as soon as possible, and their great number makes concerted action almost impossible. Certainly the producers of cotton, whether carpetbaggers or natives, believed that they were paying the tax, if we may judge from their loud protests, both official and unofficial. Southern governors and legislatures early began to cry out against it, and their protests found an echo in the North. The New York Chamber of Commerce declared that the North should not take advantage of the South in the days of her weakness to discriminate against her principal industry.

The proposition to return the tax to the original payers is one of doubtful feasibility. As forty years have passed, the most of them are dead. Also the dangers of fraudulent claims would be great. No attempt was made to return the land tax to the landholders who paid it, the disposition of it being left to the discretion of the States.

A much better plan for the disposition of the cotton tax would be to return it to the cotton States and direct that it be used by them for the benefit of education. Possibly it should be confined entirely to the rural schools, thus benefiting the very people from whom originally collected. As a matter of course, in the distribution each State will receive the entire amount

collected within its borders. The sum collected outside the South, amounting to about two million dollars, should be distributed among the cotton States in an equitable ratio.

The South needs this help. As illustrating the injurious effects of the Civil War and of the years immediately following, the census shows that among the native white males of the South the proportion of illiteracy was much higher in 1900 in the age group forty-five to fifty-four than in the next older and next younger groups. The children who ought to have been in school during the period of the cotton tax were deprived of that privilege by the war and the years of grinding poverty which followed in its wake. Many of them are still living and have children and grandchildren whom they would be glad to see given better educational facilities than are now at their command. What more befitting act of justice could be thought of than to direct that the tax collected from the cotton-growers of the sixties shall go to the rural school fund of those States in which collected? Both whites and blacks paid the tax and would now share in its benefits. The subject of agricultural education is now attracting considerable attention in the South and several States are experimenting along that line. It may be found advisable to use this fund for the advancement of agricultural training in the schools, but that is a matter of detail which can be worked out when the tax has been returned.

Almost without exception the funds would go where most needed. In 1904 Georgia, which would get $11,897,094, had 277,865 children between ten and fourteen years of age, of whom 63,329 were illiterate, or 227.9 in every 1,000. For the accommodation of her 789,939 children between five and eighteen years of age she had 7,082 schoolhouses, or one to every 111 children and to every 8.4 square miles of territory. To keep these schools open 118 days 10,342 teachers were employed, or one to every 78 children, and were paid an average monthly salary of $27.81. In the other Southern States the salaries ranged from $25.96 for males and $23.20 for females in South Carolina to $55.24 and $43.27 in Texas. The per capita wealth of Georgia was $488; the smallest in any of the States under consideration was $403 in Mississippi; the largest, $841 in Texas. The school revenue of Georgia for each child was $2.74, or $1.83 for each $1,000 of wealth. The lowest was $1.92 in Alabama, or $1.29 for each $1,000 of wealth; the highest, $5.37 in Texas, or $2.13

for each $1,000 of wealth. In the distribution of the cotton tax Alabama would be entitled to $10,338,072; Texas, to $5,505,401.

It will be interesting to compare conditions in the South with the same in some of the Northern States. In 1904 Massachusetts had 229,330 children between ten and fourteen, of whom only 1,547 were illiterate, or only 6.7 in every 1,000. In Ohio the showing was still better, 4.9 in every 1,000, though it was not quite so good in New York and Illinois. For her 673,690 children of school age Massachusetts had 4,289 schoolhouses, or one for every 157 children and to every 1.9 square miles of territory. To keep these schools open 185 days she employed 14,741 teachers, or one to every forty-eight children, and paid them each month, males $145.48, females $55.37. As a source on which to draw for the support of these schools, she had a per capita wealth of $1,672, and from this she derived a revenue of $24.40 for each child of school age, or $3.20 for each $1,000 of wealth. New York does even better on both items.

It may be urged that the South is not doing as much in proportion to her wealth as the North, and there appears to be some ground for this contention. It has just been shown that, while Alabama raises only $1.29 for each $1,000 of wealth, Massachusetts raises $3.20. But, while by this rate Alabama secures only $1.92 for each child, Massachusetts, by a rate not quite three times as great, secures $24.40 for each child, a sum twelve times as large as that realized in Alabama. The Southern man has more children to provide for and less wealth with which to do it. In Alabama and Georgia for every 100 of population there are 33.4 school children, but in Massachusetts only 22.2.

Of late there has been considerable discussion as what is the most suitable memorial to erect to the memory of President Lincoln on this the one-hundredth anniversary of his birth. Lincoln sprang from the poor whites of the South and devoted his life to the task of setting the negro free. What more fitting memorial could be conceived than the creation of a permanent fund to advance the intellectual freedom of these two classes? Will not our common country set aside $68,000,000 for this purpose? We will call it the Lincoln Memorial Fund for the Advancement of Southern Education, a monument more enduring than bronze and far more serviceable than any splendid Appian Way leading to a battle-field.

DAVID Y. THOMAS.

THE ESPERANTO CONGRESS AT BARCELONA.

BY EDWIN C. REED.

THE most significant facts in regard to the recent Fifth International Esperanto Congress, held in Barcelona, Spain, September 5th to 11th, were the steps taken to change the nature of these congresses to that of a more formal world organization, and the increased amount of official recognition accorded to the congress from governmental sources.

Heretofore the congresses have had no real legislative power, composed, as they were, not of authorized representatives of the Esperanto societies, but merely of such persons as chose to attend. Necessarily any votes passed could merely take the form of recommendations to the Esperantists at large and were in no case binding. To be sure, there has existed since the congress in Boulogne-sur-mer a Language Committee, which elects the Academy whose duty it is to guide and control the natural evolution of the language. But these have been rather "close corporations" than duly elected and generally supported institutions.

Since the international language has now well passed the experimental stage, and weathered without damage the storm of dissension which has rendered all other international language schemes ephemeral, the desire for another step forward, namely, for the establishment of a truly representative body, proportionally elected by the Esperantists of the world, was from the first apparent in Barcelona. To this subject was devoted the greater part of the business sessions of the congress, and of the International Committee on Congresses. In the final business meeting it was voted that an International Esperanto Council be created to which the national organizations will elect one councillor for each thousand members. This council is especially interesting,

since it will be the first organization in the world which is of a legislative character, made up from all nations, yet able to conduct all its business in one language. This "federation of the world" is the natural result to be expected from the spirit of organization, so necessary to the growth of any movement, which has recently permeated the whole Esperanto world. In nearly every country there have been founded during the past year organizations similar to the Esperanto Association of North America, which has its central office in Washington, D. C., and subfederations in many States, with local societies and individual members scattered from Alaska to Panama.

As an indication that the congresses are developing a more serious nature, it is noteworthy that an entire general session of this Fifth Congress was allowed Professor René de Saussure, of the University of Geneva, in which to explain the objects of the International Scientific Association, its Central Office in Geneva, and the progress being made by it on the technical vocabularies. The work on these vocabularies has been done with the aid of specialists representing all national languages, and includes words for not only the more technical sciences, but also all branches of human endeavor or thought which have their own vocabularies in the national tongues. It was announced that the material for the first volume of this work is ready for the press. Professor de Saussure's report of the International Congress of Psychology, which met in Geneva during August, was especially interesting to the members of the Barcelona Congress, since in this assembly of psychologists Esperanto had been used as an official language with marked success, as it also was a month later at the International Medical Congress in Budapesth.

The increased recognition given to the Fifth Congress from official sources was extremely gratifying to all Esperantists. Alfonso XIII of Spain had in a most gracious manner accepted the honorary presidency of the Fifth Congress and, although unable to be present, sent an extremely cordial telegram to the opening session. In response to the telegram of thanks from the congress a second message was received in which the King placed himself quite definitely on record in favor of the international language. Besides King Alfonso each of his ministers held honorary office in the congress, and through the Spanish ambassadors the Minister of Foreign Affairs had requested various nations to be officially

represented. Three Governments — the United States, Belgium and Norway—responded, and only an unexpected occurrence prevented the attendance of Japan's representative. The American representatives were Mr. Herbert Harris, of Portland, Maine, and the writer.

In spite of the somewhat strained relations between the Catalonian and the Spaniard, which could be remarked by the close observer or by one having intimate acquaintances among them, the Governor and the Captain-General of the province of Catalonia, who are appointed by Madrid, the Mayor of the city, and the President of Deputies of the province, who are elected by popular vote, united in welcoming the Esperantists.

On Saturday afternoon preceding the congress Dr. Zamenhof, the author of the language, General Sebert, Member of the French Institute and president of the International Congress Committee, Rector Boirac of the University of Dijon, president of the Esperanto Academy, with eight other officials representing the congress, were escorted by Spanish cavalrymen through the flower-bedecked "Ramblas" and narrow streets of old Barcelona to make ceremonial calls upon each of the four named dignitaries. Although the most cordial greetings were extended at each reception, the short address in the Palace of Deputies by the President of Deputies was especially interesting. He greeted the Esperantist officials warmly, extolled their aims and the internal idea of Esperantism, the idea of universal brotherhood, and accused diversity of speech and consequent misunderstanding as the cause of most of the war and unrest in the world. His remarks were the more significant, since the spirit of general hostility felt by the Catalonians toward the Castilians, which is one of the main reasons for the revolutionary riots, is in large part due to the linguistic dissension caused by the enforced use of Spanish and the suppression of the Catalonian tongue.

The first illustration of governmental friendship toward the congress came to most of its members at Port Bou, the town of entry from France. An official who speaks the international idiom had been detailed to assist the Esperantists in the usually troublesome customs inspection, and the exhibition of a congress ticket immediately secured his courteous attention and help.

An elaborate reception for Dr. Zamenhof and the international leaders had been planned for Sunday morning. The civic and

military authorities had promised their co-operation toward making this a demonstration equal to the entry of royalty into the city. Because of the trouble which had unfortunately occurred a few weeks before the congress the Governor feared that any street demonstration would give too favorable an opportunity to the sympathizers with the revolutionary movement, who, under cover of this, might again start a riot. He therefore felt compelled to veto the outdoor portion of this programme. This attitude of precaution could be noted throughout the week and rendered the congress a much more quiet proceeding than would otherwise have been the case. No street demonstration or display of flags, except of the Esperanto banner, with its green star, was allowed. The recent political demonstration had its effect upon the attendance of the Congress likewise. A great many who had planned to be present were naturally fearful of entering a city so recently under martial law, and many were convinced that owing to the state of affairs the congress would not convene at all. In view of these facts, the presence of thirteen hundred "Congressists" testified eloquently to the strength of Esperanto. Yet, although shorn of much of its splendor and pomp, the reception on Sunday morning was not lacking in enthusiasm or dignity when Dr. Zamenhof entered the *Palacio de Bellas Artes*. After a brief address to the Esperantists, Dr. Zamenhof was escorted to the platform of the grand auditorium. Here he was greeted by the Mayor of Barcelona, who presented to him the freedom of the city, and in behalf of the municipality offered to him a handsome gold and enamelled badge.

Later in the day religious services for several denominations were held in Esperanto. Since no services except the Roman Catholic may be legally announced here, no services whatever were mentioned in the programme issued and published, those which were arranged for being informally called to the attention of the Esperantists. It chanced that the chief service for Catholics and the largest Protestant service were each conducted for their international audiences by Englishmen, Father Richardson and Rev. J. C. Rust.

On the following morning the Fifth International Esperanto Congress was formally opened by Dr. Mybs of Dresden, who had been the president of the preceding congress. He surrendered the gavel to Señor Fred. Pujulá y Valles, President of the

Catalonia Federation of Esperantists, who presided during the week of the congress. After a short address of welcome from Señor Pujulá Dr. Zamenhof congratulated the Esperantists upon the great progress made during the past year, and the seriousness and steadfastness with which the movement has advanced, in spite of the difficulties always attending the introduction of a new idea into the world. The address by the author of the language was immediately followed by a few words of greeting presented by the official Government representatives.

The delegates from Esperanto organizations, whose addresses were next upon the programme, represented thirty-three nations or linguistic divisions. Among these speakers were gentlemen from Brazil, England, Holland, France, Belgium, Austria, Cochin China, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Argentine Republic, Poland, Turkey, Samoa, Switzerland, as well as representatives of many non-national languages and dialects and even such idioms as Basque and Finnish. This was to many the most interesting of the congress meetings; the secretary introduced the speakers by name and nationality, and the ease with which men from so widely scattered countries could be understood in Esperanto was remarkable.

But the general business sessions of the congress on Monday afternoon, Thursday morning and all day Saturday, together with the special sectional and committee meetings, were a far more convincing argument that this language is a living one. Practically no speech could be prepared in advance for these, as no one could foresee the trend of argument or the business to come before the meetings; yet no more difficulty of expression or understanding, no more hesitancy in speech or manner, could be observed than if the whole proceeding had been in English in a gathering of Americans. In one session the discussion concerning the form to be taken by the proposed international organization was as sharply debated, as warmly and as spontaneously supported and attacked, as if each speaker were using his native tongue. It is remarkable how very short a time in the Esperanto atmosphere is needed to produce this readiness of speech and comprehension.

As at Dresden a year ago a demonstration was given of the benefit of the international language in the work of the International Red Cross. In Barcelona, however, it was upon a considerably larger scale. For the "battle-field" there had been

chosen a large section of the park, so arranged that the congress members could easily see the performance. Within the enclosure were the tents, ambulances, stretchers and other apparatus for the work of attending the wounded. An entire battalion of the Spanish Red Cross was present, while the physicians, nurses and "wounded" were selected from every nation represented at the congress. The exercise was under the direction of General Priou, President of the Red Cross Society of France, and Dr. J. M. Alvarez Miranda, and under the control of Señor Montaner, Provincial Delegate of the Spanish Red Cross in Catalonia. Those acting as wounded lay where they were supposed to have been shot, were picked up, taken on stretchers to the temporary station of surgeons upon the battle-field and a hasty diagnosis made by examination, and especially by conversation with the wounded, who were presumably enemies. The surgeons gave treatment, bandaged the wounds, filled out the diagnosis card in Esperanto with the information obtained, including the name, regiment, etc., of the "wounded," while those playing the rôle of soldiers too severely injured to walk were taken in the Red Cross ambulance to the hospital outside the field. This entire exercise was conducted in Esperanto, save that a few non-Esperantists had been asked to take part in order to afford a demonstration of the practicability of "Esperanto Red Cross," a small guide-book of phrases printed in Esperanto and the national language of the user. The exercise was such a markedly successful exhibition of the utility of the language in this great field that it is to be hoped General Priou will be able to assist the American Red Cross in a similar demonstration at the Sixth Congress.

During the week special meetings were held by the scientists present, whose desire was that every scientific magazine should give with each article of merit at least a short résumé in Esperanto. It was reiterated that the man of science to-day must know what is being published in his line of work throughout the world, and that the time devoted to language study or consumed in waiting for a possible translation in his native tongue is valuable time lost not only to the scientist, but often to the world at large.

During the entire congress no mention was made of any of the so-called "reforms." The possibility of any revolutionary changes in the language, which heretofore has been given by some as an excuse for not learning Esperanto, is no longer to be considered,

for the attitude of practically every supporter of the international-language idea is in favor of the natural evolution as in a national language controlled by the Academy in order to prevent the growth of "dialects."

The attitude of the entire city toward the congress made the week a memorable one. The street-cars carried Esperanto signs indicating their destination, the newspapers gave very full news of the congress in Catalonian or Spanish and also a short résumé in Esperanto of the happenings of the day and the advance programme. The merchants, hotel proprietors and servants solicited and conducted business in the language. The begging musicians soon learned to play Esperanto airs, and the newsboy without a few words of Esperanto was a *rara avis*.

In the closing session of the Congress the American representative formally presented an invitation in behalf of the Esperanto Association of North America to hold the Sixth International Esperanto Congress in Washington, D. C., during the third week of August, 1910. This invitation was accepted.

The Sixth Congress will be under the direction of the Esperanto Association of North America, with the co-operation of the Washington Chamber of Commerce. It is planned to arrange the voyage in such a fashion that most of the European delegates may sail together to New York and go from there directly to Washington. From the personal promises given at Barcelona, and the general desire manifested to see the United States, the foreign attendance will undoubtedly be large. This congress will be very interesting to the average American, with his desire to know things at first hand, while to the student of current events it should be a matter of extreme interest, for nothing can be more significant of the trend of the times than this great and growing movement for international comprehension, which is the most practical means toward the bringing about of universal peace.* Aside from the recognized educational value of Esperanto and its undoubted assistance in the fields of commerce and science, it would seem almost a duty for every intellectual man and woman to look into and aid in speedily establishing upon a firm basis the International Language, Esperanto.

EDWIN C. REED.

* See "The Necessity for an International Language," by Ivy Kellerman, Ph.D., in the "Popular Science Monthly," September, 1909.

NEW BOOKS REVIEWED.

POETRY.

When Sara Wiley Drummond was writing "Dante and Beatrice"* she took the word *stars* to turn and chime upon in imitation of her protagonist and because he loved the stars (herself, like Keats, loving the moon better) hardly aware how strongly and terribly another word echoed through her pages from the very first line, the great name of *death*. She died before she could set to them her finishing touches, but not before they were stamped with her image and superscription; and they lie in hand now not only to testify to her steadily maturing powers, but to enable us to spy out for once a poet's method. Here, along with much fair and happy imagery, we find already present the complicated harmonies of the line, and the pregnant epithet and phrase. She purposed, we hear, another half-year's work which should have smoothed the verse and eased the cadence and have simplified the somewhat elliptical and ambiguous constructions which here and there darken the limpid and melodious style. Yet how much better can we spare the polish than we could have spared the poem, and even unfinished as it is, where else shall we find among this year's publications, or the last, or the year's before, such welding of poetry to drama, such lyrical and sustained blank verse, such a passion, chaste and noble, such rich and intimate imagery with power to charge the natural world with human emotion, universal and personal, and touch the reader with the thrice-augmented power of both.

This last characteristic, in the present play, shows most advance on "Alcestis" and on "Philibert" and may well be illustrated here. She writes of

* "Dante and Beatrice." By Sara King Wiley. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1909.

"A splendor of purple hills that touch the sky,
A vastness like the spaces of the sea."

And again with a sweep like the night wind's own:

"Now use me for the trumpet of thy might
Wind of the spirit, blown beneath the stars!"

Rarely has a storm been so fraught with spiritual significance as that in which Dante knocks at Beatrice's door:

"Some one is coming with great need to come,
Or quick desire to follow in wind or flame,
The thunder bellowing after—"

And again, in preparation for the supreme moment of the scene and of the play:

"The storm returns amain
Heavy in purple. A chattering of the leaves
Shakes all the tree-tops and a throbbing light
Quickens and goes. I cannot see your face,
But your slight form blots on the window's glare
With every flash. The perfume of your dress
Stifles me here. Hark to the warring winds
That beat against the darkness, on and on."

Alike to those who had seen her pass and those who had not, the exquisite reticence of the brief biographical notice will be eloquent. An impression of her personality is recorded there; here is a question only of the kind and scope of her talent as it marked her work, and poetry such as that cited, such as that which springs to the light at every page, gives her measure as a poet. That Mrs. Drummond's genius was primarily lyrical let witness, if need be, the delicate and long-drawn loveliness of the girls' song above their broideries that, breathing the violet breath of maidenhood and spring, divinely dallies with the innocence of love; or the beautiful, image-charged melodious rain song. She has left in the few slender volumes that enclose what of her life was least perishable as it was most dear, a complete and lovely record. After the classical episodes of "Daphne," "Endymion," of "Orpheus" and "The Fawn," which belong to her maiden days and culminate in the aria and chorus of Iphigenia, she wrote Alcestis, finishing it in the early months of widowhood. "The Coming of Philibert" marked a deliberate turning to the outer world with its large and multitudinous interests, its various

types and a new feeling for its compelling freshness and loveliness; "Dante and Beatrice" was to have marked, in a sense, a new beginning. The piece, at core lyrical, was a prelude to maturity, with verse richer and graver, with feeling deepened and exalted and a preoccupation with great passions and great deeds that pass beyond the individual lovers to the wider duties that call women now, to the services of a common brotherhood recognized at last. Beatrice says:

> "I have lived like a flower blown in the sun,
> Yet the wind whispers of the distant waves,
> And the stars beckon to mysterious skies:
> For I will tell you of my solemn dreams
> That hand in hand with God I serve His world."

Radiant and ardent, of unconquerable youth, she of the vivid grace and fragile charm has passed, leaving the world poorer and colder, because a poet, ever wielding the high calling with true and sustained reverence, can build no more the lofty rhyme for earthly ears.

Edith Wharton is a prose-writer *par excellence,* and while she reaches the lyric pitch* in thought and substance there are moments when, fine craftsman that she is, diction and cadence halt and move in the measure of prose.

> "Thou sawst me in the cloud, the wave, the bough,
> The clod commoved with April."

The word "commoved" somehow translates us quickly into a realm of prose, as also does the false stress in the second line below:

> "Yea, this we wait for, this renews us, this
> Incarnates us, pale people of your dreams," etc.

But just because she has so won the mastery of a prose style, she cannot give forth her full feeling about life without offering us poetry, for undoubtedly the substance of her thought dwells often in the realm of poetry.

The dramatic monologue of "Vesalius in Zante," reminiscent in form as it is of the great master of the dramatic monologue,

* "Artemis to Actæon." By Edith Wharton. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909.

is full of subtle psychology, fire and high thought, and its form is justified by such splendid lines as:

> "They only, who reconquer day by day
> The inch of ground they camped on overnight,
> Have right of foothold on this crowded earth."

And again:

> "But I so hugged the fleeting self of me,
> So loved the lovely perishable hours,
> So kissed myself to death upon their lips,
> That on one pyre we perished in the end."

Best of all, Mrs. Wharton succeeds in the sonnet, that form which by its set laws and narrow compass offers a bridge between prose composition and poetry, and if one were to ask of whom she had most diligently studied the art of sonnet-making the answer, him who made "The House of Life" rises from such lines as:

> "I heard her feet in irretrievable flight,"
>
> "The touch of kisses that have missed my brow,"

Most exquisite is the sextet from sonnet VIII:

> "But other hearts a long, long road doth span,
> From some far region of old works and wars,
> And the weary armies of the thoughts of man
> Have trampled it and furrowed it with scars,
> And sometimes, husht, a sacred caravan
> Moves over it alone, beneath the stars."

Mrs. Wharton is of the elect. She is one of those who accomplish whatever they set their hands to and she has innumerable facets to her soul. Having proved that she is among the finest writers of prose America has ever produced, she flashes another facet upon us, and we have a new poet and one we could not spare.

We have already expressed our good opinion of the scholarly work of Mrs. Dargan in these pages on the occasion of the publication of her "Lords and Lovers and Other Dramas." Despite the excellence of the work there, she still lacked the artist's free hand, the full conviction and fire of maturity. The present volume,* we feel sure, is apprentice work. It bears every mark of

* "Semiramis and Other Plays." By Olive Tilford Dargan. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909.

being an earlier effort than "Lords and Lovers." One constantly sees the student's attempt and the girl's conceptions. "The Poet," the last play in the volume, trembles on the historic step from the sublime. Genius is perilously near to madness and Poe notably wavered between the two states. Poe handled by the fiery imagination of young maidenhood, missed the effect of genius to give that of its grotesque companion. Indeed, this play completely misses the mark. "Semiramis" tries to make up for poverty of emotion and inspiration by overloading with action and a huddled design. Armies, enemies, friends, servants, hurry and scamper back and forth across the stage, and doubts, trust and mistrust fairly upset each other as they claim the heroine's mind.

The book shows much haste and carelessness in composition in more ways than one. There are many misprints; speeches put into the mouths of the wrong characters; mistakes in cadence and rhythm.

Here and there one gets a fine or fiery line, but they are all too few. Mrs. Dargan has in her the making of a dramatist, but we make the assertion upon the witness only of her former book.

We have always known Mr. Hewlett was a poet making prose. Had he willed the higher task, he might have been that rarest growth of earth—a poet. The thin blue volume* is in part a reissue of an earlier volume which expired painlessly, the author says a few months after birth. The additions to that small volume, namely, the three long poems "Leto's Child," "The Niobids" and "Latmos" set the seal of true poet on this volume. With the scholar's sense of time, Mr. Hewlett has waited eleven years to publish his poems, knowing doubtless that true worth will always find a market and only transient stuff need catch at occasion.

Every poet sometime writes his hymn to Intellectual Beauty, and the trilogy of poems on Hymnia gives Mr. Hewlett's pictures of three approaches to the shrine. In the first the legend of Callisto serves to point the sorrows, suffering disintegration of

* "Artemision: Idylls and Songs." By Maurice Hewlett. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909.

the sensual mind; "The Niobids" is a poem dealing with the downfall of those proud souls who think to rival with their earthly gifts the very goddess herself; and in the third poem, "Latmos," we have the unending pursuit, the unsatisfied desire.

Hymnia, repenting of her kindness to a boy, realizes that:

> "All alone
> Her way must be, until in mortal man
> That grace of God be given to look upon
> Beauty for what it is, not what it can
> Give unto us for sop to batten on."

And the poem ends:

> "But let him write
> Who knows her best; thus only goes his prayer
> That she withdraw not from him; but still spare
> Some little hint of beauty deep and calm
> To cool his fever. He has no further care
> What other fortune fall him, so the psalm
> Incarnate in her, shrill as mountain air,
>
> "Fan her young breath upon him as she flits
> Across him, looking downward where he sits;
> Or with grave beckoning in her solemn eyes
> Bid him to follow her oft; as befits
> Attendant on her."

Of the lesser poems there is less to say. "Preparation" opens with the splendid line, "I arise to anoint my soul," and a shock is given one by the sudden downfall of the second line,

> "With the unction of her sweet breath."

"To Crocuses" is full of spring and youth and young delight. Everywhere are faithful imagery and haunting lines, none more exquisite than these:

> "Below him as he lay, the muffled sheep
> Like tombs adown the hillside seemed to creep."

The book is one students and lovers of poetry dare not miss.

"One more unfortunate," one exclaims when one reads the tragic little foreword to these poems* in which John Davidson says

* "Fleet Street and Other Poems." By John Davidson. New York: Mitchell Kennerley, 1909.

farewell to the world and explains that he could not live on his pension, that he had borne asthma and other annoyances for years, only to find that he had now to bear cancer. So with plans still halting and achieving in mid-air, he took his own life. It is not in the rough-and-ready economy of this world to nurse genius. The survival of the fittest is its method, and that means that who can hew down surrounding growth and clear a space may stand. Apparently John Davidson could not accomplish this. He desired to make things which the world did not want and would not pay for. The world was not all unkind to him; it gave him a little pension, but it would not buy his wares. Doubtless the world would be a lovelier planet if it bought more poetry and less meat; if it applauded spiritual aspirations and noble insight and turned its back on cunning, greed and power. But the world is so big and poets are so little, who shall constrain it? They must even consent to serve beauty and truth without reward. John Davidson has the strength of revolt against an evil order in all his poems. To those who neglected his development since his first three volumes until the last one the notable points are the increase of minute observation; the intent, strained attention to microscopic detail; the unrelieved self-consciousness, the mind turning trebly in upon itself and over-intent to every step of its operations. The handling of words is remarkable and the descriptions are exact to the point of eloquence; it is truth hounded and tracked until it shrieks its name.

No man living to-day speaks of poetry with more authoritative voice than Robert Bridges,* and so this volume bearing his introduction and his seal is to be reverently handled by students of poetry. The Memoir and Introduction is all one could ask, reverent, interpretative, self-effacing.

The Poems themselves, barring the wonderfully pictorial "St. Mary Magdalene," are frankly difficult and have no word at all for the facile reader. Profound and philosophic thought clothed always in austere garmenting, indeed sometimes by almost impenetrable veils, is what is offered. To those who persevere de-

* "Selected Poems of Richard Watson Dixon with a Memoir." By Robert Bridges. London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1909.

spite this, much richness of thought will be given, though no solution of problems is attempted. The poems treat much

> "Of the measureless annoy
> The pain and havoc wrought
> By fate on man."

To the question of the meaning of natural phenomena regarded as data from which man may deduce or conjecture his relation to the mind of the universe, Mr. Bridges says Canon Dixon's answer attempts no further decision than this: that "nature is grave and rebuking man's folly forbids any bad solution." The final words of the book give insight into the matter and quality:

> "But let me not have failed to heaven and earth
> In setting forth with order not undue
> The mighty workers of this world's affairs,
> Fatality, infinity, these two,
> The one the only yoke the other wears."

If Mr. Bridges's sincere and scholarly preface is all that such a work should be, Mr. Gilbert Chesterton's Introduction is all that has no right to the circulation of print. It is pert, flippant and insincere; it slings about irreverently great names, great words and great causes. It is a child's wanton dragging of smuggled treasure through the dust of the daily frolic. It is a question whether the duty of the critic is to pass the work by with the silent scorn it deserves or to warn such as might be deceived that the whole matter is a little word-juggling meant to deceive their simplicity. To one who can write of the "aimless revolt of Shelley" and who can say such silly things as that "the revolution succeeded in France because it was an affair of soldiers; the revolution failed in England because it was an affair of poets," there is little to reply. It merely means that cheap journalism has won a cheap freedom to utter pert remarks by a fat and phlegmatic optimism too lazy to know its facts or weigh its words.

The poems* which Mr. Chesterton thus introduces had knocked, so the author naïvely tells us, for four years at the publisher's doors in vain. The writer meant well and might have been par-

* "A Vision of Life." Darrell Figgis. With an Introduction by Gilbert Chesterton. New York: John Lane & Co., 1909.

doned much but for the introduction. Yet it is but honest to say that the thought is commonplace throughout and foolish at intervals. The diction contains such gems as "exquisitry," "liverous passions," "a ruddy whore mellisonant," "surfeit illumes the shadow of joy," "I could not see aught goal," "harlots nude are chasteless and brazen," "the throstle *glimpses* a vision"; while prepositions are simply shaken out with a pepper-pot over the pages where they go "winning out," "waxing on," "learning out" and "stripping to."

One song has the impertinence to begin: "I arise from dreams of thee." No wonder the journalist attempts to belittle the great poet from whom his poet is to take entire lines.

One stanza is worth quoting entire, as it gives the flavor of the whole book and sums up so completely all Mr. Chesterton's view of life; thought not being offered in the form of a paradox, it lacks the false glamour of originality the journalist usually lends his obvious views:

> "Howe'er 'tis,
> Baby, shun no duty's call.
> Fear thy God, love peoples all,
> Then whatever shall befall,
> Thine is bliss."

Aristophanes was the father of Mr. Trevelyan's brilliant *divertissement** and the freakish muse of Browning the mother, but Hermes stood godfather and gave stolen goods for a christening gift. It was not enough that he should furnish the slave, Xanthus, with a speech cut over from Falstaff's and the queen Merope with a scruple of Macbeths, and catch up more than a cry from Marlowe, but he splices a half line or so from Tennyson to a phrase of Shelley's and adds the burden of one of the loveliest Elizabethan lyrics to make weight; elsewhere, too, the author appropriates almost the whole of the superb madrigal which the Christ Church manuscript has preserved for us. This is Saturnalia with a vengeance. But as at the solstitial feast all licenses were lawful, so here all may pass as part of the very excellent fooling. These capers and morris dances of wit, these

* "Sisyphus: An Operatic Fable." By R. C. Trevelyan. New York, London, Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co., 1908.

japes and knaveries would seem alongside the last light opera and Sunday supplement rather stately fooling, but in them the ancient comedy yet lives, and ginger is hot in the mouth, nor yet quickly flavorless. Laughter, ironic yet full-throated, comes back for the second reading and the third, and with laughter keeps company song of a high lyrical quality. The poetry goes excellently well; better, however, in the more tripping passages than in the weightier ones which are measured in part at least by quantity. Quantitative verse in English is a species not yet acclimated; a problem still unsolved, though now and then some one makes a near approximation to it. Sisyphus in places is a real approximation tunable to any ear; in places it might seem a chaotic mumble to such as have never listened to that favorite of the austerer muse, the Doyen of great and scholarly poetry, Robert Bridges, measuring off such verse with mighty-mouthed harmony. Since indubitably Dr. Bridges would back our poet here, criticism must be content to back him too and seal approval. Indeed, we would there were more such poetry, for comedy and song are of the great sisterhood, and the fantastic is often the frolicking of happy genius.

FICTION.

Here is a novel,* a work of amazing poetic genius, which it is fair to say would probably have lain hidden forever in a drawer had it happened to be born in our own land. For full as it is of beauty and poetry, and of the significance of nature and nature's impact upon the soul of men and man's response to nature, of the irony and terror of destiny, of the tragedy of man's hopes and loves, it is written at a pitch of emotion heartily disliked in our own comfortable land. We want no tragedies and this is a sort of Teutonic "Jude the Obscure"; less grotesque and bitter perhaps, more poetic and appealing. A great and truthful picture it is of the Sphinx's torturing game with consciousness, and yet throughout the book there flows the healing stream of natural beauty refreshing and restoring wherever wounds are sorest, hope most broken.

* "*Der Blumen-Hiob.*" Von Hans Kyser. Berlin: S. Fischer Verlag, 1909.

A bright and pretty little double love-story,* set in the beautiful scenery of the Jura Mountains where they overlook Lake Leman, is this story of French mountain-folk in 1871 when the Germans were still skirmishing about and the bushwhackers were busy. War, however, is no terrible thing seen through this author's happy imagination, and all the mishaps and misadventures move on swiftly to happy solutions among these people of slight sorrows and slight thoughts. The setting of the tale is charming and the characters are all likable. Even the worst villain is converted midway in the book, drops all his evil designs and makes friends with the good people, while his ally comes to a swift and untimely end earlier still. The book is a pleasant one and there is but one unkindly word to say of it. No reproof could be too severe for a writer who sends pronouns wandering aimlessly down his pages without antecedents, who invariably chooses the wrong preposition and who cannot distinguish between a noun and a verb. "To pontificate," "to blood them," "to precise the trouble," "to refuge others," are a few of the flagrant examples of bad grammar in the book.

* "The Men of the Mountain." By S. R. Crockett. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1909.

WORLD-POLITICS.

LONDON: ROME.

LONDON, *October, 1909.*

ALL parties are bracing themselves for the great struggle. Within a few days after this letter appears in print we shall know whether we are to be plunged into a political and constitutional crisis of the first magnitude or whether, for the time being, it has been postponed or evaded. Prophecy under such conditions is an enterprise of even more than the usual hazard. Nobody, I think, can say definitely what course the Lords will adopt, whether they will accept the Budget or reject it, or amend it or hold their judgment in suspense until the people have passed upon its provisions. There is a strong and growing feeling that they will not accept it as it stands, but nobody can point to a single utterance by any Peer of the least political weight that justifies the feeling. I have talked of late with a good many Peers on the subject and, although they were hostile to the Budget, not one of them would admit that he was prepared to take the extreme step of throwing it out. From my talks with them I got the impression that the idea of rejecting the Budget —and anything short of acceptance is equivalent to rejection—is one that has been encouraged from without rather than prompted from within; that the Lords, if left to themselves, would follow the settled, normal practice of centuries and assent with nothing more than a verbal protest to the financial proposals of the Commons; and that any doubts as to their action in the matter are due to the clamor of the Opposition press, to a sort of angry suspicion they are being "dared" by the Government, and to the political pressure of the Tariff Reformers and the brewers. The only statesman of the first rank who has publicly urged the

Lords to reject the Budget is Mr. Chamberlain. He did so in a letter read out at a meeting in Birmingham addressed by Mr. Balfour; and it was extremely noticeable that Mr. Balfour in his speech took no notice whatever of the suggestion. Lord Rosebery, again, in his famous attack upon the Budget at Glasgow was careful to refrain from offering his fellow members of the Upper House any advice as to the line they should take. The "Times" once more, though it has fought almost every clause in the Budget with extraordinary vigor and skill, has lent no countenance to the revolutionary proposal that the Lords should throw it out. The "Spectator," which began by strongly advocating the right of the Upper Chamber to amend the Budget, has since abandoned a position that was opposed to the accepted usages of the Constitution and now expressly advises the Lords to accept it. It does so on the same ground that a General Election brought about by the Lords would result in the return of the present Government with a majority only slightly reduced, while the passing of the Budget would allow the nation to test the real character and effects of Mr. Lloyd-George's finance and so hasten the inevitable reaction.

The question, therefore, is still in suspense; no irrevocable decision has been taken; and if one were to say that the Lords do not want to reject the Budget, but feel they may be driven to it, the situation would, perhaps, be described with as much accuracy as the conditions allow. Powerful forces are undoubtedly at work to compel rejection. The Tariff Reformers who dominate the Unionist Party know, even if they do not acknowledge, that their cause has made no headway in the past six months, that the idea of taxing the food of the people never seemed less attractive than when contrasted with the idea of taxing land, and that, if once the Budget is allowed to become law, their propaganda has received its death-blow. They are, therefore, exerting themselves to the utmost to convince the leaders of their Party that only decisive action by the Lords can save them from political bankruptcy. The brewers, again, who were successful in inducing the Upper House to throw out the Licensing Bill of last year, whose influence with the Conservative Party is as indisputable as it is unhealthy, and who have already persuaded Lord Lansdowne, the leader of the Conservative majority in the Upper Chamber, to agree to receive a deputation after the

emergence of the Budget from the House of Commons and before its submission to the House of Lords, are equally vehement for rejection; and their forces are joined by those of the landowners and the great banking and financial interests. The pressure, therefore, upon the Conservative leaders in the House of Lords is very great, nor are arguments wanting to sustain it. The Budget, it is said, is more than a scheme for meeting the financial needs of the current year. Many of the taxes it imposes, and especially the taxes on land, will by the Government's own admission cost more to collect than they will yield in revenue for many years to come. Under the guise of a Budget Mr. Lloyd-George has really aimed at effecting a vast social and economic revolution. His land taxes not only smooth the way to the nationalization of the land, but are defended by arguments that would justify the realization of nine-tenths of the Socialists' policy. Many projects, such as that for taking a valuation of all the land in the kingdom and for developing rural interests and improving the road system, are made to form part of the Budget, although their purpose and effect are only incidentally financial. And on this hodgepodge of legislation the opinion of the country has never been asked or given. There is no mandate for it. The nation has not been consulted as to a single one of its provisions. For what purpose does the House of Lords exist if not to provide an interval for ascertaining the sober judgment of the nation? The legal right of the Lords to reject a Finance Bill is unquestioned, and the fact that it has not been exercised for many years does not and cannot mean that it has therefore lost its efficacy. And at what time or in what cause could it be better enforced than to stand between the nation and a Budget that attacks capital, that makes every property-owner tremble in his shoes, that diminishes employment at home by driving investments abroad, and that points clearly to Collectivism as the goal to which England is drifting?

Such are the arguments by which the Lords are being pressed to throw out the Budget, and in London, at any rate, they find an immense acceptance. But clubland and the West End and the opinions they represent are hardly ever synonymous with England, and at this moment they are probably the most fallacious guides that any one could consult who wished to get an insight into the real feeling of the country. I have never, indeed, been

more struck by the remoteness of the metropolis from national sentiment and by its inability to look beyond the four-mile radius, than during the last few weeks. Six months ago the Government were in the trough of popular disfavor. The reality of the reaction was so indisputable as to make the confirmation of the by-elections seem almost superfluous. Everything indicated a rapid decline. The most sanguine Ministers did not anticipate any better result from an appeal to the country than a majority dependent upon the Irish Nationalist vote. The Opposition were confident that even this result could not be obtained and that a General Election would return a Unionist Government to power with a clear lead over Liberals, Labor men and Nationalists combined. But he must be blind indeed who does not see that the whole situation has been radically transformed, that all the anticipations of six months ago have now to be abandoned, and that the Government at the supreme moment have made a miraculous recovery. From the tone and temper of public meetings all over the country, from those casual but illuminating conversations one overhears in railway carriages and wherever men do congregate, from the innumerable little tokens and straws that enable one to divine the inner workings of the popular mind, I get the distinct and overwhelming impression that the Government are stronger to-day than at any moment since they took office and that a General Election, if precipitated by the action of the House of Lords in regard to the Budget, would rouse in their support a degree of enthusiasm little, if at all, inferior to that of 1906. There is no apathy among Liberals to-day, no vacillation, none of that feeling—which six months ago was demoralizing even the rank and file—that the Government were making themselves ridiculous. On the contrary, wherever you come across a Liberal you come across a fighter, a man caught up by the impulse of what he profoundly believes to be a great and worthy cause, a man filled with the moral fervor that one half thought had been buried in Gladstone's grave. It is a fervor that has not only revivified Liberalism and brought to it once more the consciousness of being on the crest of the rising wave, but has communicated itself, unless I am wholly at fault, to the thousands whose party allegiance and principles are fluid and shifting and whose silent, dispassionate votes determine the rise and fall of British Governments.

The sole and sufficient cause of all this revival of energy and confidence is the Budget. There is a theory you will hear in the Carlton Club smoking-room that the Budget is not really popular, that all the clamor in its favor is raised by a bullying, stentorian minority, and that the deeper, more placid and in the end more effective currents of public opinion are running strongly against it. The theory is not intrinsically untenable. England is so difficult a country to gauge that one must always allow a liberal margin for the play of the unseen forces that may be felt and guessed at, but cannot be precisely traced. But in such matters I infinitely prefer, as a watch-tower from which to observe and calculate, a third-class railway carriage between, say, Manchester and Leeds to the whole of Piccadilly and Pall Mall. The theory that the popularity of the Budget, such as it is, is merely a factitious extravagance of the hour, and that the second thoughts of the nation will declare themselves strongly against it when the moment comes, is one I cannot subscribe to in the least. I have looked for evidence of it and found none. Not one of those subtle intimations or instincts that together form one's sense of atmosphere tends to confirm it. In my deliberate and, I believe, unbiassed judgment the Budget is not merely the most popular Budget, it is the only popular Budget that has ever been presented to this country. It is popular because it embodies a vast programme of social betterment, because it strikes a blow for that equality of opportunity which is the essence of democracy, because it exacts from monopolies that have hitherto escaped it a fair, and no more than a fair, return for the privileges extended to them by the community on which they thrive, because it asserts the right of the State to a share of the wealth created by the State, and because it observes the cardinal principles of Free-Trade finance.

Perhaps six months ago I should have said that the House of Lords was still the most popular and responsive Second Chamber in the world and quite beyond reach of a successful attack. Nobody would say as much to-day. Rightly or wrongly, the masses in this country, without distinction of party, believe it to be a fundamental part of the British Constitution that the Lords should have no voice in finance. They are utterly unimpressed by quibbles over the difference between "legal rights" and Constitutional usages and between a tax and a Tax Bill;

and they will never tolerate the violent breach in the fixed practice of the Constitution that the amendment or rejection of the Budget by the Lords would amount to. If the Upper Chamber adopts either of these extreme courses it will rouse against itself not only the enthusiasm engendered by the Budget, but the ingrained and ineradicable jealousy that any attempt to encroach upon the absolute discretion of the Commons in matters of finance has always and invariably inspired. I confess that the levity, recklessness and bitter partisanship with which the Lords are being urged to force a crisis leave me appalled. If they act on that advice their fate as a Second Chamber with any useful attributes is well-nigh sealed, and the Budget will sink into insignificance compared with the revolution they will have provoked. Much more is at stake than the land clauses or the super tax or the license duties or any merely political issue. The whole system of British government is at stake; and a General Election fought out on the joint question of the Budget and the House of Lords can only end in a new England under a new and hazardous Constitution.

ROME, *October, 1909.*

ITALY is undoubtedly not fortunate with regard to royal visits. The "evil eye," as they call it here, began in 1881, when in October of that year King Humbert and Queen Margherita went to Vienna to visit the Austrian Sovereigns, and to lay the foundation stone of the alliance which, concluded May 20th of the next year, has ever since bound the Peninsula to the Central Empires, although the manifestations of latent hostility are very frequent between Vienna and Rome, and even to a smaller degree between Rome and Berlin. Of course when the Italian Sovereigns went to the Austrian capital it was understood that the Emperor Francis Joseph would return the visit, but when negotiations were opened as to the details and arrangements it was found that he had never meant to set foot in the Eternal City, as a Papal decree exists prohibiting, under penalty of excommunication, any Catholic Sovereign or ruler from being the guest of the "usurper" of the Pontifical States in what had always been their capital. The Hapsburg Monarch had already visited the great Victor Emmanuel in Venice after that region had been freed from

Austria, but King Humbert, now that the question was put in the above terms, in entire agreement with his Government and people, proudly answered that he would receive the Austrian Emperor nowhere but in Rome and at the Quirinal, which the Vatican and the Papal party still call "the Apostolic Palace." Later Dom Carlos, the martyred King of Portugal, being the son of King Humbert's sister, believed that the prohibition would not extend to him on account of his close relationship to the Italian Sovereigns and started for Rome on an official visit to the Quirinal, but was stopped in Paris, where he was informed that if he carried out his project the Catholic Party in Portugal would join the Republicans and overthrow the Monarchy. Thus Dom Carlos's visit was also abandoned.

Last year the Prince of Monaco had announced his intention of being the guest of King Victor at the Quirinal for the purpose of delivering a lecture on Oceanography before the Italian Royal Geographical Society, but it was hinted that this Prince, whose desires of acting as mediator are well known, intended to see on the spot whether it was possible to do anything to bring about a reconciliation between the Vatican and Quirinal. What really took place is not yet entirely disclosed, but the fact remains that the Prince, on the ground of a bad cold, first postponed and then relinquished his project. The action of the Vatican is not known, but people remember that the ruler of the small Principality of Monaco is indebted to the Holy See for the annulment of his marriage with Lady Douglas Hamilton, and that he has at various times offered his yacht and his dominion in case the Pope should flee from Rome.

The only Catholic rulers who have defied the Pope's prohibition to come to Rome are the Prince of Bulgaria, who visited King Humbert after Leo XIII refused to consent to the then baby Boris, the Crown Prince of Bulgaria, changing his religion from Catholicism to Orthodoxy, and President Loubet.

The above-mentioned troubles were, as we have seen, always connected with Catholic Rulers, and were to a certain extent explainable, being the result of a situation unique in history, since Rome houses two Sovereigns, in conflict with each other, but each recognizing the other as a Sovereign.

It was another question, however, when fresh troubles arose with regard to the visit of the Russian Emperor to Rome. The

Tsar should have come to Rome in October, 1903, and his presence at the Quirinal was intended to have a great political significance outside Russo-Italian relations, as it would have affected Germany and Austria on the one hand and France on the other, since it was meant as the consecration of a new policy which King Vitcor tried to inaugurate after his accession to the throne. The presence of Italy in the Triple Alliance, owing to the inevitable friction between her and Austria, the latter being almost invariably supported by Germany, placed the Peninsula in a position of inferiority and almost of subjection.

The young King, helped also by the family connections of the Queen—formerly a Princess of Montenegro—with the Russian royal family, understood that the only way to free his country was to bring about a *rapprochement* with the Muscovite Empire, then not yet weakened by the Japanese war and which was the only Power capable of checking the Austrian desire of preponderance. Even then it was known that Austria was preparing the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and was contemplating a kind of *coup de main* on Albania, which was prevented by the Marquis Visconti-Venosta inducing Count Goluchowski to conclude an agreement by which Italy and Austria pledged themselves to respect the *status quo* there, and finally it was no secret that negotiations were going on at Constantinople to render possible a gradual German absorption of Tripoli. The gravity of such a situation will be easily understood when it is considered that Italy, while so treated by her allies, had concluded an agreement with France and with England in which her aspirations to Tripoli were acknowledged.

The visit of the Tsar, which should have been the crowning of this new situation, was suddenly interfered with by the attitude of a fraction of the Italian Socialists, who decided to receive the Russian ruler with hisses as a sign of protest against the autocratic Government of his Empire. Strong evidence has been gathered to demonstrate that Vienna was not extraneous to the attitude of the Socialists which Austrian emissaries fomented and encouraged. The Premier Zanardelli, telegraphing from his villa at Maderno, called them "savage demonstrations which put Italy beyond the pale of hospitable and civilized nations." To him Admiral Morin, who had succeeded Marquis Prinetti at the Foreign Office, telegraphed as follows after having received the Rus-

sian Ambassador: "M. Nelidoff showed himself much preoccupied at the possibility of the hooting, and said that he would desire an explicit assurance of the certainty of the Italian Government that the Tsar would not suffer in Italy the least affront; that if such an assurance cannot be given in an absolute way he, in the interests of the good relations between Italy and Russia, thought that it would be opportune to find a pretext to defer the journey." The Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs answered, giving explicit and exhaustive assurances, and the King himself receiving M. Nelidoff confirmed them, saying that he would receive their Imperial Majesties (as the Tsarina was also coming) at the station and would be at their side throughout the time they remained in the Italian capital. After this Count Lamsdorff, the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, notified the Italian Ambassador in St. Petersburg that the Tsar "*espère pouvoir effectuer*" his journey in Italy between the 10th and 17th of October, remaining in Rome three days. All seemed settled when on October 10th M. Nelidoff went to the Foreign Office to read a statement to Admiral Morin in which he said that the hostile propaganda against the journey of the Tsar had produced a deplorable effect in Russia, and that he was "obliged by my position to watch over the preservation of good relations between our two countries, and am constrained to realize the conditions under which the journey would take place. My impressions, unfortunately, have aroused in me some fear that the hostile agitation of a portion of the Socialists may cause, notwithstanding all possible precautions, unpleasant incidents which would unfavorably impress the august visitors. As I could not in this respect assume any responsibility, I was obliged, scrupulously following the path of my conscience, respectfully to submit my impressions to my august Lord and express the humble advice that it would be advantageous to postpone the imperial journey."

Premier Zanardelli answered that he was "extremely surprised that, after the assurances of the Italian Government that the Emperor would be well received, M. Nelidoff should consider himself authorized to substitute his own responsibility to that of the Italian Government," and the King, telegraphing on October 11th, said that "the personal position of the Ambassador of Russia in Rome has become untenable through the small account which he has taken of the formal assurances of the Italian Gov-

ernment." M. Nelidoff was immediately transferred to Paris, the King refusing to receive him in farewell audience, as he also refused an audience to him when, after having presided over the Second Peace Conference at The Hague, he came to Rome thinking that in the four years' lapse of time the King's displeasure would have evaporated. By a strange coincidence M. Nelidoff was still Ambassador in Paris when, for the first time, the Socialists of allied France threatened the Tsar with the same hisses as their Italian companions, obliging him not to set foot in the Republic and to receive its President at sea.

Now at six years' distance the visit of Nicholas II to Italy causes the same trouble with regard to the Socialists at home, and the same,—in fact, a greater,—apprehension to the other members of the Triple Alliance, as the negotiations for the fourth renewal of that alliance are now being initiated. It was supposed that the way in which the Tsar paid his late visits to King Edward and President Fallières—viz., on his yacht—would solve the question of the visit to King Victor, the two Sovereigns meeting in the Mediterranean or the Adriatic, thus avoiding any fear that the Russian Emperor would hear any of those Socialist hisses that M. Nelidoff in his diplomatic note called a "least affront." Suddenly it was announced that the visit had again to be postponed on account of the health of the Tsarina, but unfortunately, even if it were true, no one believed it, as is only too natural considering past experiences. Of course Austria and Germany are secretly delighted, understanding that these contrarieties are just what they need to keep Italy for another period of years bound to them, and to prevent Russia from strengthening her international position. In all this affair of the Tsar's visit there has been the greatest short-sightedness on the part of Russian diplomacy, as M. Nelidoff, and probably his present successor, Prince Dolgoruki, have not understood that they should have thanked that dozen Socialists who, notwithstanding all the precautions and measures adopted by the Italian Government, would certainly have hissed the Tsar, as such a childish demonstration on their part would have caused a reaction leading to the most colossal manifestation of enthusiasm which any Sovereign has ever received in the Eternal City.

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PROSPERITY WITH JUSTICE.

BY PETER S. GROSSCUP, JUDGE OF THE UNITED STATES CIRCUIT COURT OF APPEALS.

THE "interests" is the name that the American people have come to use in connection with those enterprises, corporate or individual, that lean on the Government for something more than mere government and the administration of justice. More than all other questions, during a period of seven years now, the questions growing out of the existence of such interests—questions especially relating to so-called trusts and the tariff—have occupied the attention of the country. This period is, I think, rightly called "the period of the awakening"; and an inventory of what this period has accomplished should be taken, perhaps, before proceeding with the subject immediately in hand.

When this period began, the great trusts had just gotten well settled in the industrial saddle. One of the prospects held out was that they would be thrown from the saddle. After these seven years, they are more firmly settled than before. Is this not true?

When this period began, it was announced that the existing anti-trust laws were all that was needed to "undo the trusts"; that what was needed was to enforce the law; and prosecutions and promises of prosecution appeared in every quarter and against

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nearly every unusually successful enterprise. Now that seven whole years have gone by, what in that direction has been accomplished? What trust has been dissolved—I mean, effectually dissolved? What violator of the anti-trust law is in prison?

When this period began the cost to the people of the necessities of life had already risen on the average almost, if not quite, thirty-three and one-third per cent. It was popular revolt against this increased cost of living that helped, as much as anything else, to bring on the "awakening." Now that the seven years have gone by, on what single item of our necessities can we lay a finger and say, The cost of *this* has diminished? Has not the cost of living, all along the line, continued to increase?

This period began with a growing sentiment that it was the large corporations, called the trusts, that were the people's enemies; and every man connected with a large corporation was more or less put under the ban. In a little while sentiment added every one connected with any corporation, large or small; so that to have any interest in corporate property, or to take any interest in seeing that corporate property had the protection of the law, was to be entered in the list of the proscribed. But now that the seven years have passed, we see a new President, overwhelmingly elected by the people, calling into his cabinet four or five of the leading corporation lawyers of the country.

During these seven years we have been constantly informed by those in power that something was about to be done to cure the country of its "corporation evil"—that a concrete progressive programme would soon be announced; and here and there the sound of a little tinkering has reached our ears. But what political body has, as yet, so much as *pointed out* just what it *means* by the phrase "corporation evil"; and what actual, substantive thing has been done toward curing the country of this "corporation evil"? The corporate form of holding property and wielding energy is not *per se* an evil. On the contrary, that form of holding property and wielding energy has been indispensable to this age of busy invention transforming the world. The evil of the corporation, when once rightly comprehended, will be found to be, not in the *form*, but in what is allowed to take place *within* the form—will be found to be, not in the fact that nearly all the great enterprises are in the corporate domain, but in the fact that within that great domain, already covering nearly

one-half the nation's property, license to manipulate is so great and security so lax that through *sheer fear,* fully justified, however, by what they witness, the people at large have abandoned it as a field of enterprise to the few, thus enabling that few, aided by the free hand that the corporation policy of the country gives them, to obtain a grasp on property and on power unexampled anywhere. But what step has been taken to meet this evil—to put the corporation, as a form of holding nearly one-half the nation's property and a medium of wielding more than one-half of the nation's energy, upon foundations that will make the incorporated domain, like the industrial domain that preceded it, and like the domain of the country's farms that lie alongside of it, a domain wherein the people at large may not only earn their bread by work, but may satisfy an equally insistent human hunger—the hunger of every man, that what he does shall *tell,* not alone in the means of greater personal comfort, but also in a greater personal importance among his fellow men and a greater stake in his country's property achievements.

Almost every hour during the latter portion of this seven years we have heard that the tariff was too high; and from every quarter of the country, and from leading men attached to both of the political parties, the promise has come that the tariff would be revised. A "revised" tariff we now have. In everything that men, women and children put on their backs for clothing the revised tariff leaves us to choose, it is said by competent authorities, either to wear poorer garments or to pay more for them. In everything they put on their hands as gloves, or upon their feet as shoes or hosiery, the revision, the same authorities tell us, is either upward or unchanged. And in nearly all those things that go into the homes as furniture, and that go to make up the cost of buildings or tenements, on the basis of which the rents are calculated, the revision has brought little or no relief. Verily, then, in the matter of *practical results*—those results that enter into the life and happiness of each one of us as individuals; and in the matter also of some concrete corporate policy for the future, national and State, that will give a start to a movement toward *repeoplizing* the country's property possessions—after wandering about in the wilderness for seven long years, we have *come out,* save for the awakening itself, and for the better ideals in current life that it has inspired, al-

most precisely where we *went in*. The period has been one of sentiment chiefly—very little that is constructive having yet been done to put into the framework of our laws and institutions anything permanent that will keep alive the spirit of the sentiment and carry it forward into the nation's future. True, to the credit of this period, as instances of more or less constructive work, must be set down the "Hepburn Act," a very lame advance in the regulation of the relations of the railroads to the people; the "Pure-Food" law, bigger in its title probably than in any real efficacy; the conservation of forest and mineral lands, and the irrigation laws, real helps to the people; and the employer's liability Act, a very great and very humane advance on the common law. But aside from these (and when the main object is brought into view, these will appear as side lines) the period has been one of "awakening" and of little else—very little that is *constructive* having yet been done to put into the *framework of our law and institutions* anything permanent that will keep alive the purpose of the awakening and carry it forward into the nation's future. Is this not true?

The central figure of this period was President Roosevelt. There are those blind enough to the faults of this remarkable man to see in him a greater than Lincoln; and those blind enough to his virtues not to see in him the extraordinary insight that gave to him, as to Lincoln, his leadership among men. But no one saw more clearly than Mr. Roosevelt that his administration had accomplished little in the actual work of *reframing the laws* to carry out its spirit—no one saw more clearly than he that his work was chiefly that of the preacher of righteousness.

To his successor—wholly selected by himself—was left the constructive work that was expected to be done. Roosevelt had summoned the people; had impanelled them as a great jury before whom to frame and to whom to submit, one after another, the constructive proposals that would carry out the purpose of the awakening. The proposals themselves he left to be framed and submitted by his successor. *And upon that understanding his successor was so overwhelmingly elected.*

The first of these proposals, in the supposed series of progressive proposals, was tariff revision. That proposal was distinctly framed in the Convention that nominated Taft. It was submitted by him pointedly to the jury of the people. The verdict

returned was for a revision—not a make-believe, but a real revision; and nothing remained after that but to put the verdict into judgment at the special session of Congress. Whether the verdict has been put into judgment, or whether it was set aside—Senator Aldrich wielding the real authority of the party in power, the President satisfied with a concession here and there around the edges—will be determined speedily, not by what the President *says,* but by what experience *shows* the tariff beneficiaries can do under cover of the so-called "revision." And if experience shows that this, the first promise of the new administration, has been broken—then what? Is it not time, in that event, to inquire *where we are?* To the element now in control of the Republican party nothing seems to appeal but "prosperity"— the whole emphasis placed, not upon how such prosperity shall be *shared,* but upon its *gross bulk*—and the Democratic party is divided between those who are more or less in open alliance with this way of looking at things and those who are allied with the so-called Republican insurgents. Is not the time at hand to run a frontier in politics that will really divide and define—a division fence, on one side of which can be harmoniously brought together all those who, working as earnestly as any one for prosperity, insist upon a prosperity that is founded upon Justice among men?

Prosperity with Justice!—What do I mean by that? I shall try to answer the question. But to answer it adequately the tariff as it is to-day, and the corporation as it is to-day, must be lifted out of the list of merely economic questions and placed, where they belong, among the questions of *fundamental human rights.* And leading up to that answer, let me recur to some fundamental human rights that have been universally accepted.

The first of these is the one pushed home upon the public mind by Lincoln in his debates with Douglas—the right of every man to the bread earned in the sweat of his face. The loaf may not be as large as the other man's loaf, for the capacity exercised in earning it may not be as great as the other man's capacity; but the loaf, *when earned,* whether it be large or small, is *his,* and to lay a finger upon it, or diminish it after it has been earned, except for the legitimate purposes of society, is to invade a fundamental human right.

The second of these is the right of every man to what he can develop out of his own mind and his own soul — freedom in

thought and freedom in religion—a right that the world, as a body, owes to each one of its inhabitants as an individual. And no matter how little one has made of himself, who can rightfully call upon him to deliver up the little he has, or suffer it to be diminished in favor of some one else, even though to give it up or suffer diminution would "make society stronger" as an organized body?

The third of these elemental rights is the right of every man, in this country at least, to share equally with all other men access to the ballot—the right of every man to make the most of his individual will in the development of the country's will. And though he realize that his voice may not influence votes as some men's voices influence votes, or that his vote may not gather about it votes as some men's votes attract other votes—in other words, that his vote is only the ordinary vote—who can come between him and the ballot, taking away any part of this right, without evoking the righteous fight that every man, in defence of a right, is ready to put up?

These are accepted elemental human rights. That one of them should not be invaded, the country at one time accepted the alternative of civil war. But are these the *confines* of human rights? When men can carry home, untouched by others, the bread earned in the sweat of their face; when men have been left an open field to build up their own mind and soul development; when men are left to exercise, undiminished, their voice in the nation's expression of will, has the limit of their rights been reached and passed? Is there not something more that belongs to the man simply because he is a man; something in addition to the meals and shelter that his hands have won; something in addition to a free intellectual and religious atmosphere; something in addition to the share given him in the control of government? Out of old mother earth, and the natural forces that dwell in and envelop her, the civilized races have woven the garment of material civilization. Into that garment every man who has ever contributed to the world an idea, or to the labor of the world an ounce of effort, has woven at least a thread or two. Has the man, as a man, no claim upon that garment—no right that, to the extent of his contribution, it shall clothe him and his, as well as others, against what is the lot of men to whom material civilization, such as this, has never come? Has he no right, as

a man, and simply because he is a man, to his legitimate individual share in that mighty fabric called "property" that every race of men, from the lowest to the highest, have striven for—an institution among men that, as distinctively as religious or intellectual freedom and extended suffrage, marks the higher from the lower races of men?

The difficulty is not in answering this question. Every enlightened mind and heart will answer it instantly in the affirmative. The difficulty is in the practical application of the answer to present-day questions. How is this *human right* involved in the tariff question? How involved in the corporation problem? Why are the tariff (as it is to-day) and the corporation (as it exists to-day) matters not merely of economics, but matters of deep fundamental human right? That is what the public mind has not fully grasped. That is what the public mind must first fully grasp before it can set out in the right direction, and in the right spirit, toward putting the awakening into some practical framework of law that will carry out its spirit.

The American miner, who brings to the mint what he has sifted from the stream or dug out of the mountain, gets back in coined gold just what he brought, less cost of coinage. That is his right under the law. The Government does not furnish him with bullion; that his own effort only can furnish. But the Government coins it for him; coins it into something that is lasting; coins it and gives it back, *undiminished by any diversion to any one else;* coins it, too, without a grain of counterfeit or swindle injected for the benefit of any one else.

Property is individual prosperity coined—the year's gatherings, over and above its costs and wastes, coined into something more lasting than the mere gatherings—something that will itself go to work for the further prosperity of its possessor. And while, as in the case of the miner bringing his bullion to the mint, the Government cannot furnish the individual with energy, nor superior skill, nor with directions in what places and from what sources he can obtain returns, the Government has the power to see to it, and it is the duty of government to see to it, that the corporate, as well as other, form of holding property—the mint through which individual prosperity is to be coined into individual property—is not left to the manipulation of men who, if they held the mints in their control, would be returning pewter

coin for the gold bullion; and to see to it also that no part of the individual's prosperity, *on its way to the mint,* disappear in unjust levies made upon it in favor of others. And any failure of government, especially when by design, to meet this conception of property and the individual's relation to its acquirement, is a denial of an elemental *human right*—just as much so, in any republican form of government that expects to live, as would be a designed failure to protect freedom of individual thought; designed failure to protect the individual's access to the ballot; or designed failure to protect the man on his way home with his loaf in his basket.

Now, consider in this connection the tariff—first, the *right* of the individual to *all* that he has honestly taken out of the streams of enterprise, and then his right to have what he has thus taken *coined into property.* Senator Dolliver, who has been connected with tariff legislation for twenty years, has given us some figures, according to which the people have been paying, in increased prices upon goods covered by the tariff, twenty-one hundred million dollars annually, of which but three hundred million, *or one dollar in seven,* have gone into the treasury of the United States; or to state it more concretely, of every seven dollars paid as the *increased price,* say, of a moderate suit of clothing, six dollars go into the treasuries, not of the Government, but of the tariff-helped private enterprises. Of course if the eighteen hundred millions—this six dollars in seven—is labor cost in this country, over and above labor cost in foreign countries, of tariff-covered products, the matter becomes a different question. But is this huge sum eaten up in increased labor cost? The question, as Mr. Taft told us in the campaign, is a question of fact. It is not a very difficult question of fact. Courts deal with equally difficult questions of fact every day. Why are we not given *the facts?* Why has not Mr. Taft, who says it to be a question of fact, made public the facts? And if the facts, when disclosed, would show that nearly all of this huge levy went into the pockets of the captains, what saves it from being a letter of marque, issued by government to the tariff-protected interests, to seize the man on his way home with his loaf, taking away not only a part of the loaf, but also a substantial part of his year's prosperity, over and above the loaf, that but for this, under just conditions, would be coined by him into something more lasting than the loaf.

Consider in this connection, also, our existing corporation policy. The most common error in our politics is that the corporate domain is something *necessarily* alien to the people—something that, in the nature of things, must always be dealt with as an enemy. On the contrary, the incorporated domain rests almost entirely upon financial means coming, not from the "interests," but from the people at large—the money of the people invested in its bonds and deposited in the banks from which the capital that organizes and runs corporations is largely borrowed. The people are the financial springs; the interests are reservoirs only, fed by the streams that have their sources in every village and city bank to which the laborer brings his savings and the farmer his surplus. Indeed, what the great corporations have been able to do is just what the people of the country have enabled them to do—*the great motor wheels that furnish the corporate domain with nearly all its financial power being turned by the streams of money deposits and bond investments that arise from the energies, and are embodied in the savings, of the people at large.*

While the corporation in the abstract, then, is a form only of holding property—a medium through which capital and energy, devoted to certain ends, are wielded—concretely the corporate domain rests upon and embodies the wealth and energy of the people. Now, what is it that sets this domain apart, as something entirely different from the agricultural domain—something different from all other forms of holding property and wielding energy? What is it that keeps the people at large from taking up this incorporated domain as they have taken up the landed domain, not merely in the way of furnishing the financial sinews, but also of coming individually into touch with the rewards of modern enterprises? What is it that in these later times has brought about the *growing separation* between the *original sources* of cumulative capital and its ultimate beneficiaries—a fact that can alone account for the growth of our banking power at the rate of over five hundred per cent. during the past twenty years, while the population of the country has grown less than fifty per cent. — except the fact that under our present corporate policy license to manipulate things in that domain is so great and security so lax, that through sheer fear, fully justified, however, by what they witness, the people at large have

abandoned it as a field of enterprise to the few? And what is such a corporation policy (all considerations that are merely accessory being laid aside) but *a sheer denial* to men that what they do with their brains and hands shall be allowed to *tell,* not alone in the means of greater personal comfort, but also in a greater personal importance among their fellow men, and a greater stake in their country's property achievements; and not alone in a portion only of the country's property achievements, but in *all* its achievements, including the incorporated domain?

Apart from its effect on prices merely as prices, the tariff, then, is a question of *human right,* and an unjust tariff an invasion of the right of every man to have as his own what he has earned. And apart from its effect upon the conditions of mere livelihood, the so-called corporation problem is a problem also of *human right*—the right of every man to participate on equal terms of security, practical as well as theoretical, in every legitimate field of enterprise. The two rights are twin rights; the two wrongs twin wrongs. And whether this Government of ours, the first example in history of Government where great national power goes hand in hand with the fullest enjoyment of individual human right, shall remain such examples or not depends on whether we stand ready, even now, to vindicate these twin human rights against the growing encroachments of the twin national wrongs.

Mr. Taft promises that the commission of tariff experts, provided by the recent tariff act to aid him in adjusting the maximum and minimum rates, shall be employed also in getting together data for a better tariff *next time.* The trouble with this promise is that it is the only thing that has been saved out of an otherwise utterly wrecked promise—simply a promise that next time the promise will not be broken.

On the other hand, the recent Saratoga conference of Democrats calls for a tariff "for revenue" only. Such a programme, honestly framed in a tariff bill, might dry up many of the streams out of which the enterprises of America are sifting our prosperity, individual and national. That would be bad statesmanship. Such a proposal would recall to the public mind the panic of 1893. That would be bad politics. Good statesmanship, it seems to me, and good politics, too, would be better subserved by a tariff, the protective features of which were strictly adjusted

to the differences between the cost of labor and material here and their cost abroad, *honestly ascertained.* In that way the man would be sure of his loaf; would be secure in his right to keep his loaf untouched by others; and would have, undiminished by others, what was left over of his year's prosperity to be coined into something that would work for his further prosperity. But the difference is one of *fact, to be honestly ascertained.*

Mr. Taft has secured a tax on the earnings of enterprises that have had themselves incorporated. However good as a revenue measure, this act has no relation to a corporation policy so reconstructed that the corporation of the future will become the medium through which men can realize their instinct to have what they individually contribute, from year to year, *tell,* in an advancing individual share, in what the country is achieving from year to year.

Mr. Taft proposes changes in the Interstate Commerce law, including an interstate commerce court that will facilitate the execution of the law. Many of these changes, particularly the feature of an interstate commerce court, was urged upon President Roosevelt and his cabinet, including Mr. Taft, when the Hepburn Act was under consideration, and was by them rejected. They are as good now, however, as they were then. But however good for the purposes named, none of them bear any relation to a corporation policy so reconstructed that the corporation of the future will become the medium through which men can realize their instinct to have what they individually contribute, from year to year, *tell,* in an advancing individual share, in what the country is achieving from year to year.

Mr. Taft proposes supervision by the Interstate Commerce Commission of the *amount* of securities issued by railroads. That is in the direction of the kind of corporation I have been urging, to the extent that it goes. But *alone,* it will do little. The *character,* as well as the amount, of the securities to be issued, their arrangements and interrelation, the simplicity of the structure, a forbidding hand on the declaration of dividends not earned —these and other features are indispensable to the corporation that is to furnish the medium through which men can realize their instinct to have what they individually contribute, from year to year, *tell,* in an advancing individual share, in what the country is achieving from year to year. Mr. Taft stops where he does

because the realization of the human right that I am trying to set forth is no part of the purpose he has in view—he stops where he does because, as a matter of *mere economics,* it is of no consequence that the corporation of the future be a medium through which men can realize their right to have their year's prosperity coined into individual property.

And then, beyond even the corporation that would be efficacious as a medium through which men who bring, in the form of *money saved,* their year's prosperity to be coined into individual property, there lies a potentiality never yet touched upon in political discussion, even remotely—a potentiality, in the corporate form of holding property, through which the success of enterprise may be more equitably distributed, not alone to those who furnish the constructive thought or the money capital, but to those as well who furnish the service, without which the constructive thought and money capital would be generals without soldiers; and not in the form of bounties and Christmas presents, but in the form of a real proprietary co-partnership in the success of enterprise.

The means for gradually bringing this about are manifold. As Mr. Taft said, however, in his Des Moines speech about another subject, they must be made to cautiously "feel" their way to the accomplishment. One means, worth thinking about, might be the employment of an alternative in inheritance taxes. When Mr. Marshall Field died, leaving his vast estate, barring one noble bequest, to his lineal heirs, my regret, and I believe that of many others, was, not that he had not left more to libraries, colleges, hospitals, museums and the like, but that he had not divided a portion of the estate *in the way of some permanent property interest among those whose services had helped him make it.* No distinctive class of men and women in this country is so large, no class more faithful, no class suffers greater hardship from present conditions, and no class is so completely overlooked by statesmen and politicians alike, as the men and women who are working on small or moderate salaries. An inheritance tax puts a part of the success of enterprise into the public treasuries. By an alternative provision, instead of going into the public treasuries, such part might be distributed—more equitably, it seems to me—among those who, in services, had contributed to the success. And once the idea took hold, that it is one of the functions of the corporate form of holding property, as our home-

stead and pre-emption laws made it one of the functions of the Government's ownership of the landed domain, not to *concentrate,* but to *distribute* the ownership of the ever-growing corporate success of the country, other means will readily be found. Indeed, the work at the present time, in this field of corporate reform, is to put upon its feet *the right idea*—to switch the public mind from the conception that there is no middle course between *concentration* in corporate ownership and outright *communism,* to the far nobler conception of a proprietary co-partnership in corporate success, broad enough, and on foundations secure enough, to include all whose services contribute to the success —a conception for the future that, accepting as inevitable the spirit of justice that underlies the dream of the socialist, harmonizes that spirit with a truth equally inevitable, namely, that as the material civilization that the world knows now was built upon the free play of individual capacity, it can continue, if it continues at all, only in an atmosphere in which the free play of individual capacity is given the fullest liberty and encouragement.

The question now, as in 1854 (when the Missouri Compromise was repealed) and the years immediately following, is one of *human right.* It was the institution of human slavery on American soil that at that time was the wrong that had become intolerable; and the right of every man, white or black, to eat the bread earned in the sweat of his face, the human right that would no longer keep down. To bring together those who would be responsible no longer for the wrong, and would be silent no longer about the right, the young Republican party was born.

Our present tariff policy, and our present corporation policy, twin wrongs feeding upon twin human rights, are fast becoming institutions, and as such are fast becoming intolerable. What political organization will take up the cause of this new attack on human rights? What political organization, coming forward as the young Republican party came forward in the generation preceding us, will stand for the man in the common walks of life, our brothers in blood and race, as the young Republican party stood for those who were our brothers only in the larger family of mankind? For one, I am ready to give to that organization my humble aid. If that aid can be better exerted within any existing party, as such party is now constituted, I am

ready to go along with it. If to give that aid effectively, I must cast aside political connections in which I have spent a good part of my life, I am ready to do that. My father, at the beginning of his maturity, that he might be on the right side of the great human cause involved in the slavery question, left the party into which he had been born. Both of my grandfathers, in the same cause, left the party in which they had grown old. I can, if necessary, follow their example. All that I wish to know—all that an awakened public mind will wish to know—will be that at last we have associated with a movement that is in earnest.

Let no one think that the world is going to stand still. Let no one fear that the material civilization with which the human family has equipped itself, chiefly in the last two generations, and from which our prosperity in the mass comes, is going to stand still. But *the relation of the individual to this prosperity in the mass* cannot, on the other hand, be made to remain what it is to-day. As Mr. Bryan said, in his speech at the Association of Commerce dinner October last, the real problem "is the adjustment of the rewards of society. That problem is not of to-day, or yesterday, or to-morrow; it is a problem that has existed since man's race began and will exist while time endures. Upon the settlement of that problem aright depends the future of mankind."

That problem is now upon us—a nation founded upon the ideal of an equitable adjustment of the rewards of society—as it never was before. The relation of the individual to prosperity in the mass cannot, I repeat, remain what it is to-day. Either individualism will broaden until, including every class, it comes in touch again with every interest—property interests as well as political and moral interests—or it will disappear, reappearing ultimately in a form of civilization of which we have nothing except men's dreams. And whether it be the one or the other depends on *how soon* those who believe in the world in general as it is to-day, as against a world of dream and experimentation, are ready to turn to *individual human right* as the compass to guide them.

PETER S. GROSSCUP.

MACAULAY FIFTY YEARS AFTER

BY WILLIAM R. THAYER.

I.

FORTUNATE in all the main issues of his career, Macaulay has been further blessed in his biographer. A generation has passed since his nephew, Mr. Trevelyan, published the "Life and Letters,"* and it is evident now that this deserves to rank, after Boswell's "Johnson," as the best literary biography in English. It is at once intimate and judicious, sympathetic and candid. It has neither the unanimated stretches of Lockhart's "Scott," nor the damning indiscretions and treacheries of Froude's "Carlyle."

Mr. Trevelyan keeps the happy mean between biography and quotation: he does not heap so much of his own upon us as to make us suspect that he and not Macaulay is the hero; nor does he skimp his narrative until it appears like the thin line of mortar that holds the courses of a brick wall together. His extracts are always long enough to be representative, and never so short as to be insignificant. We wish that he would print two or three volumes of his uncle's diaries and correspondence; for surely enough time has elapsed to warrant his doing so without risk of impropriety.

II.

But we are concerned with Macaulay himself, and not with his admirable biographer. The immediate causes of his sudden and imperial success are patent. He wrote a style until then unknown in English literature,—a style marked by force, by vividness, by marvellous coherence. He never hesitated. If he had doubts, he did not reveal them. He possessed courage, both moral and in-

* "The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay." By his Nephew, the Right Hon. George Otto Trevelyan, Bart. Enlarged and Complete Edition, including Macaulay's Marginal Notes. Two volumes. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1909.

tellectual. By temperament and conviction an optimist, he had the rare good luck to flourish at a time when the Western world, just freeing itself from feudal trammels, and just beginning to profit by modern invention, put an unlimited trust in progress. Enthusiasts, many of whom were counted among the sober minds of their generation, believed that the evils which had preyed upon mankind since creation's dawn could be cured or abolished by act of parliament. Astronomy and Geology were opening horizonless vistas of Space and Time, and as man perceived that he was no longer the citizen of a tiny planet, but of the universe, his sense of importance rose accordingly. No future seemed too glorious for him.

How far Macaulay was consciously moulded by these nascent ideas matters little: their influence permeates every page he wrote. He had no taste for metaphysics. The sad tangle of the world, which alternately allures and baffles whoever thinks deeply upon it and rejects the specious compromises of the creed of the hour, hardly existed for him. After the fashion of the optimist, what he saw he saw so clearly that it did not suggest complexity. Sure of the goal, he did not allow the badness of the road thither to trouble him. He lived by the primary intuitions and emotions, by the elemental rules of right and wrong. A large, kindly nature, very tender in its relations to family and friends, served him as a touchstone by which to test experience.

So in the Essays he dazzled all readers by his brilliance, and he confirmed many of them by his common-sense conclusions, which gave them back their own views in a magnifying mirror. The average Englishman, who distrusts ideas as if each were an infernal machine in disguise, delighted not less in Macaulay's intensely clear pictures, which nobody could mistake, than in his statements, which nobody could misconstrue. Add to these extraordinary qualities the wealth of his information, enriched by a fructifying knowledge of Greek, Latin and modern literatures, and by an almost boundless acquaintance with post-Elizabethan English history, and then reflect that he imparted his erudition, not pedantically, but as a matter of course,—naturally, lavishly, joyously, as Moguls bestow jewels or the spring her blossoms,—and you have the causes of his immediate and overwhelming success. Into myriads of families which enjoyed but scanty means of culture, he brought tidings of the culture of all the ages. He

made the personages of poetry and fiction as real as the characters of history; and history he made as entrancing as fiction. But he not only delighted—he taught. He became Sir Oracle to multitudes. One of the exactions of modern life is that we are all expected to possess opinions, although not one person in twenty is capable of forming them: now Macaulay furnished opinions—definite, cogent, aggressive opinions—for those who could quote, but not form them. The rapid expansion of popular education created for him a public to be reckoned literally by millions, and the improved methods of distribution enabled him to reach the most remote of his readers.

Macaulay's sturdy Englishism also gave him a special hold upon his countrymen. The spirit of race was strong within him. The great passages in his writings might almost be regarded as strophes in a pæan to Britannia. Let him denounce the corruption of the Stuarts; let him, in a memorable allusion to the society of George the Fourth's court, satirize British cant; let him expose the embezzlement of British satraps: still, the burden of his message was the superiority of England, the underlying nobleness and love of virtue in English character. He might separate Englishmen into sheep and goats—Whigs and Tories—if he would; and yet the very Tories whom he scathed knew that as between them and foreigners he preferred them, for they were Englishmen. So all could join in admiring Macaulay the panegyrist of England and of Englishmen, however they might, as Tories or Puseyites, Puritans or Quakers, resent his attack on their special tenets.

Nor did his race patriotism offend foreigners. The Continentals read him hungrily, because what he said in praise of England bore witness to the redemptive virtues of Freedom and Constitutionalism and Nationality for which they yearned. During the forties and fifties of the last century the voice of England was the voice of hope to the oppressed populations of Italy, Hungary and Poland, to the despot-ridden subjects of Spain and Austria, to German Liberals and to French Republicans. Macaulay, above all other British writers then living, carried this message of England far and wide.

Optimism, clear doctrines which chimed with the prevailing ideas of liberty and progress, vivacity, a genius for the pictorial, a level head and wholesome heart—even these endowments would

hardly have availed without his amazing style. It was as if in a world in which the highest type of horse had hitherto been the lumbering carter, there suddenly appeared, between one day and another, a racer, swift and trim and beautiful. For sixty years English writers of serious literature had either deliberately imitated Dr. Johnson or they had unconsciously been influenced by him. The most authoritative of the essayists who held the field when Macaulay entered it had been bred in the post-Johnsonian tradition. And yet, although so evidently original, his style lent itself to imitation. The publicists, the reviewers, the leader-writers of the next fifty years strove to reproduce it: E. P. Whipple, the American critic, could ventriloquize Macaulay by the page; and even to-day in the columns of the London "Times" and of the British weeklies you still catch his echoes. His great service was to clarify, once for all, the language of affairs. His style was not less truly a labor-saving device than was the steam printing-press or the sewing-machine or the McCormick reaper.

III.

After Macaulay died in 1859, the new generation eyed him at first with distrust and then with hostility. Immense popularity among the fathers usually breeds aversion among the sons. Satiety is the natural sequel of a devouring passion. But the revulsion from Macaulay was general, not personal to him, and it simply included him as the most conspicuous representative of the epoch on which the new generation was turning its back.

Those very various ideas, which, for convenience' sake, we label "Romanticism," were being repudiated by what I may call the epoch of Realism. This Realism, based on Science and guided by the theory of Evolution, set itself with feverish zeal to study, explore, appraise and reformulate the cosmos. It sought for natural laws as eagerly as in mediæval times men looked for supernatural signs and wonders: and the eye of Reason beheld everywhere the reign of law as inevitably as the eye of Superstition had earlier seen only miracles, special providences or the interposition of saints and the mischief of fiends or demons. The evolutionist was more concerned with the series than with the special example. Carlyle had rhapsodized heroes; the new Realists glorified the study of races and institutions. Macaulay was twenty-four when in 1824 he published his essay on Milton;

Mr. James Bryce was twenty-four when in 1862 he published his treatise on "The Holy Roman Empire." Between the one date and the other, though by the almanac there were less than twoscore years, centuries had flowed. The Individual withered and the World grew more and more.

Among the intoxications which accompanied the scientific enthusiasm was the belief that Man himself—heart and mind, will and spirit—could be analyzed with the minutest precision; that in his case, as in that of the material world, demonstrated facts would drive out opinions; that infallible law would be traceable even in matters of taste; that motives, manifested through conduct, would be as transparent as a chemist's reaction, literary criticism would become an exact science and history merely the study of applied social dynamics.

The realization of this roseate vision would relieve posterity of every incertitude. No one need ask whether Raphael's "Transfiguration" were superior to Tintoret's "Crucifixion"; you would simply turn to a compendium of æsthetics in which, as in a table of logarithms, you would find the scientific formula for each. Every new poet, novelist and historian would be promptly analyzed and rated, as in a commercial directory. There would be only one history of each event, one biography of each personage, because historical writing would be a branch of science, and, when all the materials were known and tabulated, it would be as foolish to expect two different interpretations of the same subject as to think that five times four can ever be more or less than twenty.

To a generation which thus nourished itself on the expectation of establishing absolute law in human affairs Macaulay seemed not only unprofitable, but a stumbling-block: for his admirable qualities, which the Realists spurned, might, by still holding the unthinking under the spell of Romanticism, retard the spread of the new truths. That generation asked impatiently for more proofs and more of Evolution, and if not proofs, at least for hints and side-lights: but Macaulay had as little to say on Evolution as Gibbon, or Tacitus, or Thucydides had said. Macaulay lauded progress and smiled optimistically on the diffusion of material well-being: the men of the sixties had begun to perceive that Industrialism, which created this apparent improvement, would lead, if unchecked, to hideous inequalities, and differ in name but not in essence from earlier forms of servitude. Macaulay's

dominant interest was political; the new generation was burrowing into economics and sociology to discover the forces behind politics which control society. Macaulay extolled Freedom: some at least among the new generation were beginning to whisper that Freedom had not made good, and that the perpetuation of the privileged classes might be desirable, after all, if only because it so beautifully confirmed the doctrine of the survival of the fittest. Evidently Macaulay was out of joint with many devotees of science, who were pursuing their new revelation with earnest hopefulness: and he satisfied just as little the few deeper minds who already understood that Evolution was a method, but not a key, and that it left the riddle of the universe unsolved.

IV.

In literary criticism also fashions had changed. Objectivity was now the ideal. Matthew Arnold, whose splendid service to British letters the Englishmen who owed him most have been the least willing to acknowledge, was producing essays of a kind new to the British public—that public which had been taught by the quarterlies to regard criticism as an unequal prize-fight in which the critic, posing as champion of the ring, invariably knocked out his adversary, the author. The British love of fair play, which was alleged to extend even to the most brutal sports, did not include the literary reviewers: but criticism of this cock-pit, or rat-and-terrier variety has become obsolete in almost all English journals except the "Saturday Review." Incapable of forming new thoughts or of feeling new sensations, much less of adjusting himself to new conditions, the Tory reverts perforce to the brutish instincts of his ancestors. Macaulay, indeed, dealt hard blows; and occasionally he mistook his personal prejudices for high moral indignation: but he was never unsportsmanlike. For the Objective Critics his chief sin was his subjectivity. They held him up as an awful example, and Arnold, in his desire to spread his own Gospel of Culture, was perhaps too ready to brand Macaulay as an ill-disguised Philistine.

But no one knew better than Macaulay himself his limitations as a critic. In 1838 he wrote very frankly to Napier, who had asked him for an essay on Scott:

"Hazlitt used to say of himself, 'I am nothing if not critical.' The case with me is directly the reverse. I have a strong and

acute enjoyment of works of the imagination, but I have never habituated myself to dissect them. Perhaps I enjoy them the more keenly for that very reason. Such works as Lessing's 'Laocoön,' such passages as the criticism on *Hamlet* in 'Wilhelm Meister,' fill me with wonder and despair."*

A critic who never dissected his emotions, who, in fact, avoided doing so in order not to spoil the spontaneity of his enjoyment, could have no message for the new school which had chosen analysis for its vocation.

Macaulay's medium of expression was rhetoric, but rhetoric in its noblest sense. Although his temperament inclined him to the emphatic, he took for his model Thucydides, who seems to us now so sober. He avowedly used every device legitimate to heightened prose; he sought consciously for effects, which are the rhetorician's short cuts to gain and hold his reader's interest. No man ever came nearer than he to realizing what he aspired to. Lord Acton, who felt an unconquerable repugnance for Macaulay's defects, yet confessed: "He remains for me one of the greatest of all writers and masters." "The Essays," he says elsewhere, "are only pleasant reading, and a key to half the prejudices of our age. It is the History (with one or two speeches) that is wonderful. . . . Read him, therefore, to find out how it comes that the most unsympathetic of critics can think him very nearly the greatest of English writers."†

Since Macaulay's time English prose has turned to the colloquial on one hand and to preciosity on the other: until to-day half our writers in their struggle to be natural affect a conversational tone, while the other half roll on the floor in a Flaubertian search for the elusive smart phrase and the startling adjective. The former forget that what is natural to speech may not be natural to writing—for the way to the mind through the eye is not the same as that through the ear; while the literary virtuosi, envious and emulous of Stevenson's success in using verbal aniline dyes, are far gone in artificiality. Only the other day one of them, who is hailed as a critic by the victims of this infatuation, described Stendhal as a "seductive spiller of souls"!

To both these parties Macaulay's style seems unnatural: to the Colloquialists as being too oratorical; to the Aniline Dyers

* "Life," II, 15.
† "Letters of Lord Acton to Mary Gladstone." 1904. Pp. 326, 285.

because it lacks the preciosity they adore. Yet he certainly did not neglect decoration. He delighted in drawing pageants, and no one has excelled him in reproducing vividly all that the eye could see at such a spectacle as the trial of Warren Hastings. But his adjectives have nothing finical or precious about them. His colors are mostly primary: you will search his pages in vain for the mauves and magentas which are the cynosure of one season and the eyesore of all the rest. If his diction misses those more delicate modulations which, once heard by the mind's ear, haunt the memory forever, remember that, though the violins be supreme among instruments, the flutes and bassoons and cornets are also indispensable to a full orchestra. Many passages of Macaulay, when read aloud, have the resonant quality of martial music, and the taste which is not stirred by that is defective or partial. And yet at times—as where he describes the relief of Londonderry—he can attain to an epic simplicity.

V.

The fiercest war, however, was waged round Macaulay as a historian. The ideal of objectivity was in the ascendant. Its devotees supposed that the methods of scientific investigation could convert history into a science. By sterilizing their material of any human qualities which interfered with exact and passionless statements, and by eliminating the personal equation in the case of the student, they hoped to achieve their aim. In due time there sprang up the Dump School of Historians, who, under the cloak of science, indulged man's natural propensity to sloth; it was so much easier to dump everything into the book and to force the reader to make what he could of it than to select, arrange and clarify the material before publishing! The Germans, with their defective sense of form and their appetite for documentary cuds, naturally cried up this method. But the English have always clung to the belief that history should be human and literary, so that, despite some noteworthy efforts, the Dump School did not perpetrate their worst excesses in Great Britain. There and elsewhere, however, a good many zealots professed to believe that history was merely a science to be eternally divorced from literature; for it was, they asserted, the effort to make history good literature which turned it into bad history. I have heard Carl Schurz recall, with that tone of smileless sarcasm which stood

him in place of humor, how, when Mommsen's "History of Rome" came out the German professors shook their heads and declared that it was too interesting to be true; one hears similar criticism to-day of Signor Ferrero's work: and doubtless every historian who succeeds in revitalizing the Past, or in approaching the Past from a new angle, will be received with similar suspicion from the official wardens of the orthodoxy of the moment.

The quarrel between the "literary" and the "scientific" historians seems to have simmered down to a quibble over words. Every historical student worthy of the name employs the scientific method in collecting and sifting his material; every historical writer, the instant he begins to write, must be governed, whether he will or not, by the law of literary expression, and in proportion to his gifts and training his book will have literary quality. He can no more fool us into accepting a muddled style as a proof of impartiality than into believing that stammering is a guarantee of veracity. The records of every science teach that there is something besides erudition, something besides taking pains, something besides the will to be just: that something, which differentiates the master from the many, and can be neither analyzed nor communicated, is natural aptitude.

The contention that history must be quarantined from literature is now held either by those who cannot write or by doctrinaires who cling to their formulas after experience has proved them false. The question was revived a few years ago when Professor Bury, in his inaugural address at Cambridge University, reminded his hearers that "history is not a branch of literature," and warned them against "transgressing the province of facts." Upon which Mr. John Morley, in a passage acute, humorous and conclusive, which deserves to become classic, exposed the fallacy of the Regius Professor.

"Perhaps some of Professor Bury's more *youthful listeners,*" says Morley, "with the presumption of their years, may have asked themselves whether the historian is to present all the facts of his period or his subject; if not, whether he will not be forced to select; if he must select, then how can he do it, how can he group, how can he fix the relations of facts to one another, how weigh their comparative importance without some sort of guiding principle, conception or preconception?" After showing why history can never be a science, Mr. Morley was cruel enough to

add that Professor Bury himself is a doctrinaire in his preaching only: in his practice he writes, and evidently he takes great pains to write, as attractively as he can: and consequently his historical books have the damning quality, doubtless due to the devil of literature, of being readable.*

The historian must *interpret!* That is the pivot of the controversy. Fifty years ago the historians whom the scientific furor bore onward to new tasks honestly supposed that they must (and could) avoid interpretation as a deadly sin. They strove loyally to state and state and state—and nothing more. Yet we see now that they also were interpreters. Freeman, Stubbs, Creighton, Gardiner, in England; Treitschke, Von Sybel, Mommsen, in Germany; Taine, in France; and their followers everywhere have left interpretations, more or less intentional, but quickly recognizable, of certain historic episodes. Even Parkman,—who dogmatized so little over methods, but wrote with such unfailing clearness and poise,—who had, moreover, a theme purged of incitements to prejudice,—Parkman, too, was a consummate interpreter.

With perfect consistency, therefore, the innovators of fifty years ago turned away from Macaulay, who, in addition to being a painter and a special pleader, was so frankly an interpreter. They deserted him, and yet they owed to his splendid example the incentive which upheld them in much of their work. For, as so wary a critic as Leslie Stephen has pointed out, it was Macaulay's tireless labors in research which in large measure set up a new standard of diligence: it was Macaulay who, though they knew it not, stimulated subsequent investigators; until now, as Stephen remarks, "they read enough, but instead of giving us the results, they tumble out the accumulated mass of materials upon our devoted heads, till they make us long for a fire in the State Paper Office."†

The pernicious practice, which originated in Germany, of printing doctors' dissertations, has probably done more than anything else to debase historical composition. Every year hundreds of young men who had no aptitude for writing,—whatever their talent for research,—were encouraged to believe that their products deserved to be perpetuated in book form. Imagine the uni-

* John Morley: "Miscellanies." Vol. IV, 232–4.
† L. Stephen: "Hours in a Library." 1904. Vol. III, 260–1.

versal derision that would have exploded if scores of musical compositions, by novices who knew neither counterpoint nor harmony, had been poured annually from the press!

The heresy which they zealously spread, that they alone were the true guides to historical writing, did still more harm. But the heresies of erudition are at last outworn. To-day the one thing that stands out with perfect distinctness is that historiography includes as many departments as the profession of the law, which offers scope for the advocate not less than for the judge, for the cross-examiner not less than for the referee, for the jurisprudent familiar with theories and principles not less than for the attorney resourceful in practice. We should see the absurdity if it were proposed to make the capacity and work of the conveyancer's clerk the highest limit of the legal profession. Yet this has come to be accepted in some quarters as the goal of students of history. The hunting up of documents, the exploring of sources, the comparison of references are as indispensable in historical study as in conveyancing—and they require just about as high a grade of intelligence. To allow our young probationers in history to suppose that this is all, is as wrong as it would be to tell students of philology that a doctor's dissertation on prosody could be equivalent to "Christabel" or could supplant "Adonais."

It is because Macaulay can serve as a corrective of some of these exaggerations that a return to him may be recommended. In power to absorb every item connected with his vast subject no German has surpassed him; and having absorbed, Macaulay remains master of his material. So in historical composition,—in the art of variety, of omission, of accent and of perspective,—he will be the teacher of many a coming generation. Judged by whatever standard, he is a master of narrative. Compare, for instance, his history, chapter by chapter or episode by episode, with Von Sybel's and observe how, while Macaulay carries you swiftly and surely along, as on the current of a mighty river, Von Sybel leads you floundering up to the armpits, and sometimes head under, through a boundless morass. There is no danger that Macaulay will divert students from the solid methods of research; but there is great hope that he can reveal to them some of the essentials to be found in every history which has risen above the bog level.

History, in its higher ranges, is infinitely more than a puzzle

for specialists. It should be the peer, at least, of the noblest fiction and drama, since its very substance is not the imaginary, but the real motives, passions and deeds of men and women. It should endeavor to recover from the Past a fragment of life, and to represent that fragment not as dead, but living. Absolute calling back to life can never be achieved: so there are many grades of historians, beginning with those who state with mechanical correctness the external Fact, and rising to those who unfold the drama of the Inner Life, the play and counterplay of personality, the clash of ideas through concrete acts, the bewildering strokes of fortune, the meaning or the mystery of it all. Most men regard the Present as commonplace; we need not be surprised, therefore, if many who essay history reconstruct the Past also as commonplace, or if they reject as unreal what is the deepest reality of more highly organized natures. To the mollusk, the passionate possibilities of man must be unthinkable. Of the consummate historian it will be said, as we say of Shakespeare: he attains the highest truth by dwelling in the heart and not on the surface.

Now Macaulay abounds in life. He visualizes, he hears, he feels the Past. Among the hundreds of persons who come and go in his pages there is not a single fossil, no spectral apology for human beings, no abstraction. The great plot, as he conceives it, moves forward with the sweep of a Roman Imperator's triumph. Mere life — the vigor of life — abundant and exulting life—the vital dynamics which drive men and nations on—have never been celebrated more robustly by historian than by him. This is a quality which we can hardly value too highly. His analogue in painting is Rubens, from whose inexhaustible brush multitudes of forms swarmed into being. You may wish to deduct something from his genius because of his overfondness for carmines and ambers; you may feel a little annoyed when you discover that among all his scores of women, whether Pagan goddesses or Christian Madonnas,—nymphs, naiads, Furies,—Magdalens or martyrs, it is nearly always the second Mrs. Rubens who returns your gaze: you may crave repose, or more simplicity, or a subtler interpretation, or many other qualities which Rubens had not to give; but you cannot withhold from him admiration for his superb vitality. What a relief it is to pass to his acre of canvases at Munich or to his hundred yards of Medici memorabilia

in the Louvre, after you have looked at some of the modern extravaganzas, with their pitiful, pallid, neurotic faces, their anæmic bodies and their hingeless anatomies. Since vitality is either feeble or extinct in nine historical works out of ten, budding historians should be urged to see what it is like in Macaulay.

VI.

The achievement on which Macaulay's displacers most prided themselves was impartiality. They firmly believed that they were the first to attain that ideal. They stimulated, we may almost say they created, the study of history at the English universities. Freeman and Stubbs, Creighton and Gardiner, long stood as the Quadrilateral that every British historical student must conquer. But now that the novelty has worn off, now that "every schoolboy" is trained in the methods which appealed like a new religion to them, the revolution they promoted seems far less radical than they supposed. The qualities they possessed would, if welded into one, fall short by several cubits of Gibbon's stature. I read Freeman, not because he is "scientific," but because he is pugnacious, and because it amuses me to watch him build up a card house of conjectures and then to hear him say, with the gravity of a magician, "This is the absolute truth—no deception!" Stubbs's constitutional work is monumental, but it does not come within the pale of narrative history and is to be judged by the standards of treatises on law or government. His purely historical essays reek with Anglican bias. Gardiner's sixteen volumes look down at you from their shelf: how often do you look into them? Their excellence nobody questions. The specialist for a long time to come will consult them at one point or another; but it is inconceivable that henceforth anybody will read those sixteen volumes through, except on a wager. Posterity will, perhaps, say of the industrious, the learned, the painfully scrupulous, Gardiner's history what Dr. Johnson said of a very different sort of writing, "I would rather praise it than read it."

We assume too readily that impartiality among historians is a modern monopoly. It is neither modern nor ancient, but the characteristic of certain individuals: and there are cases where historians, writing frankly as partisans, enable us to come nearer the truth than those who, in their effort to simulate impartiality, leave nothing for us but the dry bones of their subject. Better

he who at least hints that the Past had flesh and blood, passions and emotions, though he may not draw these accurately, than he who has never suspected that the Past was once Present. Most historians do not consciously set out to conform to any arbitrary body of opinions unless like Creighton and Stubbs they hold bishoprics, which conditions their views on ecclesiastical matters from the outset, or like Theodore Martin and Von Sybel, who are chosen to apotheosize respectively Prince Albert and the Hohenzollerns. But, after all, no man can get outside of his temperament, and until historians cease to be men they will betray their temperaments through their works. Partiality, prejudice, yes, even downright malice, do little harm, because they are easily detected. But we should miss much if we could not see the past through such different lenses as Michelet's and Carlyle's temperaments. Sarpi's personal equation never misleads; nor does Machiavelli's, nor Tacitus's. And in the most important historical work in English of recent years—John Morley's "Life of Gladstone"—although Mr. Morley states his opponents' acts and doctrines with sympathetic fairness he never lets us doubt as to his own.

VII.

I said that Macaulay's dominant interest was political; but it needs to be understood that he took "political" in the broadest sense. He was almost a pioneer in weaving into the history of diplomatic and party development a wonderfully vivid description of social conditions. History, as written by him, is a drama in which the plot is known and the *dramatis personæ* are cast for well-defined parts, which they play with brilliance and precision. They resemble the personages of Racine and Corneille rather than those of Shakespeare: they are types rather than individuals. In literature and in painting and in sculpture there are two distinct classes of artists: those who draw the type from which you are to deduce the individual and those who draw the individual from whom you infer the type. The Gallic genius and the Latins in general tend toward the former; the English and the Germans toward the latter. If I suggest that Macaulay's delineation seems Gallic rather than English, I would not press the distinction too far, for there would rise up immediately more than one actor in the "History" whom he has finely individualized.

Having brought his troupe on the stage, he unfolds his drama with such an unhesitating progress that you might suspect that he had Providence for a collaborator. One move leads infallibly to the next: there is nothing superfluous, nothing unaccounted for. Macaulay leaves you with a sense of amplitude even where he has been concise. He entertains you with a panoramic wealth of details, but never allows you to grope for the plot. When you close his book and ponder over it, it is as if you had been watching a Roman legion on the march. The sun flashes from the helmets and shields and spears of the cohorts as they wind like a huge and gem-scaled serpent over the plain. Now they are hidden by a wood; now they emerge into the open, and the sunbeams gild their sinuous line, which throbs as if every stride were a pulse. Here they glide into a walled town and are lost except for a casual sparkle or the beat of a distant drum; but anon they flash again into view and begin to curve along the mountain-side or to coil round a fortressed crag. And so on and on, the embodiment of disciplined, tireless force, of agile, elastic force, with rhythmic sweep and gleaming form and with an indefectible purpose.

Perhaps the most adverse criticism to be made on Macaulay's history is that it seems too *prepared*. He has selected his evidence so skilfully and set it forth with such lucidity that we miss that admixture of surprise, or chance, or mystery which we see every day in human affairs. Under his management the restoration of Charles II and the Revolution of 1688 seem to be so many set pieces which Fate displays in a series of moving pictures. No doubt Cause and Effect compose the warp and woof of every fabric in Time's loom; but only an all-seeing observer could trace any single event through the trillion strands of its causation. What we shall do to-morrow, not less than what the rulers and cabinets of the world shall decree, must be bound indissolubly by a fatal bond to to-day, to yesterday and to the remotest past. Yet, in spite of the certitude of this iron sequence, we cannot foresee what the night may bring forth. "The unexpected happens." This ignorance makes us free-willists in fact, though we be fatalists in logic. We cannot help assuming that we live in a present which is plastic, freighted with endless possibilities, offering generous scope for our choice. Hence life, and history, which is the register of collective

life, does not produce on us the effect of something stencilled or run off by machinery. Although we seldom reason it out, we subconsciously assume that we might have chosen the other course. So in studying the past we must always bear in mind that to contemporaries what happened seemed inevitable only after it had happened. There were a thousand chances to one against Booth's killing Lincoln; but the one chance prevailed, and in the subsequent development of the United States those 999 chances have counted for nothing. This IF it is—the symbol of our ignorance—the witness also of Fortune—the token of freedom to choose (illusory, if you will)—this it is that we instinctively expect to find at least adumbrated in detailed historical description.

And here Macaulay falls below Carlyle, who had the keenest eye for discerning those apparent trifles which may be, nevertheless, the loaded dice of Destiny. Recall how, in describing the flight to Varennes, Carlyle brings Drouet, the choleric postmaster, into the foreground—Drouet who thinks he has seen the King's face somewhere; then suspects that the stout gentleman in the berlin is indeed Louis XVI; convinces himself by a glance at an assignat; and then gallops off through the night to alarm the patriots at Varennes and to alter the course of history. If the arrest of the royal fugitives was due to Drouet's chance recognition, we have here an illustration of the incalculable importance of trifles which the historian of insight soon learns are, potentially, in historic evolution what the physician knows bacilli to be in disease. Carlyle's treatment of such events gives us history written from within. Carlyle, who was almost obsessed by the mystery of our human lot, saw life as tragedy; Macaulay saw it as drama. For Carlyle passion, for Macaulay action, is supreme. The perfect historian will have in perfect balance the masterful talents of each.

VIII.

His immense reading gives to Macaulay one of his valid charms. His work, though English in essence, has that aura of cosmopolitanism which nothing save intimacy with the best of all times and countries can bestow. This atmosphere has almost vanished from critical and historical writings. "The world began this morning" seems to be the motto blazoned over every literary workshop. The critical journals would persuade us that nothing but

fiction counts. The short-story writer is discussed, puffed, glorified and paid fabulous sums. So the Dutch, in the throes of their tulip mania, lavished fortunes on freak varieties.

The chief harm that this deluge of fiction does is in hiding the permanent elements of literature. A freshet has no past—it tumbled just now out of the clouds. So neither the novelists nor their mannikins disclose acquaintance with other standards save those of the moment. They look neither before nor after; they are intrinsically villagers. Even Mr. Henry James seems never to have explored the dark ages before Balzac began to produce fiction. The Elizabethan dramatists read everything they could lay their hands on—and educated men and women are still reading their plays. Can we suppose that posterity three hundred years hence will puzzle itself over "The Golden Bowl"? Will it not doubt, as we do, the credentials of men who propose to describe human life and yet know only so much of it as their own looking-glass shows them? But Macaulay is saturated with the past, and whether you accept his opinions or not, he gives you the satisfaction, the more intense because it is now so rare, of world contacts wherever you open his pages. No amount of psychologizing in commonplace craniums can do that!

IX.

I would not exaggerate the contrast between Macaulay's well-defined, close-knit body of opinions and the Pragmatist confusion in which we are weltering to-day; but that contrast will strike middle-aged readers who go back to him after a long interval. Living amid a shower of fads, we cannot guess whether any of them will solidify into a philosophy. He has standards derived from the culture of past civilizations. We are urged to believe that we date from this morning. He was a link in that chain of continuity which stretches back to Athens and Jerusalem. He believed in the primal virtues—in courage, in uprightness, in truth; he revered the family as the irreducible social unit. Our rebels not only doubt, but deny these fundamentals, and set up the gratification of appetites as the end of human existence. Merely as an antidote to much of the confused, febrile, anarchic opinions and emotions which honeycomb our life Macaulay should be read. Untainted by introspection, he may serve as a remedy for morbidness, the blight of those moderns who have not yet flung themselves body and soul into the pit.

His service is not merely negative, for it implies that there is stored up in him a large volume of unexhausted force. Only brutes and anarchists spurn experience. Civilized men no more throw over moral and intellectual ballast, which has steadied the keel of progress for generations, than they revert from clothes to nakedness. Progress can come only when the New, which we accept, is better than the Old which we discard. But how can we prove this unless we know the Old? In Art and Literature, as well as in Philosophy, Religion and Social Life, multitudes are clutching frantically at every novelty; but it by no means follows that because the Old has grown tedious or intolerable the latest brand of the New should be preferred to it.

So far as he goes, Macaulay bears witness to principles that not only his own time, but a long tradition, regarded as permanent. He was the last British writer in whom that tradition can be seen unblurred. Carlyle you find already seething with radical ideas. Newman, when he was not a casuist,—now intentional, now self-deluding,—relapsed into theological atavism: you get from him neither the antique nor the modern, but the mediæval, that point of view which always denotes arrested development, when it is embraced as final by a modern. Arnold, classical in form, had already passed into the shadow of the Great Doubt which made the Pessimist in him predominate over the Stoic. Macaulay was too surely an optimist to need to fall back on Stoicism; in other respects he was the most Roman of British writers. The intellectual and moral traditions which flourished in him were native among the best Augustans; his writings, especially the History, are the most Roman of all modern productions. It has the massiveness and pomp and solidity, the architectonic mastery, the directness and virility of those buildings which, when we come upon their ruins to-day,—it may be a single arch or a fragment of brick wall,—conjure up for us in Italy or in Spain or in Africa "the grandeur that was Rome." That genius is not subtle and intimate and beautiful like the Greek; it is intellectual rather than spiritual, moral rather than religious: but it is one of the supreme manifestations of human faculty, and being that, it can never lose its significance. Macaulay is its modern spokesman not because he strove to imitate the master Romans, but because he had a genius akin to theirs.

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER.

SPAIN'S COMMERCIAL AWAKENING.

BY FREDERIC COURTLAND PENFIELD.

PRIOR to the Spanish-American war it would have been as much of an anomaly to write of Spain as a commercial and industrial land as to seriously describe Switzerland as a maritime Power. But an industrious and prosperous Spain is a twentieth-century fact, paradoxical as the statement may appear.

Eleven short years ago, Spaniards believed that the glory of their country had passed forever with the transfer to Uncle Sam's flag and to independent sovereignty of her few remaining colonies. Not every Spaniard had known his king's name even, but every one of them was aware that for centuries half the world had been governed from the motherland south of the Pyrenees.

And these people, reared with a scant regard for industry, and inordinately proud, believed in 1898 that the future held for them only the fate of sinking to a degraded unimportance—that Spain, as an isolated state of Europe, could not hope to be more than a second Portugal. Sagacious financiers of Europe were inclined to look upon the Iberian Peninsula as a country of which the bankruptcy was only a matter of a few years. An unsuccessful foreign war, the loss of her island possessions, the destruction of all that was of value in the Spanish navy, and seething discontent at home were the factors which preceded King Alfonso's accession. No monarch since Franz Josef succeeded to the Hapsburg throne ever came to power under such unfavorable circumstances. The blow to the pride of Spain caused by the loss of her colonial empire had furnished an arm for Carlism to attack and irritate the *régime*.

It would savor of inhumanity to argue that war can bring blessings; but the proverb of the cloud with the silver lining has time and again been proven true. Never was there armed strife be-

tween nations so devoid of hatred and enmity, probably, as the war between the United States and Spain. And no American can hear now of the splendid recuperation of the once unhappy kingdom without a feeling of profound satisfaction.

A prosperous country, built upon frugality and the development of energy and of the resources of the soil, is a golden fact —a Spain of enviable commercial credit is already reared upon the ruins of the nation that for centuries existed upon shadowy romance and worship of departed grandeur. And the new Spain, whose motive-force springs not from the windmills of dreamy fiction, but from honest toil, is materially better off this year than it has been in generations.

Since the war Spanish bonds have practically doubled in value, and exchange with foreign money-markets has improved in corresponding ratio; Spanish seaports on the Atlantic and Mediterranean teem with shipping; the soil is yielding a satisfactory bounty; rich deposits of minerals are being uncovered, and, all in all, the contracted Spain is more prosperous than was the nation that had to meet yearly deficits in Cuba and in the Philippines.

Deprived of every oversea territory save a few valueless possessions in northern Africa, and the Canary Islands—and the people of this tiny group are agitating for independence or autonomy—Spain can now expect nothing but from her own resources.

At every point of the country the soil is being improved and abandoned cultivation resumed. Sizable regions of Galicia and Estremadura, desert land until recently, are now rich with crops. Carts are seen on the slopes of Old Castile, and open furrows created at great expense with rich fertilizers are giving forth generous products; and where the traveller formerly knew only sterile solitudes he sees fields of grain and prosperous farms.

In the south, stock-raising, the principal resource of Andalusia, has taken immense strides, and during a recent three-days' fair at Seville there were sold 55,000 head of cattle. Emigration has decreased to two or three thousand souls annually. What is best of all, and thereby promises much for the country's good, is the wide-spread determination for personal betterment through systematic toil. Indeed, the nature of the people seems changing from a *dolce far niente* indolence to enterprise and thrift. Thus the Spaniard is fast living down the *mañana* curse with which he

used to be twitted. In time the habit of work should elevate from the peasantry a *bourgeois* class, like that of France. Spain's prosperity then would be secure.

The expansion of existing industries and the creation of new ones have, of course, had a vital influence in bringing about these changes for the better. The number of workmen in the mines of Biscay has increased from 7,000 to 13,000 in six years, augmenting in like proportion the annual commerce of the port of Bilbao. New mines are being opened everywhere, for the land is rich in minerals of many kinds, and their extraction gives employment to much foreign and home capital.

Spain has labored so valiantly and with such ardor that her credit is now a matter of national pride. Just previous to the American war foreign exchange stood at a discount of 60 per cent. In 1900 it had improved to 27 per cent., and it is now almost at a parity. This proves the country's remarkable recovery.

The Spanish people harbor no hatred toward Americans. Naturally, there are many homes where loved ones lost in the war are still mourned; but nowhere in the land, from the Basque Provinces southward to the Mediterranean, does the tourist discover any dislike of the sons and daughters of the Great Republic. Undoubtedly more Spanish homes were stricken with grief in the years of futile effort to quell revolutions in Cuba and the Philippines, before humane duty compelled America to be the instrument for severing forever from Spanish rule the peoples of Porto Rico, of Cuba, and of the straggling archipelago of the Philippines. In outspoken Catalonia Americans are distinctly popular, and the people of Barcelona, Saragossa, and other trading towns blame Madrid's statesmen and self-sufficient officials for the fiasco of the war. Travelling Americans fearing incivility in the Peninsula promptly discover the lack of foundation for their apprehension.

However strange it may seem to think of Spain as a trading nation, that is to-day the best description of her. It used to be shouted from the political rostrum that, while the United States had caused the Stars and Stripes to float over the Philippines, American trade was not going to follow the flag to the islands; that, language and sympathies in the archipelago being Spanish, so would their commerce remain. And, whenever there was native resistance to American arms, it used to be said with a

tinge of plausibility that Uncle Sam could never control the Filipinos, could never hope even to command their trade, and that apart from supplies for governmental works the imports of the archipelago would remain preponderatingly Spanish.

Specious argument was this, for the Treaty of Paris granted only ten years for trade upon the footing enjoyed by Spain when she was the sovereign of the group. The statesmen taking upon themselves the task of moulding the new Spain were painfully cognizant of the fact that the days of Spain's trade in her former possessions were numbered, that it was destined to dwindle to the two articles that will probably always be exchanged—the importation of Philippine tobacco and the sending to the islands of a very moderate quantity of wine. And this is what Spanish-Philippine trade now is.

The tariff act which received President Taft's approval on the 5th of August last swept away all customs duties between the States and the Philippines in either direction: meaning the exclusion of all insular imports save those of descriptions not supplied by the United States, which of necessity must be obtained from other countries. Since the enactment of the new law American merchants have been moving promptly in the direction of securing the benefits open to their bidding, and various important interests have arranged for representation in the cities and large towns of the island group. New York houses expect to do a large business there in cotton goods, and later to build up a trade of reasonable magnitude in other lines.

Foreseeing that the door was to be closed against their country's trade, leaders of Spanish opinion and affairs years since set on foot a programme calling for new and augmented markets for the products of Spain. And where could they be found?

Neighboring states in Europe could never be induced to adopt Spanish wines in competition with their own. Portugal, it was known, was worse than bankrupt because fickle fashion had decreed against the wines of Oporto and Madeira. France, producing three times as much wine as Spain, had an unshakable control of the trade, while Italy's annual product of 53,000,000 hectolitres was advantageously marketed. Spain's yearly product is 21,000,000 hectolitres.

Where then could handicapped Spain discover consumers for her surplus products, to which all of southern Europe, the Phil-

ippines, Cuba and Porto Rico were practically closed? A scrutiny of the map of the world showed that Central and South America must be Spain's future field, lands wrested long ago from Spanish political rule. In these countries she would have the advantage of a common language and inherited taste, and it was known that the United States was too busy with domestic trade to make any serious attempt to secure their trade.

Being in no position to wait or temporize, Spain at once set out determinedly to capture the business, and is securing it in a measure surprising, no doubt, even to those who advocated the effort. The propaganda obviously had its conception in the minds of the brainy men sent by the Spanish Crown to the Paris Conference, and it is the first article of faith of the statesmen, headed by the astute Premier Maura, who are laboring in concert with Alfonso XIII for Spain's advancement. And with the sales of her wines and other products of the soil in South America there has arisen a general trade that is placing Spain upon a footing of enviable solvency.

It is no secret that Spain is selling our southern neighbors many goods that logically should be supplied by ourselves. Of course we cannot compete at present in purveying wines and olives. But it is the ironical fact that with the staples of the peninsula there goes to Latin America by the subsidized steamship lines much general merchandise that should be supplied by the United States. It is surely anomalous for the people of Argentina and Uruguay to wear textiles woven from American cotton in Spanish mills, or for Mexico to purchase dried fruits from oversea Spain when neighboring California might readily meet the demand.

The trade of Spain with Cuba used to be considerable. In the year of the Spanish-American war the home country sent goods to Cuba having a value of $28,000,000, and imported from the island goods valued at $23,700,000. The imports now from the Cuban republic have dwindled in value to $224,000, while the exports to Cuba—chiefly wine—have a value of about $12,000,000 yearly. Commerce with Porto Rico has fallen to a low ebb. In 1897 Spain sent the island goods valued at $6,625,000, but now Porto Rico pays her only $600,000 a year for merchandise.

The story of Spain's loss of the Philippines as a customer is a sad one, for in the year of the Spanish-American war the value

of commodities sent to the archipelago was about $16,000,000, while last year it was but slightly in excess of $2,000,000. This is the darkest page in Spain's commercial annals.

The markets in South America came neither automatically nor easily. It required tactful cultivation of amity to secure a foothold; but this gained, the volume of commerce has grown rapidly.

The countries washed by the River Plate are giving Spain a lucrative trade, which probably will grow into a permanency. The line of steamers operating under a subvention, whose terminus is Buenos Ayres, is facilitating Spain's campaign throughout a vast section of South America. Last year Spain sold Argentina goods to the value of $11,000,000—textiles of cotton, wine, and lead—and took in exchange cereals and tallow of a value of $7,000,000. As a proof of the rapidity with which the great republic of the Plate has become the commercial ally of Alfonso's country, it has only to be known that in 1905 Argentina bought Spanish goods to the extent of $6,000,000, while in 1907 the value bounded to practically $10,000,000.

All possible energy has been directed to conquering the markets of Uruguay, and this has been attended by a measure of success almost unbelievable. By 1905 the trade had reached $9,000,000. A year later it had expanded to $12,200,000, and in the not distant future Spain hopes to be selling Uruguay nearly $20,000,000 worth of products yearly. Last year Paraguay bought $2,200,000 worth of Spanish wines and manufactured cottons, in exchange for hides and skins invoiced at less than $1,200,000.

And so it goes with Latin America; Spain has made of every state a customer for her products, and the aggregate benefit is very important. Mexico has become a large consumer of Spanish goods, chiefly crude and manufactured iron, wine and cotton textiles. Last year, out of a trade with Mexico of more than $6,000,000, President Diaz's country paid ninety per cent. of the score in cash.

And as Spanish traffic with Cuba wanes, the loss is more than made up by Mexico's increasing consumption of Spanish merchandise. Nothing more expressive can be cited than this increase of commerce with the Mexican republic. Colombia is paying Spain a handsome cash balance each year, Chile figures as a debtor country, and the Republic of the Isthmus contributes its mite to

regenerated Spain. Portuguese in language, and never too friendly with Spain, vast Brazil sells $2,400,000 worth of coffee to the people of Spain, and neglects buying anything of importance from them.

The statistics of the value and movement of Spain's foreign trade in the year prior to the Spanish-American war, and of twelve years later, are interesting. They are as follows:

Imports.	Exports.
1896—$135,549,725	1896—$160,191,262
1908— 161,330,462	1908— 161,036,689

Scrutinized without special thought of the transition taking place in the Spanish kingdom, these figures could not be used advantageously to illustrate national progress, for on their face they signify a condition more stable before the collision with American arms than at the present time. But when read with the understanding that the figures of 1896 represent trade controlled absolutely by the Spanish flag, it will be taken as satisfactory proof that new and independent markets have been secured to take the place of those disappearing with the colonies. Thus regarded, they are almost amazing. The aggregate of imports in 1908 reflected the purchasing power of the nation, and suggested a liberal purchase of machinery with which to establish local manufactures.

Spanish trade with us has grown considerably since the days of the conflict; and, while the balance continues decidedly in our favor, awakening Spain is yearly decreasing the ratio by sending us more of her products. Last year the States sold her former foe $28,400,000 worth of goods. Raw cotton represented $20,000,000 of this amount, petroleum came next with a value of $2,300,000, and staves and lumber swelled the account by $1,400,000. It is interesting to know that Spain's machinery bill with us last year was in approximate figures $500,000, and that for Yankee typewriters $200,000 was paid. On the other hand, Spain exported to the States goods of a value of about $7,250,000—copper ore and bars, iron ore and pyrites, corks and corkwood, olives and Malaga grapes.

The country leading in Spain's foreign commerce is Great Britain, the exports thereto having last year a value of $59,400,000. The lion's share of the exports was represented by the product of the Rio Tinto mines, the bulk of whose output always

goes to England. France, Italy, Holland and Belgium likewise pay annual tribute to Spain in the form of trade balances.

Statistics ordinarily are dry reading. But if they convey a message of prosperity, and be not too bald, they are never unpalatable. Liquidation of many obligations incidental to the revolutions in Cuba and the Philippines, and to the Spanish-American war, increased enormously the national debt of Spain. In the year of the struggle this was equivalent of $1,310,865,232. It is now $2,018,692,695. In 1897 the population of Spain and her unimportant possessions in northern Africa and the Canary Islands was 18,132,475—and that meant a *pro rata* indebtedness of $72. Now the population is 19,712,585, thus apportioning to every soul a share equal to $102 in the public debt. A few years back there was a steady emigration, but it is now almost wholly checked, and the expectation is that the population will gradually increase. Progressive Catalonia is steadily drawing people from France and from Italy. Economists assert that Spain is capable of supporting from thirty-five to forty million people without crowding, and these observers say that in the near future the provincial growth will be even more marked than the present urban increase of humanity. A decade ago the birth-rate was 34.38 per thousand inhabitants, and the death-rate 28.68. The figures have improved now to 33.28 and 25.13 respectively.

Last summer's revolt in Catalonia, and the unfortunate campaign against the Riff tribes in Morocco, made inroads upon the national welfare and arrested for a brief period the country's upbuilding. But the new and prosperous Spain is too positively assured to permit these events to figure as permanent setbacks—their cost will in two or three years be overcome, and it is believed that decided benefit will result from the operations at Melilla, for they awakened Spanish patriotism and pride as these have not been roused in a long time. To be victorious even in a small war must bring amazing stimulus to a people grown callous to defeat.

The price movement of bonds forms a convincing index of a nation's credit, and these quotations speak plainly the value that investors place upon a nation. The leading public bond of Spain is the "Interior," bearing four per cent. interest. In 1896 it ruled at 63. When the mutterings of war gave place to conflict this bond fell in quoted value to 47½, and the day peace with Uncle Sam was declared it sold at 49½. Just a decade after the

conflict, when Spanish recuperation was admitted to be real and tangible, "Interiors" sold at 84 and at the present time they are quoted at about 85. Just prior to the troubles in Barcelona and Morocco these bonds had a free market at 90. A novel condition applies to all Spanish securities, save one or two issues marketed exclusively abroad, which is that the government imposes a tax of twenty per cent. upon all interest coupons, and pays the coupon minus this impost.

Students of national problems used to claim that Spain lacked the most vital essential for attaining a position of permanent importance, because her soil had never fully supplied the necessities of the people; and that her mineral wealth could mean but little for the national benefit so long as mines like the important Rio Tinto copper producers were worked by alien capital, by machinery made in other lands, and for all save the commonest form of manual labor by workmen brought from other countries. But little by little the arable soil is being forced to yield a larger bounty, until now the country is practically independent of the outer world for foodstuffs. And four years ago, let it be stated, the imports of food necessities had a value approximating $70,000,000. This is a fact possessing a significance almost equal to the advance in the country's credit, and Americans may be slow to believe that agriculture south of the Pyrenees is yet pursued in great part by methods as primitive as those left in Spain by the Moors four hundred and more years ago.

Recognizing that Spanish prosperity must come in preponderating measure from the soil, a decided interest in agriculture is being taken everywhere in Alfonso's realm. No better evidence of this can be asked than to be informed of the numbers of Spanish pupils in the agricultural schools of France, Germany and Italy; and most of these lads are noblemen and heirs to important estates, whose forefathers, most likely, took no interest in any form of husbandry. Long before an agricultural millennium can bloom in the kingdom of Alfonso XIII mechanical tillage must be introduced, vast arid sections must yet be wrested by irrigation from their long-existing barrenness, and hundreds of grandees holding historic titles must surrender their tracts of rich soil, now preserved for the chase, to the purposes of cultivation by the peasant class.

Everywhere in Spain the soil must be prepared for seeding by gang-ploughs rather than by implements that are merely metal-shod sticks; and the ripe grain must be garnered from its husks by threshing-machines, and no longer be trodden out by the hoofs of animals. Further, crops and merchandise must be hauled by steam or electricity, and not by mules driven by loutish *arrieros;* and far and wide and up and down the kingdom the railway must supplant the mule-path as the channel of commercial traffic.

A subject that the upbuilders of Spain must give thought and action to in the immediate future is forestry, for no land is in greater need of trees. In the Cortes and in the columns of enlightened journals of Madrid and other important cities much is being said on the subject of restoring the forests, beginning with pulp-wood and other quick-growing specimens of forest timber. The realm of Alfonso is as large as Maryland, Delaware, West Virginia, Virginia and North Carolina. But its forests have but one-fourth the extent of those of West Virginia alone, and many of these are only scrub thickets of a poor kind.

Much of the denuded land is absolutely barren, with a red rock laid bare where agriculture once flourished. Hills whose rounded forms indicate that they once supported forests are bald and dry now and without inhabitants. At present the most valuable forest product is cork, the annual output being 30,000 tons. The cork groves are going the way of all the other Spanish forests and for the same reason—want of care.

Foresters declare there is no reason why Spain should not be able to do what France has done: cover her barren places with trees and thus restore her soil, abate floods, mitigate droughts, provide employment for many and furnish raw materials for factories.

Spaniards have always been heavily taxed. Everything they consume, whether necessity or luxury, is taxed to the limit; everything they do is likewise taxed to the very hilt. The taxes, since the loss of the colonies, of course, have had greater *raison d'être* than before the war, and are paid with better grace. In America such burdens as the people of Spain submit to would lead to civil war, to say the least. But Latin peoples have never known anything else—their only free commodity seems to be God's pure air.

Upon his tobacco the Spaniard pays the Madrid Government an annual profit of $27,000,000, and upon his matches a profit

approximating $1,000,000. The salt monopoly produces a yearly revenue of nearly $15,000,000, while the sugar monopoly brings in $5,400,000, and the sale of alcoholic drinks $3,700,000. Spaniards of every degree buy lottery-tickets constantly, and the fifteen-per-cent. tax on the traffic enriches the Madrid coffers by $7,250,000 a year. The tax of fifteen per cent. on admission tickets to bull-fights adds as much more to the national exchequer. To escape service in the army well-to-do Spaniards pay the Government $3,250,000 a year. From every source, customs duties, taxes and income from monopolies, the Government receives in these times $216,000,000 yearly. This sum is sufficient to carry on the administration, meet the interest on all bond issues, pay for the army and navy, and leave a fair annual balance. To maintain the royal family calls for an appropriation of about $1,780,000. Even the infant Prince of the Asturias, heir to the throne, has his individual grant of $100,000 a year.

There has been a decided saving to the Government in naval expenditures since the events of Manila Bay and Santiago, that practically deprived Spain of a sea force. The Spanish have existed without any pretence of maintaining a navy since the war, but the nation's accession to moderate prosperity is finding expression in a demand to again be represented on the seas, and British yards are now busy with orders for Spanish war-ships.

King Alfonso has one province where it was not necessary to have the lesson of defeat to inspire industry and enterprise—Catalonia. Admirably situated, with exceptionally fertile soil, and the perfection of a mild climate, it has been an easy matter for the Catalonians to move forward. These inhabitants of south-eastern Spain are uninterruptedly descended from the Phœnicians, who were expert merchants in olden times, and with whom tenacity of purpose was a cardinal virtue. Their seaport, Barcelona, has ever had a tremendous importance in Mediterranean trade. When Hannibal made his historical journey in Iberia he wrote of Barcelona, then a small seaport, as a second Carthage. Now it is a city of 700,000 people. The Catalonian of to-day is expert, industrious and courageous—and he is making the soil surrender the maximum of its fulness. It is doubted if there exists an acre of available Catalonian earth that is not under cultivation. On the mountain slopes, even, where rocks seem impenetrable, dynamite has pulverized the stone, and the created soil has been

planted with the vines producing the strong "Wine of Marble," which has a high fame. It would be unwise to tell a Catalonian that his province was not the first in importance in the land, and he opines that Barcelona is destined to be the greatest seaport of the universe—with his own hands he has helped to create the city upon the site of the town of his fathers, and he fairly beams with delight when assuring the visitor that the products of Spain will ever go hence to the markets of the world. Modern docks and quays make Barcelona an ideal port, but it is a sad fact that the traffic going and coming through it is limited to Spanish merchandise. It is a national seaport pure and simple.

The Catalonians have always scoffed at monarchical institutions, have even moulded their habits in a way to rebuke the pride of the Castilian in lineage and courtly prerogative; and for a generation they have clamored for annexation to republican France, or, failing this, to be given autonomous privileges practically removing them from Madrid rule.

But republicanism received its death-blow when Alfonso secured for his consort a princess of England's royal family, a niece of Edward VII. Catalonians should have perceived this; and had they recognized the apparent fact the recent outbreak, costing much in human life and treasure, would not have occurred. The summary manner in which this revolt, having almost the gravity of civil war, was dealt with by the Maura ministry proved to impartial observers of Spanish affairs that the monarchy is not to be overthrown by ordinary methods. Catalonians would promote their own cause if they punctually stifled every slumbering ember of anarchy to be found in the purlieus of Barcelona and set about cultivating agreeable relations with their king in the hours they feel like sparing from their vineyards, cotton-mills and shipping offices. Could the rest of the country be blessed with half the enterprise of Catalonia province, commercial Europe would promptly have cause for fearing the rivalry of Spain.

Whatever justice there may have been in Don Carlos's claim to the Spanish throne, the right descended in weakened form a few months since to his son, and as personified in Don Jaime, it amounts now to little more than a political tradition. The right to rule denied to a principal is seldom accorded to an inheritor.

FREDERIC COURTLAND PENFIELD.

A CANADIAN NAVY.

BY WATSON GRIFFIN.

THE most important step in the evolution of the Canadian nation since the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway is the establishment of a Canadian navy which is to be provided for during the present session of the Dominion Parliament. The fact that Canada, although absolutely dependent upon the British navy for protection of a merchant marine that ranks fourth among the nations, has never contributed anything to the support of that navy has long been a matter of reproach. In the early years of the Confederation, when the revenues were small and the construction of the Intercolonial and Canadian Pacific Railways and a costly system of canals was essential to the consolidation of the Dominion and the maintenance of the integrity of British North America as a part of the Empire, the British people bore the burden of the Imperial navy without grumbling, and Canadian self-respect was satisfied by the argument that in building a transcontinental railway, available for the rapid transportation of British soldiers and sailors from the Atlantic to the Pacific, Canada was contributing more to the strength of the Empire than it could do by expending the same amount of money on war-ships. But this excuse is no longer available. Canada is growing in population and wealth at a wonderful rate; the whole country is prosperous; and nowhere else in the world are the masses of the people enjoying so many of the comforts and luxuries of life. It is true that two new transcontinental railway systems are now under construction and rapidly nearing completion, but it cannot be said that three railways across Canada, with branches in every direction, are necessary either for the maintenance of Canadian integrity or for the transportation of British troops. The railways now building are purely commercial undertakings.

Resolutions in favor of Canadian participation in Imperial defence were repeatedly passed by the Canadian Manufacturers Association and most of the Boards of Trade throughout the country year after year; navy leagues were formed; fervid appeals to Canadian pride were made by speakers at banquets and public meetings; but the Government did nothing until the German war scare in England so aroused public sentiment in Canada that when the Opposition leaders brought the question before the Dominion Parliament and urged the establishment of a Canadian navy, built in Canada, officered and manned by Canadians, but acting in co-operation with the British navy according to plans to be agreed upon by the Governments of Canada and Great Britain, Sir Wilfrid Laurier accepted the suggestion and a Government resolution, framed by Sir Wilfrid, was introduced and unanimously passed by the House of Commons at the last session of the Dominion Parliament. This was the joint resolution:

"This House fully recognizes the duty of the people of Canada, as they increase in numbers and wealth, to assume in large measure the responsibilities of national defence. The House is of the opinion that, under the present constitutional relations between the mother country and the self-governing Dominions, the payment of regular and periodical contributions to the Imperial Treasury for naval and military purposes would not, so far as Canada is concerned, be the most satisfactory solution of the question of defence.

"The House will cordially approve of any necessary expenditure designed to promote the speedy organization of a Canadian naval service in co-operation with, and in close relation to, the Imperial navy, along the lines suggested by the Admiralty at the last Imperial Conference, and in full sympathy with the view that the naval supremacy of Britain is essential to the security of commerce, the safety of the Empire and the peace of the world.

"The House expresses its firm conviction that whenever the need arises the Canadian people will be found ready and willing to make any sacrifice that is required to give to the Imperial authorities the most loyal and hearty co-operation in every movement for the maintenance of the honor of the Empire."

The Parliaments of New Zealand and the Australian Commonwealth had already passed resolutions showing their willingness to join in the naval defence of the Empire. The British Government, anxious to take advantage of the spontaneous offers of assistance from the three self-governing Dominions of the Empire, called a naval conference in London. The Canadian Government sent to that Conference the Minister of Marine and

the Minister of Militia, and the other Dominions were also represented. The exact details of the proceedings at the Conference have not been made public, but it is understood that an agreement was arrived at by which Canada and Australia will immediately establish navies of their own to act in concert with the British navy, while New Zealand will make an annual cash contribution to the British Government in payment for naval protection. While the Liberal and Conservative leaders and their followers in the Dominion Parliament were able to agree upon a resolution regarding a naval policy, there is much difference of opinion on the question in the ranks of both political parties in the country at large.

In considering the attitude of the Canadian people on this question, it must be remembered that nearly one-third of the population of Canada is of French origin. The majority of the French-Canadians are loyal to the British Empire; they are fond of quoting a remark of the late Sir Etienne Pascal Taché: "*Le dernier coup du canon tiré pour la défence du drapeau britannique sur cette terre d'Amerique le sera par un canadien-français*" ("The last shot fired in America in defence of the British flag will be fired by a French-Canadian"); but they are very jealous for the maintenance of Canadian autonomy and apt to be suspicious of proposals for Canadian participation in Imperial defence, fearing that Canada may be dragged into unnecessary and unjustifiable wars.

Since the Naval Conference in London many of the French-Canadian Liberal newspapers and some of the French-Canadian Conservative papers have expressed disapproval of the proposed expenditures for naval defence. Some of the French-Canadian Liberal newspapers are advocating a plebiscite on the question. It is recalled that Sir Wilfrid Laurier got rid of the embarrassing prohibition question by means of a plebiscite. The plebiscite resulted in a prohibition majority for the Dominion as a whole, every one of the English-speaking provinces voting in favor of prohibition, but the French-Canadian province of Quebec voted overwhelmingly against it and the measure was killed.

Anti-Imperialism has never had so strong a hold among French-Canadian Conservatives as among the Nationalists, who form the backbone of the French-Canadian Liberal organization. But Mr. F. D. Monk, M.P., for Jacques Cartier, who has for some

time been regarded as the leader of the French-Canadian Conservatives, speaking at Lachine on November 8th, strongly condemned the proposed Canadian navy on the ground that Canada did not need naval protection and could not afford such a luxury. He declared that the plan proposed would mean the sacrifice of Canadian autonomy.

It has been stated that a number of the Liberal members of the House of Commons, both English and French speaking, including several members of the Cabinet, agreed to the joint resolution with the understanding that it was merely intended as a means of shelving the question and that no immediate action would be taken. However, as the resolution called for "speedy" action, it is difficult to believe that there could have been any misunderstanding.

The Hon. Mackenzie King, Minister of Labor in the Laurier Cabinet, who claims descent from William Lyon Mackenzie, leader of the rebellion of 1837 in Upper Canada, is reported to have publicly expressed himself as strongly opposed to any increased expenditure for either military or naval purposes.

The Hon. Charles Murphy, Secretary of State in the Laurier Cabinet, after a trip through the Northwest, declared that, "What the West wants is box-cars and not battleships." Duncan C. Ross, the Liberal candidate in the Middlesex by-election campaign now in progress, speaking on the same platform with the Minister of Railways and Canals, said that in view of the large amount of money required for the transcontinental railway the Government should go slowly in the expenditure of money for naval purposes. He thought "the war scare was all wind and newspaper talk."

A deputation from the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada went to Ottawa to tell Sir Wilfrid Laurier that their organization was opposed to the expenditure of public money for naval purposes. The officers of this labor organization have always been in sympathy with the Liberal party, and the leader of this deputation was one of the Liberal candidates for Toronto in the last general election. Sir Wilfrid Laurier frankly told these labor leaders that the Government must stand by its naval policy.

Many of the English-speaking Liberals are opposed to any expenditure of Canadian money for naval or military purposes, arguing that such expenditures may provoke war and that they place an

altogether unnecessary burden of taxation upon the Canadian people, as there can be no danger of war with the United States, and the Americans will never permit any other nation to invade Canada, because such an invasion would be a violation of the Monroe doctrine. "England does not need our aid," they say. "If she ever does, we will spend our last cent and shed the last drop of blood in our veins in her defence." But it is probable that a large majority of the English-speaking Liberals heartily approve the proposal to build a Canadian navy, and even the minority, who grumble at the expenditure and condemn all preparations for war as un-Christian, will unwaveringly support Sir Wilfrid Laurier in any policy he may decide upon, just as they support him in maintaining the policy of protection, although they call themselves free-traders and unceasingly denounce protection.

On the other hand, the English-speaking Conservatives are unanimous in the belief that Canada should participate in the naval defence of the Empire; they have condemned the argument that the Monroe doctrine is a sufficient protection for Canada, declaring that it is as mean and humiliating for Canadians to expect American taxpayers to pay the cost of protecting Canada against foreign aggression as it is to allow the overburdened British taxpayers to pay the bills; but they are divided in opinion as to the way in which Canadian money should be expended for this purpose, an influential minority of the party being disposed to criticise the Conservative leader, Robert L. Borden, for his advocacy of a Canadian-built navy in preference to an annual money contribution to the British Government in payment for naval protection.

The Conservative leader has plainly stated that he will not recede from the stand he has taken in favor of a powerful and effective Canadian unit of the Imperial navy, but he says there is nothing in the resolution passed by Parliament to prevent a special money contribution to the British Government if any emergency should arise before the Canadian navy is ready for action.

It is altogether unlikely that Sir Wilfrid Laurier will abandon a policy unanimously endorsed by both parties in the Canadian Parliament and approved by the British Government at the Colonial Conference, but the objections of his own followers and the difference of opinion among the Conservatives may cause him

to favor such a modest expenditure that the Canadian navy will not in the near future add materially to the strength of the Empire.

The policy which was agreed upon by the Liberal and Conservative leaders is in accordance with the naval plan outlined by Mr. George E. Drummond, as representative of the Canadian Manufacturers Association and the Montreal Board of Trade, before the Chambers of Commerce of the Empire at their meeting in Montreal in August, 1903, and approved by that great body of British business men. It has been endorsed by Admiral Lord Charles Beresford and Lord Milner as more satisfactory than a money contribution. It meets the views of so great a naval authority as Admiral Sir John C. R. Colomb, who some years ago advocated the establishment of ship-yards, arsenals and supply depots in Canada and Australia. Sir John said:

"Although since the Napoleonic wars a whole hemisphere has been added to British responsibilities, we ignore the fact in our naval policy of to-day. Producing power to meet naval requirements in the other hemisphere is localized and limited to one island in this. Every ship, however small; almost every appliance, however insignificant; every gun, rifle or revolver, every pound of powder, and every shot required for naval purposes at the other side of the world must be produced at home and pass over half the circumference of the globe to their destination. That is our policy and our practice. Can it be fairly said it is unavoidable, in view of the fact that the Dominion of Canada and Australia are integral portions of our Empire with seaboards on the Pacific? They are rapidly developing in the pursuit of wealth and manufacturing power rivalling our own.

"Those who assert that this policy we pursue is unavoidable and inevitable are bound to explain why Australia and Canada so differ from the United States and Japan as to forbid of the establishment in these great limbs of the Empire of the means of production and manufacture necessary for war which these foreign states possess. The truth is our present policy of centralizing the manufacture and supply of appliances and munitions of war to meet not merely naval, but military, requirements of a world state is wholly indefensible and fraught with peril."

So long as the British people pay the whole cost of the naval defence of the Empire, the building and equipment of war-ships must be concentrated within that little island. The enormous cost of the navy could not have been borne for so many years by British taxpayers if the money had been sent out of the country to pay for ships and munitions of war produced in distant parts

of the Empire. The money has remained in circulation in Britain, giving employment there not only to ship-builders, but to many tributary trades. Speaking at the Colonial Conference of 1902 regarding the heavy burden borne by the British taxpayer for defence of the world-wide Empire, Mr. Chamberlain said: "The weary Titan groans beneath the orb of his too vast fate." Let me add that he would have been completely crushed by it long ago if the money expended in war-ships had gone out of the country. And if it is true that the British people could not afford to pay for war-ships built in Canada, it is equally true that it would be a serious burden for Canadians to pay for war-ships built in England. As a permanent policy it would be unbearable, but in an emergency it may be necessary, owing to the long delay of our Government in assuming the responsibility of constructing a Canadian navy. The statesmen of England of both political parties seem to be really alarmed at the war preparations of Germany. Our safety lies in immediately making the Imperial navy so strong as to insure peace. Before war-ships can be built in Canada, ship-yards must be got ready. Meanwhile the Germans are building "Dreadnoughts," and it is feared that in 1912 they may have more of those great ships than the British. Have the British ship-yards the capacity to build more "Dreadnoughts" during the next two years than have been already contracted for? Does the number of such ships to be built depend entirely upon the amount of money at the disposal of the British Government? If the British ship-yards adapted for the construction of "Dreadnoughts" are not being worked to their full capacity, it is the duty of Canada in this emergency to make up for past neglect by ordering two or three "Dreadnoughts" in England while the Canadian ship-yards are being got ready for operation. Canada should pay not only the cost of building these "Dreadnoughts" in England, but also the full cost of maintaining them, asking the British Government to supply officers and men until Canadians can be trained for the service.

As regards the alleged incapacity of Canadians to build and manage a navy, the Canadian Pacific and Canadian Northern railways, the great Canadian banking and insurance systems, Niagara power development and many others of our enterprises bear testimony to the organizing ability of Canadians.

If instead of having a Canadian naval unit we simply made

an annual contribution to the British navy, not only the amount of the contribution, but the principle of paying tribute, would be fought over at every session of Parliament. Instead of arousing national pride and British sentiment, it would create jealousy and ill-feeling between the different elements of Canada's population. But a Canadian navy once established will be considered as much a matter of course as our militia force is at present.

With reference to the charge that if our new navy is under Canadian control French-Canadian influence will prevent its being of service to the Empire in the hour of need, it is only necessary to say that French-Canadian influence did not prevent the sending of a number of Canadian contingents to help the British army in South Africa, although it was felt that there was no real need of Canadian assistance in fighting a few Boers. There is little doubt that if Britain were actually at war with the populous, wealthy and well-organized German Empire or any other great Power the whole Canadian people, regardless of origin and language, would support the British cause, but even if the French-Canadian section of the population did offer opposition the English-speaking majority, divided politically in time of peace, would be united in time of war.

The present difference of opinion is largely due to the belief that there is no real danger of war. But if war should come without previous preparation, Canadian sympathy would be of little value to Britain.

Mr. Goldwin Smith is reported to have said that if Canada has a navy "it will be necessary to determine very clearly with whom is to rest the declaration of war." The existence of a Canadian navy will not in any way affect Canada's liability to be included in any British war. Whether we have a navy of our own or pay the British Government for protection or continue to pay nothing in any way for naval purposes so long as Canada is part of the British Empire, it will be liable to attack from any nation with which Britain is at war and we may be sure that the enemy will not hesitate to strike that part of the Empire which is most vulnerable and least prepared for war. But when Canada shows its willingness to bear a fair share of the cost of defending the Empire, the King will not agree to a declaration of war without consulting the Government of our Dominion.

WATSON GRIFFIN.

AMERICAN OPINION AND BRITISH RULE IN INDIA.

BY SYDNEY BROOKS.

THAT the events which, during the last year or two, have drawn the attention of the whole world upon British rule in India should have aroused a peculiar interest among Americans seems to me entirely natural. No Englishman, at any rate, would wish it otherwise. It is impossible for us in Great Britain to feel or affect indifference to American opinion upon our work and policies in any part of the globe. American approval and sympathy are frankly valued; American hostility or criticism is as frankly deplored. Not for nothing have the two great communities, politically separated, preserved the surer bonds of a common tongue, identical instincts and aspirations, and a kindred form of government. They are bound to influence and react upon one another with almost instantaneous decisiveness and through a thousand impalpable channels; their opinion of each other's doings, whether favorable or unfavorable, cannot help having weight. Each nation at more than one crisis of its history, in more than one phase of its development, has been stimulated by the other's example and support, has been disheartened, checked or bewildered by the other's disapproval. There could, therefore, be no question of England's not caring to know what Americans were saying and thinking about the arresting incidents which have seemed, in some sort, to place British rule in India upon its trial. England did care and does care. Her hold over India is the keystone of her Imperial structure and the pivot, so far as there can be any single pivot, of her whole scheme of foreign policy. That hold cannot be loosened or that pivot deranged without a catastrophe that would reverberate disastrously throughout Asia, throughout Europe and wherever the British flag is planted. But it is not only because India is of inestimable

and, indeed, vital consequence to her that England feels she has a claim upon the interest of Americans in the state and fortunes of the great dependency. She believes that her work there constitutes an unsurpassed record of constructive beneficence, that it is the ultimate touchstone of her Imperial greatness, and that the more Americans inform themselves of the principles that have governed it and of the results it has produced, the more they must come to regard it not only with interest, but with sympathy, with admiration and with an enhanced pride in the achievements of the stock. Moreover, since Americans within the past ten years have been brought for the first time into personal touch with the problems and difficulties of Oriental rulership and have learned the alphabet, at any rate, of its infinite perplexities, England feels entitled to ask that her experiment in India—the most arduous and complicated and by far the greatest that any Western nation has yet essayed—should be judged in the United States with something of a professional appreciation and understanding.

It was accordingly with emotions of the keenest pleasure that Englishmen read last January the magnificent eulogy pronounced upon British rule in India by Mr. Roosevelt. Friendlier words have never been spoken by any American in connection with British achievements anywhere, and that such warm and generous testimony should have been borne by Mr. Roosevelt, the head of the Commonwealth and the most powerful, popular and representative American of his day and generation, filled the cup of British satisfaction almost to overflowing. "In India," said the President, "we encounter the most colossal example history affords of the successful administration by men of European blood of a thickly populated region in another continent. It is the greatest feat of the kind that has been performed since the break-up of the Roman Empire. Indeed, it is a greater feat than was performed under the Roman Empire." No doubt mistakes had been made and shortcomings could be detected, "but the fact remains that the successful administration of the Indian Empire by the English has been one of the most notable and most admirable achievements of the white race during the past two centuries." On the whole, British rule had been "for the immeasurable benefit of the natives of India themselves." There had been "far more resolute effort to secure fair treatment for the humble and oppressed during the days of English rule in

India than during any other period recorded in Indian history." "England," added the President, "does not draw a penny from India for English purposes; she spends for India the revenues raised in India; and they are spent for the benefit of the Indians themselves. . . . The mass of the people have been, and are, far better off than ever before, and far better off than they would now be if the English control were overthrown or withdrawn. Indeed, if the English control were now withdrawn from India the whole peninsula would become a chaos of bloodshed and violence; all the weaker peoples and the most industrious and law-abiding would be plundered and forced to submit to indescribable wrong and oppression; and the only beneficiaries among the natives would be the lawless, the violent and the bloodthirsty. . . . Every well-wisher of mankind, every true friend of humanity, should realize that the part which England has played in India has been to the immeasurable advantage of India, and for her honor, her profit and her civilization we should feel a profound satisfaction in the stability and the permanence of English rule. I have seen many American missionaries who have come from India, and I cannot overstate the terms of admiration in which they speak of English rule in India and of the incalculable benefits which it has conferred and is conferring upon the natives."

Mr. Roosevelt's panegyric, though the weightiest and the most welcome, is far from being the only tribute paid by Americans to the spirit, aims and accomplishments of British rule in India. It would be easy, indeed, to fill twenty pages of this REVIEW with extracts from the eulogies of American travellers, special correspondents and, above all, of American missionaries on what they have seen and known and lived among between the Himalayas and Cape Comorin. But I notice that within the last year or two a more or less organized movement has been set on foot for the purpose of persuading the American people that British rule in India deserves condemnation rather than praise; that it is harsh, oppressive and impoverishing; that it deprives the natives of India of any voice in the management of their own affairs; that it is a rule of mere brute strength; that it diverts the wealth of India to British pockets and crushes Indian manufactures for the benefit of British exports; that it has neglected education, fomented racial and religious strife and screwed up taxation to such a point that the natives grow yearly poorer and

famines more deadly and frequent; that it is now not only harmful, but superfluous, and that India would be better off without it. The agitation which has based itself upon these and similar allegations has been able, I do not doubt, to influence many minds. Its promoters appear to be men of feeling and sincerity —of more feeling, indeed, than judgment and of more sincerity than knowledge; they have had the ear of the press; they have proclaimed it their one desire to "lay the truth before the American people"; they have disavowed all imputations of hostility towards the British Raj; they have asserted that their object is not the destruction, but the reform of British rule in India; and though their propaganda was shaken by Mr. Roosevelt's counterblast, it is still being kept up and unquestionably finds something in American conditions and in the American temperament to feed upon. Fifteen years ago it would have raged with little hindrance from one end of the United States to the other; we should have had resolutions in Congress, a deluge of pamphlets, monster meetings and all the other familiar paraphernalia of an anti-British campaign; and the comparative mildness and ineffectiveness of the agitation to-day are a proof of how far the happy revolution in Anglo-American relations and her greater experience in the realities of *Weltpolitik* have carried America away from the somewhat elementary standpoint of former days. Nevertheless, there is always in the United States a sediment of Anglophobia to be stirred up; India is a remote, an incognizable, to most Americans, I suspect, almost an incredible country; American sympathies are quick to resent even the appearance of oppression and range themselves strongly and instinctively on the side of the under dog; the material for distinguishing the true from the false and for bringing large vague assertions to the test of fact scarcely exists; it is nobody's business in America to state the case for the British Raj; and the fallacies, the distortions, the accusations and the plausibilities of the propagandists have, therefore, met with a considerable, and as I shall hope to show, a quite undeserved success.

Perhaps the best summary of their contentions is to be found in a manifesto they were recently rash enough to issue by way of refuting Mr. Roosevelt's speech of last January. Its tone, let me say at once, is respectful and even cordial both towards Mr. Roosevelt and towards Great Britain. The eighteen gentlemen

who sign it, several of whom are clergymen, appear to write more in sorrow than in anger, and while their facts are often imaginary and their language at times grotesquely intemperate, I quite recognize that they conceive themselves to be engaged in a task of righteousness. It is a task, however, that for its proper discharge asks something more than moral ardor. It demands knowledge, perspective, the power of appreciating the spirit of an alien environment, all the qualities, in short, that go to make the political instinct. But of political instinct the authors of this manifesto betray no sign whatever. They write of India precisely as though it were a somewhat larger Wisconsin and of the natives of India as though they formed a single homogeneous mass like Frenchmen or Spaniards. They seem incapable of understanding natures and mental characteristics and social conditions so far removed from their own experience; and they brandish the formulæ and maxims and shibboleths of modern Western democracy without the ghost of a suspicion that what is good for Oklahoma may not be equally good for India, and indeed for all the world. They either do not know or else they have never digested the fact that no other country on earth furnishes even a distant parallel to the structure of Indian society —a society in which the lines of division are still the primitive ones of race, religion and caste, deepened by centuries of incessant warfare; in which more than forty different tribes or nationalities, speaking over a hundred and eighty different tongues and dialects, and confessing nine different religions, are jumbled together in a formless and inextricable mosaic, and subdivided again into something like twenty-four hundred castes, each caste a distinctive, exclusive, separate entity; in which three-fourths of the people live by the land and nineteen-twentieths of them are wholly illiterate; in which faiths, usages, habits and customs are preserved with a jealousy and intensity far beyond the range of Occidental experience; and in which power is held, government administered, justice dispensed and progress furthered under the authority and direction of a handful of rulers summoned from a distant northern island to guide the destinies of one-fifth of the human race. To treat a country so formed and situated as though it were not essentially different from the United States or Italy, and to prescribe for it in accordance with principles that have proved workable only in the peculiar conditions of the West,

is as foolish, to adopt one of Lord Morley's similes, as it would be to wear a fur coat in the Deccan because one has found it a convenient garment in Canada. It is to display precisely those qualities of myopia, narrowness and rigidity which the world, for lack of a better word, has agreed to sum up as provincialism.

Of all their accusation the most serious, and if it could be substantiated the most damning, is that the British to enrich themselves have taxed India into poverty. They assert that "the wealth of India is being steadily and remorselessly drained away to enrich the land of her foreign masters"; that this drain, this tribute, this flow of treasure from India to England, amounts to between $125,000,000 and $150,000,000 a year; that England "has been successful in taxing India more heavily than any other civilized land is taxed; according to ability to pay, more than twice as heavily as England's own people"; that India grows poorer with every year that passes and in consequence less able to withstand the ravages of famine; and that for this increasing poverty British rule is largely responsible. I propose to take these accusations and disprove them one by one.

(1) In the ordinary and recognized sense of the word no tribute whatever is paid by India to England. The British connection imposes upon India the annual payment of certain sums. These sums, which for the three years from 1904 to 1907 averaged $95,000,000 a year, are in payment partly of interest on debt and upon capital invested in productive industries in India and on moneys borrowed for building railways—say, $50,000,000; partly of railway and military stores and materials—say, $12,500,000; partly of military charges, including pensions—say, $20,000,000; and partly of civil and administrative charges—say, $12,500,000. In other words, for every rupee remitted India has received a full and fair equivalent in goods, services or capital, and Mr. Roosevelt was thus absolutely and literally right in asserting that England does not draw a penny from India for English purposes and that she spends on India and for the benefit of the Indians themselves all the revenues raised in India. It has, however, been urged that in addition to these known payments there is an unknown drain on India's resources in the shape of private remittances, and the extent of this drain has been estimated at between $50,000,000 and $60,000,000 a year. This, of course, is a mere guess and the probabilities are all against its accuracy.

The sum mentioned is more than double the annual pay of all European officials in India, civil and military, and it is preposterous to contend that the comparatively few European merchants in India earn more than all the civil and military officials put together. As a matter of fact, it is only a very small minority of British officials who are able to remit even a moiety of their salaries to England. Most of them spend all their pay, and even more, in India; while if there is one thing that may fairly be said to be indisputable in the history of Indian economics it is that the British have spent more money on, and have done more to secure, the material and industrial development of India than all their predecessors put together, and that under their rule wages and the standard of living and comfort have risen throughout the length and breadth of the Peninsula. The truth is that the theory of a "drain" rests upon the old and thoroughly exploded fallacy that foreign capital impoverishes the country into which it is introduced and that a surplus of exports over imports is a sign of national ill health. The authors of the amazing manifesto I am criticising appear to regard the excess of $100,000,000 a year in Indian exports as a "tribute" to England. But the United States shows annually a huge surplus of exports over imports in her dealings with Great Britain. So also do Australia and the Argentine Republic. Are these countries likewise paying "tribute" to England or are the authors of the manifesto talking nonsense?

(2) That India is "taxed more heavily than any other civilized land is taxed" is a statement even more easily rebutted. The sum derived from every kind of taxation in 1906-07 amounted to less than $1 per head, and nearly half of this was the proceeds of the land revenue. The land revenue in India is the precise equivalent of rent in other countries, the cultivator paying to the state what in Europe and America he pays to the landlord; and unless rent is to be regarded as taxation when the state receives it, and merely as rent when a private individual receives it, the sum paid in taxes by the inhabitants of British India is rather less than 50 cents a head per annum. The authors of the manifesto talk of a salt tax of 800, 1,200 and even 2,000 per cent. of its cost value. No such tax exists. The cost of production at the largest sources of supply—the salt lakes of Rajputana—is 8 cents per 82 pounds. The duty is 32 cents per 82

pounds. Therefore, the duty is 400, and not 2,000, per cent. of the cost price. Even this seems large. But so carefully have the costs of production, transportation and distribution been kept down that the price of salt to the Indian consumer is not materially higher than in England and is substantially lower than in France or Italy or, I believe, the United States—being on an average less than 1 cent per pound. Under native rule, owing to bad communications and transport, crude methods of manufacture, and a perfect network of inland customs and transit duties, salt was very much more costly, and was often, indeed, not procurable at any price. At the present day the inhabitants of British India pay almost exactly 7 cents a head per annum in salt duty. That is hardly an oppressive impost. Moreover, except the land revenue which, as I have explained, is the equivalent of rent, and a three and one-half per cent. customs duty on his cotton garments, it is about the only tax that the peasant, who forms nearly three-fourths of the total population, is called upon to pay. He has no tobacco tax or tea or coffee tax to meet, and if he abstains from the use of alcohol and opium and keeps out of the law courts he virtually escapes the tax-collector altogether. I assert without the least hesitation that no peasantry in the world is so lightly taxed.

(3) The authors of the manifesto are even less successful in their attempt to prove, first, that India is growing poorer, secondly, that her poverty is "the basic cause" of famine and, thirdly, that British rule is largely responsible for her alleged increasing impoverishment. India is not growing poorer. The gross revenues raised from her have all but trebled since 1860. But the increase is due not to the imposition of new burdens on the taxpayer, but to increasing prosperity and better management. There is no considerable source of Imperial taxation now in existence which had not already been imposed in 1860, and in most cases the increase in the total receipts has accrued in spite of reduction in the rate of assessment. Thus the incidence of the land revenue has been greatly diminished; the salt duty has been progressively lowered; import duties are smaller and all export duties, except that on rice, have been abolished; and the income tax stands at a considerably lower rate and has a higher minimum limit of assessment than in 1860. The yield of the excise duties has largely increased, but the increase is mainly

due not to enhanced duties, but to better administration and a more effectual suppression of illicit manufacture and sale. Municipal and rural rates are the only taxes which are to some extent of a later origin than 1860; and their total productiveness is only about $12,000,000. The very first feature, in short, that strikes one in surveying the fiscal developments of India during the past half-century is that taxes have steadily decreased and that their yield in revenue has as steadily risen. I think that that is good *prima facie* evidence that the people who pay them are growing more prosperous. Let me on this subject quote a passage from one of Lord Curzon's Viceregal speeches: "Never," said Lord Curzon, "let us shut our eyes to the poverty and the misery of India. But do not let us be so blind to the truth as not to see that there is an enormous improvement, that there is everywhere more money in the country, in circulation, in reserves, in investments, in deposits and in the pockets of the people; that the wages of labor have risen, that the standards of living among the poorest have gone up, that they employ conveniences and even luxuries which a quarter of a century ago were undreamed of, thereby indicating an all-round increase of purchasing power and showing that wherever taxation could be held to pinch we have reduced it, and may perhaps be able to do so still more. It is only fairness to acknowledge these facts; it is blind prejudice to ignore them." I commend that passage to the authors of the manifesto, and with it the proofs that Lord Curzon brought forward to sustain his thesis. He showed that between 1893-94 and 1904-05 the capital sunk by Government in railways and irrigation works increased by 56 per cent. and the capital invested by joint-stock companies in industrial undertakings by 23 per cent.; that the savings-banks deposits had gone up by 43 per cent., the private deposits in Presidency banks by 71 per cent., the deposits in other joint-stock banks by 130 per cent., the deposits in exchange banks by 95 per cent., Government paper held in India by 29 per cent. and the amount invested in Local Authorities' debentures by 90 per cent.; that the amount of income subject to income tax had increased by 29 per cent., the rupee circulation by 27 per cent. and the note circulation in active use by 68 per cent.; that imports had risen 35 per cent. and exports 48 per cent.; and that the productive debt had been increased by 69 crores and the non-productive debt diminished by 16 crores. Is there a

business man or an economist anywhere who will declare these to be the signs of increasing poverty?

The poverty of the masses of the peoples of India is, it is true, abject and pitiable enough. But to charge it to British rule is grotesque. I have shown that under British rule prosperity is slowly but steadily advancing. I have shown that the sum paid into the treasury by the inhabitants of British India in rent and taxes combined is less than $1 a head per annum, and that of this sum the peasant, who represents three-fourths of the population, contributes on an average, I should judge, less than one-half. Taxation, therefore, cannot be the cause of Indian poverty. You might remit the whole of the land revenue and abolish the salt tax and the customs duties, and the *ryot* would still be miserably poor and famine would still recur. The fact is that the social habits of the peoples, their litigiousness, their improvidence, their antiquated methods of husbandry, and their reckless expenditure on dowries and wedding festivals, have infinitely more to do with their poverty than any external agency has or can have. A man will spend three or four years' income on his son's marriage, borrowing the money without hesitation from the village usurer, who charges from 12 to 75 per cent. interest per annum; and it is there, and not in the 50 cents or so per annum that he pays in rent and taxes, that the true source of the *ryot's* indebtedness is to be found. A great leader of the Hindu community, Sir T. Mahdava Rau, a man of unrivalled experience and unquestioned ability, and a strong critic on occasion of the British Raj, summed up the question in a sentence which I would advise the authors of the manifesto to ponder night and day before they again venture to express an opinion on Indian problems. "The longer one lives, observes and thinks," he declared, "the more does one feel that there is no community on the face of the earth which suffers less from political evils and more from self-inflicted, or self-accepted, or self-created, and therefore avoidable, evils than the Hindus." As for what the authors of the manifesto have to say about famines, I would point out, first, that they have grossly exaggerated their numbers and the mortality arising from them, and, secondly, that famines in India are primarily caused by the failure of the monsoons. When the rains are regular and abundant, agriculture is possible; when the rains are irregular or insufficient, the main industry of the country

comes to a standstill and the Government is confronted with the problem of the unemployed on a scale beyond any Western experience. That the poverty of the masses greatly intensifies the strain of such catastrophes is, of course, true enough; but it is not less true that the wonderful system of famine prevention and relief devised by the British has enormously mitigated calamities that in former times used to be regarded as beyond the control of man, and that deaths from actual starvation have been reduced not, indeed, to vanishing-point, but immeasurably lower than in any previous period of Indian history.

There are many other points in this remarkable document that, if I had the space, I might challenge with equal success. In only one matter, indeed, do its authors seem to me to have reason, justice and truth on their side. I agree with all they say as to the unsatisfactory state of progress of education in India, and I am not without a certain qualified sympathy for their views on military expenditure. But outside of this I can find little or nothing in the way of statement, inference or argument that is not wholly at variance with the facts. These gentlemen, for instance, declare that the 30,000 miles of railroad built by the British in India have been controlled wholly by the prospect of strategic value and financial return to England, and that the revenue derived from them flows into the pockets of Englishmen. The fact is that of the 30,000 miles the state owns over 22,000, works them at a profit that is annually increasing and devotes the whole of this profit to the relief of taxation. They say that telegraphic and other news from India is closely censored by the Indian and British Government, whereas the fact is that no censorship of any kind or in any form exists. They declare that to-day fully one hundred editors are serving terms of from three to ten years in prison, many of them without trial, without having had opportunity to defend themselves, and in not a few cases without even having been informed of the nature of their offence; whereas the facts are that about seventy editors have been sentenced to prison, that all of them have been tried, that all have defended themselves and that all have been fully informed of the nature of their offence. They assert that India governed herself for thousands of years, whereas the fact is that every Empire which has held sway in India has been established by foreign conquest. They declare that British rule is based upon the funda-

mental injustice of holding a people in subjection by the power of the sword, whereas the fact is that there is in India only one British soldier to every twenty square miles of territory and every four thousand of the peoples, and that of the armed forces of the Crown two-thirds are native troops. They state that agitation for reforms which in America or England would be regarded as mild in India is punished by open or secret arrest and incarceration, whereas the facts are that the National Congress has done nothing but agitate for reforms all the days of its existence without the slightest interference from the Government, that 8,000 native journals spend all their energies doing nothing else and that the Government itself has recently published two enormous Blue-books filled with agitation for reforms by men of all classes and from every point of view. They pronounce India to be a slave empire, declare that "the Indian people"—I wonder whom they mean by "the Indian people"—have no share in the Government, and even have the hardihood to assert that Lord Morley's reforms will effect no essential change; whereas the facts are that the natives of India carry on the bulk of the administrative work of the Peninsula, that native officials vastly outnumber British officials, that leading natives sit on all the legislative councils and are consulted as a matter of course before any measure is drafted, and that Lord Morley has not only admitted them to the highest executive tribunal in the country, has not only vested them with powers for determining how the revenues are to be raised and disposed of, but has placed vast spheres of policy and legislation under their almost unfettered control. It seems, indeed, impossible for the authors of the manifesto to touch on a single feature of British rule in India without committing some absurd blunder of which any well-informed boy of fifteen would be ashamed. They appear entirely unaware of the elementary facts that the British, and the British alone, voice, however imperfectly, the sentiments and guard, however inadequately, the interests of the dumb, toiling masses; that they and they alone rise calmly above the distracting animosities and clashing rivalries of race, creed and caste, and work and govern solely for the common good; that they alone, to the best of their abilities, represent justice, liberty and equal treatment for all, and protect at once the Hindu from the Mohammedan, and the Mohammedan from the Hindu, and the peasant from the landlord. SYDNEY BROOKS.

THE INDIVIDUALITY OF THE SOUTH-AMERICAN REPUBLICS.

BY REV. FRANCIS E. CLARK, D.D., LL.D.

SOUTH AMERICA is usually regarded by the North-American, in his continental provincialism, as a congeries of little states, which, if they are worth studying at all, will be found to have very much the same history, traditions, resources and language, differing from each other little more than the States of the great North-American Republic.

Nothing could be farther from the truth. They are separated from each other by barriers as high and distinct as those which keep the Spaniards from amalgamating with the French, and which insure the integrity and individuality of such nations as Switzerland, Sweden and Holland. Even in the matter of language, though the southern continent is spoken of as "Latin America," it is by no means a unit, nor is it a Spanish-speaking continent. It might as well be called a Portuguese-speaking continent, for Brazil occupies fully half the country and contains more than half the population of South America, and Portuguese and not Spanish is the language of every citizen of Brazil. There, too, Portuguese and not Spanish customs, Portuguese and not Spanish architecture prevail, and the impress of King John and not of Ferdinand and Isabella is seen in the customs and the habits of the people.

But the Spanish-speaking republics differ almost as much from one another as they do from Portuguese Brazil, and it is as inaccurate to lump Peru and Venezuela or Chile and Colombia together as to consider Mexico and Massachusetts or Canada and Louisiana close kindred States.

Nature seems to have chosen to separate the two sides of South America, and to establish between them almost impassable bar-

riers. There are no such lofty mountain ranges in North America, and no such impenetrable forests or vast stretches of malarial swamp to defy the railroad builder, the trolley-line contractor or the automobile owner. After all these centuries of occupation by Europeans, there is only one practicable route across South America, and the two ends of that are not yet joined by rail. One can go from Valparaiso on the Pacific coast to Buenos Ayres on the Atlantic in something like forty-eight hours, but it is still a hard and toilsome journey, with some six hours of difficult coaching over the crest of the Andes. Nowhere else is it yet possible to cross the continent from east to west, except at great expense of time and toil.

Thus it has come about that the west coast is as little known to the east coast, or the east coast to the majority of the people on the west coast, as North America and North-Americans are known to the people of our twin continent to the south. Indeed, I have no doubt that many countries in Europe, like Great Britain, Germany, Spain and France, are far better known to many of the people on the east coast of South America than their neighbors across the Andes on the west coast.

At several places in Ecuador, Peru and Chile one can penetrate for a few hundred miles from the Pacific Ocean into the interior, but the railroads that afford ingress into the interior have been built at enormous cost and only by overcoming the greatest engineering difficulties, for the Andes come close to the east shore for thousands of miles, and, after traversing a short, level plain, the roads begin to climb and climb; twelve thousand, fourteen thousand and almost fifteen thousand feet before they come to any opening that will enable them to pierce the Andes and reach the mines of gold and silver and copper and tin which have so successfully hidden their treasure behind these mighty ramparts.

When the railroads reach the mines they suddenly stop. There is as yet little inducement for them to extend their rails through the tropical jungles that lead to the Atlantic shore. Thus it will be seen that communication is difficult and necessarily rare between the two coasts. A few hundred people a week, at the most, may cross the continent from Argentina to Chile or in the reverse direction, whereas in North America hundreds of loaded trains, day and night, are rushing across the fertile fields and through the easy passes of the Rocky Mountains, weaving

with their shuttles innumerable threads of communication between the two sides of our own continent.

A railway is now projected and in process of construction by way of La Paz, Bolivia, from the Pacific to the Atlantic, but it will be several years at least before this is open to traffic.

The differences in climate and productions between the east and the west sides of South America are most striking. They seem to have been meant for different races of men. The west coast is dry and arid for thousands of miles, from the northern edge of Peru well down toward the southern edge of Chile, and is almost absolutely rainless. All foodstuffs must either be raised by laborious irrigation or brought from the interior to the coast. As a consequence, the people on the west coast derive their living largely from the mines and from the products of the sea. Gold and silver, tin and copper, nitrate and guano, keep the wheels of commerce moving and furnish the raw material for their wealth.

Cross the mountains, however, and you will find yourself in another world. The dry, rainless coasts of Peru and Chile give place to the luxuriousness of Brazil, Uruguay and Argentina. Gold and silver and other metals are no longer sought to any considerable extent, but wheat and corn and cattle and coffee supply the wealth that any empire might covet. The mining population gives place to an agricultural people, and in the market-places and cafés one no longer hears of "pay streaks" and of "good color," but he hears the price of coffee, the yield of wheat to the acre and the value of hides and horns discussed.

Not only is it true that the east and the west coasts of South America have an individuality of their own, but each republic has its own traditions, its own problems, its own peculiarities and its own peculiar patriotism which considers no flag quite so precious as that which floats over its own soil, poor and insignificant as the republic may seem in the eyes of the rest of the world.

PANAMA.

It is worth while to consider each republic by itself, if we would know South America as it is. Beginning with Panama, on the north, she is fitly characterized as "the Country of the Great Ditch," for there is little besides the canal to give her a place upon the map of the world. To be sure, she has had a history which, in romantic interest, is out of all proportion to her size, for she was the "Snug Harbor" of adventurers and pirates and

Spanish freebooters for centuries before the French and Americans set to work in good earnest to cut her territory in two. The City of Panama at one time was the richest city on the face of the globe, for here the buccaneers brought the wealth of the Incas, and the hundreds of millions of gold and silver ravaged from the temples and palaces of Peru and Ecuador, at least for a time, were stored in this city on the western side of Panama.

In spite of an interesting and checkered history, the future of Panama promises to be a more righteous if not a more interesting history than the past has been. Through the persistent vigilance of Colonel W. C. Gorgas, the disease-bearing mosquito has been banished, and with it has gone the immemorial twin curses of Panama, yellow fever and malaria. To-day, compared with what it has been in all the past ages, it may be regarded as an American health resort.

People of the United States, for the most part, do not yet realize that ours is now a South-American power, for since we own the strip of land five miles wide on either side of the canal this ten-mile strip, to all intents and purposes, is as much a part of the United States as the land on either side of the Erie Canal. The rights of the United States were defined by the treaty signed at Washington in 1903 as follows:

"The Republic of Panama grants to the United States in perpetuity the use, occupation, and control of the land and land under water for the construction, maintenance, operation, sanitation and protection of said canal of a width of ten miles extending to the distance of five miles on each side of the centre line of the route of the canal to be constructed. . . . The Republic of Panama grants to the United States all the rights, power and authority within the zone . . . which the United States would possess and exercise if it were the sovereign of the territory . . . to the entire exclusion of the exercise by the Republic of Panama of any such sovereign right, power and authority."

Besides this, we have rights over any other land or water that may be "necessary or convenient for the construction, maintenance, operation, sanitation and protection of said canal." "This gives us a right" (which has been used) "to quell insurrections, to put down any serious disturbance, to enter every house in Colon or Panama, to inspect and reform its sanitary condition and to do about anything that needs to be done." Thus, to all intents and purposes, the most important ribbon of land in the Republic of Panama belongs to the United States. Its occupation was

forced upon us by the necessities of the canal and does not indicate any hankering on the part of the American people for other South-American possessions.

COLOMBIA.

The Republic of Colombia shares with Panama the distinction of having a front door upon two oceans. With harbors on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts, one would think that she might be a great maritime power and a serious factor among the nations of the world; but, as a matter of fact, Colombia lives the hermit life. With harbors on the east coast that Bolivia or such countries as Russia or even Montenegro would bankrupt themselves to obtain, Colombia is content to have for her capital, inaccessible Bogatá, more than a week's journey, over an almost impassable trail, from the seacoast. No wonder that the outlying portions of the republic have felt that their connection with the republic was largely nominal, and that Panama was very glad when the psychological moment came to set up housekeeping for herself.

Yet Colombia has great resources, and with a progressive government and an educated people might become one of the great nations of the world. Like so many of the other South-American republics, she has been cursed with an unstable government, and selfish men have played politics throughout all her history for their own personal advantage. She has gone from the extreme of asserted state rights to an absolute dictatorship and has suffered from all the possible varieties of government between these extremes. Some fifty years ago Colombia adopted a new constitution, the sixth she had enjoyed in thirty years. The name was changed from "New Granada" to "the United States of Colombia," which was then made up of nine independent states. One article of the constitution declared that "when one sovereign state of the union shall be at war with another, or the citizens of any state shall be at war among themselves, the national Government is obligated to preserve the strictest neutrality." It was also provided in this constitution that, "in naming the eight generals provided for by the constitution, from whom must be chosen the commander-in-chief of the army, all Colombians over twenty-one years of age shall be considered generals of the republic." The constant civil wars which would result from such extreme views of state rights could easily be predicted, and after a score

of years, during which there had been almost as many revolutions, a strong man, Raphael Nunez by name, became practically the dictator, and the United States of Colombia became the Republic of Colombia with a strong federal government. She has made but little progress and is one of the two or three comparatively hopeless and impossible nations of the southern hemisphere.

ECUADOR.

Ecuador, perhaps, may also count in this class, though she shows some signs of waking up from the sleep of ages. Guayaquil is so constantly infested with yellow fever that passengers, unless they desire to stay there, are frequently not allowed to land; but there is now on foot a movement to fight the mosquitoes and to transform this great port from a pest-house into a safe habitat of the human race, as Rio de Janeiro, Santos and Panama have been transformed. A railway has also been built from Guayaquil to Quito, and the capital city, nearly two miles above the sea, can no longer be said to be "one hundred years behind the moon," as the people of Guayaquil used to say. It is still called "the little mother of the Pope," and it is said that every fourth person you meet is a priest, a nun or an ecclesiastic of some sort; but doubtless this distinction will be lost in the progress of the years.

PERU.

Peru may justly be characterized "the Republic of Misfortune," for defeat and disaster have dogged her footsteps from the days of Pizarro until very recent times. Her early recorded history has been one of bloodshed and rapine almost inconceivable. The forty millions of people who inhabited the uplands of Peru and Ecuador were reduced, in less than a century of the awful misrule of the Spanish, to less than a million people. In spite of the natural increase, nearly ninety-eight per cent. of the people perished through violence and misrule. When at last she was able to throw off the Spanish yoke, she recovered something of her old prestige, and to this day you can see the dignified carriage and the proud bearing of the Incas of old in their decimated descendants who still occupy her vast mountain plateau.

But yet her troubles were not over. Revolution succeeded revolution, and at last in 1879 Chile, coveting her rich nitrate-fields, made war upon her and her ally Bolivia. It was a most un-

righteous war, unrighteously carried on, but Victory, for a time at least, perched on the standards of might and not of right. Peru was defeated on land and sea. Her navy was destroyed. Her capital, Lima, was sacked. Her richest territories were annexed to Chile, and she was humiliated in every possible way. But Peru learned the lesson of misfortune and grew strong by reason of her disasters. She curtailed her expenses, sought to develop her own great resources, built railroads and opened mines, established her currency on a gold basis, so that now she is the only republic in South America whose undepreciated currency is the hard metal, not even represented by bank bills of any sort.

Take it all in all, Peru is to-day a more prosperous and happy nation than ever she has been in the last four centuries of recorded history, with a still brighter prospect before her, while her successful rival, Chile, as we shall see, like the young spendthrift who comes too soon into a great inheritance, has lost much of what she gained of war and is now suffering from troubles unknown to her vanquished rival.

BOLIVIA.

Bolivia may be designated "the Isolated and the Turbulent." Since the recent war with Chile, when she sided with Peru, she has been stripped of her last yard of seacoast, and now there is no way of entering this great republic of the plateau,—the third largest in all South America, a country that covers a territory larger than France, Belgium and Holland combined,—except through alien territory. Mollendo in Peru and Antofagasta in Chile, which are rivals for the unhappy distinction of being the worst ports in the world—indeed, mere open roadsteads—furnish the only access to Bolivia.

Then one must journey for two days and two nights, crossing the Andes at an elevation almost as high as the top of Mont Blanc in order to reach La Paz, the capital. If one goes by way of Mollendo, Lake Titicaca furnishes another barrier to the traveller. This largest lake in South America must be crossed, and some sixty miles on the other side lies the strangest capital in all the world. One travels along a lofty plateau, twelve thousand feet above the sea, with scarce a habitation in sight, until, suddenly, he comes to the edge of a vast precipice, and there far

below him, twelve hundred feet from the top of the great crater, lies a city of 70,000 inhabitants, with its cathedrals, its public buildings and its many red-tiled dwellings. Most of these people are Indians, either full-blooded or half-breeds, who rejoice in wearing all the colors of the rainbow at the same time. Joseph's "coat of many colors" was scarcely a circumstance to the gorgeous array of the women of La Paz.

Shut away as the people are from the other civilized nations of the world, and even removed by almost impassable barriers from other South-American countries, it is not strange that they should have developed peculiarities that make Bolivia distinct in its national life and ideals. It has been one of the most turbulent of all the South-American republics, revolution has succeeded revolution at regular intervals, many of them bloody and disastrous. At last things came to such a desperate pass in Bolivia that England withdrew her diplomatic representatives and has for many years had no legation at La Paz, the business being done by a consular agent. To-day, however, Bolivia is by no means the most backward of the South-American states. She leads Venezuela, Colombia and Ecuador in her efforts for education and for the development of her resources. Her great copper and tin mines are wonderful magnets to draw the skill and wealth of the engineering world thither, and, in spite of many drawbacks and tremendous difficulties of access, Bolivia has doubtless a distinct and important place to fill in the sisterhood of nations.

CHILE.

If Peru is the "Republic of Misfortune," Chile may, with propriety, be called the "Fortunate Republic," for, from the beginning, she has suffered less from external attacks and internal dissensions than most of her immediate neighbors. There was little gold in her mountains to attract the cupidity of the Spanish adventurers, and Pizarro and his confrères happily left her severely alone. Her people were not killed or tortured, as were the Incas of Peru, and, though for centuries they were backward and unprogressive, they were comparatively unmolested. After a time, however, when the surface mines of Peru and Ecuador were largely exhausted, settlers turned their attention to Chile, and she had a rapid and normal development in many wealth-producing lines, chiefly agricultural and grazing. Her immi-

grants were not Spaniards alone, but English, Scotch and Germans formed a very considerable percentage of her earlier inhabitants, and they gave a stability and progressive character to the republic which few others have enjoyed. Some pages of the directories of Valparaiso and Santiago read not unlike the directories of London or Glasgow or Belfast. O'Higgins, Mackenna, Walker, Edwards, Prat, Tupper, MacClure, Ross, Cumming, Day, are still leading names, and in most of the larger towns and many smaller ones we see Edwards Street and Walker Street and Prat Plaza and O'Higgins Square. Her greatest ironclad was named for the dashing young Irish governor, "Bernardo O'Higgins"—or "Oeegins," as the Chileans pronounce it.

Perhaps tempted by her good fortune in the past and expecting an easy victory, Chile attacked the allies, Peru and Bolivia, in order to obtain the rich nitrate-fields in the provinces of Tacna and Arica. She gained her immediate object and without much difficulty, as has been said, conquered her two neighbors and seized the greatest source of their wealth. To-day she owns all the undeveloped nitrate-fields and holds the best of them at about $2,000 an acre. It is believed that there is enough nitrate known to exist to last the world, at the present rate of consumption, for more than two hundred years.

In a single month, after Chile had captured the nitrate beds from Peru, her revenues had doubled. In other words, all her customs revenues on all other articles combined are not equal to her revenue from this one article, of which she annually exports more than $30,000,000 worth. But her prosperity, as is often the case with individuals, was her undoing. She grew extravagant, her finances became unsettled, her people discontented, her easily acquired wealth was spent as easily, and her "get-rich-quick" plans landed her in the same orifice in which they have many an individual. Her currency is now greatly depreciated, and, though her recuperative powers are large, and she will doubtless regain her prestige, her ancient enemy, Peru, is to-day in better financial and industrial condition than the victor in the war of 1879.

ARGENTINA.

When we cross the Andes and come to Argentina, we find that the story of Cinderella the Princess has been almost literally repeated in the history of this great and prosperous republic. For many, many years, in the early centuries of the Spanish

dominion, Argentina was the despised and neglected sister of South America. She had no gold or silver to attract the adventurers; they were blind to her agricultural and commercial possibilities, and everything possible was done to build up the west coast states to the detriment of the east coast. A monopoly of trade was given to certain merchants of Cadiz, who made it a crime for any one to trade with Buenos Ayres, and decreed that all European exports and imports should be unloaded on the shore of the Isthmus of Panama, carried across the Isthmus, reloaded, shipped down the west coast to Callao, nearly two thousand miles, again disembarked and carried by mules over the almost inaccessible Andean passes to Argentina. Of course goods thus sent could only be sold at prohibitive prices. For a full century this fatuous policy was continued, but still Buenos Ayres persisted in growing, and the trade on the River Plate increased, though of course it was largely a contraband trade.

Gradually these oppressive laws were relaxed, and the country was allowed to grow as it would, without any encouragement, however, from the home Government; and it was not until the very end of the eighteenth century that any attention was paid by Spain to this province which, potentially, was one of the richest of all. In the first quarter of the nineteenth century Argentina, like the rest of the Spanish republics, achieved her independence, and since then Cinderella has developed into the Princess.

In many respects, it is the richest and most progressive of all the South-American republics. Brazil is the only one that can compete with Argentina, and that largely because of her vastly greater territory and larger population. There is far more *per capita* wealth, doubtless, in Argentina than in any South-American country, and Buenos Ayres must rank as one of the greatest cities of the world from whatever point we view it. It has the distinction of being a record city in more respects than one. It is the largest Spanish-speaking city in the world, the second largest Latin city, the largest of all in South America, while only two in North America exceed her in population.

Argentina is beyond everything else a great agricultural state. For 175 miles the transcontinental railroad runs without a turn or a curve over an absolutely straight and level plain, and there is but one bend in this road for several hundred miles. It is

one continuous, uninterrupted wheat-field or pasture—a field and pasture of the richest soil known to man, unless it be in our own Mississippi Valley. Thus it is pre-eminently the agricultural state of South America, and while Buenos Ayres is a city of vast commercial importance, and though it counts within its boundaries more millionaires, probably, than any city in the world, certainly of its size, the wealth of these millionaires and the commercial importance of the city depend upon the great fields of grain and the vast pastures for cattle which stretch interminably north and south and west from the city on La Plata.

URUGUAY.

Uruguay, the smallest of the South-American states, except Peru, has fewer distinctive characteristics than most of her sisters. She is largely one great cattle range. Her wealth consists in her flocks and herds, and her one port of importance, Montevideo, gives her an outlet, happily situated, to command a considerable portion of the trade of the continent.

If we sought for a distinctive name, she might be called "The Land of Revolutions," though she shares this dubious distinction with a number of her sister republics. It is said that there has been, on the average, a revolution every two years in Uruguay since her escape from the dominion of Spain, some ninety years ago. If this is not an absolutely exact tally, it is because they come so often that the count has been lost. Of late years, however, Uruguay, together with the other South-American states, has shown far more stability than her best friends believed was possible for her mercurial people, and there is really a happy vista of prosperity before her.

PARAGUAY.

Her neighbor, Paraguay, a thousand miles up the River Plate, must be reckoned with the backward and unprogressive states of South America. This is partly due to her isolated position, which shuts her off even more thoroughly from the rest of the world than Bolivia, but her checkered and unhappy history has much to do with her present condition. Few countries have been more unfortunate in their rulers than Paraguay. Though a republic in name for the last ninety years, she has been much of the time under the control of heartless and selfish dictators. Dr. Francia was one of the most odious tyrants that ever wielded, under the name of president, the supreme power of dictator. He was first

chosen, like Napoleon, whom he seemed to emulate, one of the two consuls of Paraguay. He soon pushed the other consul out of the way and became the absolute monarch of this little state. He had himself declared "Supreme Perpetual Dictator" and assumed the title "El Supremo."

His strange power has thus been graphically described:

"As he grew older, he became more solitary and ferocious. . . . His severities against the educated classes increased. He suffered from frequent attacks of hypochondria. He ordered wholesale executions, and when he died seven hundred political prisoners filled the jails. His moroseness increased year by year. He feared assassination and occupied several houses, letting no one know where he was going to sleep from one night to another and when walking the streets kept his guards at a distance before and behind. Woe to the enemy or suspect that attracted his attention! Such was the terror inspired by the dreadful old man that the news that he was out would clear the streets. A white Paraguayan dared not utter his name. During his lifetime he was 'El Supremo,' and after he was dead for generations he was referred to simply as 'El Defunto.' For years when men spoke of him they looked behind them and crossed themselves as if dreading that the mighty old man could send devils to spy upon them—at least this is the story of Francia's enemies, who have made it their business to hand his name down to execration."

He was succeeded by a still more terrible tyrant, Francisco Lopez, who embroiled his country in war with Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay. Probably no such bloody and relentless war has been recorded in modern history as this. It lasted for six years, from 1864-1870, and no less than 225,000 Paraguayan men and 100,000 adult women died in battle or of hardships and hunger. At the close of the war less than 25,000 men survived, and the women outnumbered the men five to one. For years all cultivation of the ground was brought almost to a standstill. There was no one to till the fields or care for the cattle, and though Paraguay is recovering and is enjoying a comparatively decent government to-day, it may still be considered the sorrowful sister of South America, mourning for the devoted men and women and children who were sacrificed to the lust of a bloody and unscrupulous tyrant.

BRAZIL.

It is pleasant to turn from such scenes of carnage and destruction to "Brazil, the Boundless," a country larger than the United States of America outside of Alaska, and a country with resources as varied and wealth as great, though still undeveloped,

as our own great republic. Here, on the lowlands or the high table-lands, grows everything that the temperate or tropical zones can furnish. Here are found vast waterways, great prairies and splendid cities; diamonds and precious stones, minerals and tropical products, and all things that make a country prosperous and powerful.

The development of Brazil has been far more happy and peaceful, on the whole, than that of the Spanish-speaking republics. She has never been cursed by the gold-seekers as they have, and for more than one hundred years has enjoyed a comparatively quiet and peaceful development.

Though nominally an empire, under the rule of Dom Pedro I and good Dom Pedro II, her citizens enjoyed great liberty of travel, of business and of conscience as well, and when the time came that Brazil thought she might as well set up a republic of her own, and no longer enjoy the distinction of being the only monarchy in America, the transition was effected without the shedding of a drop of blood. The good Emperor did not seek to rally a single regiment of soldiers to defend his throne, but quietly went on board the ship provided for him and sailed for Portugal, carrying in his heart a deep and abiding love for Brazil and, in spite of his dethronement, the respect and affection of the Brazilians.

Brazil is still largely an undeveloped nation, a country of illimitable resources and vast possibilities. Considering her territory, her undeveloped wealth or her opportunities to expand in the future, we may well call her "Brazil, the Boundless." In her coffee plantations alone, which practically supply the world, Brazil has a source of almost incalculable wealth.

Of all capitals that I have ever visited, Rio de Janeiro impressed me as the most beautiful for situation and with the largest possibilities for future growth. The architecture of the new Rio is superb. Within the last six years the great city has waked up, has banished "Yellow Jack," has greatly increased her wealth and population, has built miles of new streets through the very heart of the old city and has become "the City Beautiful" of the two Americas.

VENEZUELA.

But one more republic remains to be considered in this hasty purview of the eleven independent nationalities of South America.

This is the "Bad Boy" of the continent, the republic of Venezuela. Here, too, are great resources, abundant undeveloped wealth of all kinds, but an unprogressive, rebellious people, led by stiff-necked rulers. Though Castro's government has come to an end, and he is succeeded by a milder despot, yet the whole idea of government and of the dignity of a republic must be taught to this people before it can be worthy of a place in the family of nations.

Relying for immunity from chastisement upon its insignificance and inaccessibility, Venezuela has presumed upon the patience of the civilized powers more than any other country in the world. That it has escaped a whipping so long is accounted for by the same reason that the teacher often neglects to see what the "bad boy" is doing, lest the correction give him too much trouble and too largely distract the attention of the rest of the school.

I have tried to make plain in this brief account of the individuality of the South-American republics what I have learned from actually visiting most of them—that they cannot be understood unless they are studied sympathetically and each one as an integral factor among the nations of the world. You cannot reason from one to another. You cannot learn what Argentina will do or be by studying Venezuela or Colombia. The story of the development of Bolivia gives no clue to the future of Paraguay. As I have already said, they are as distinctive in their national characteristics, their aspirations, their hopes and their patriotism as the countries of Europe that lie side by side and occupy a much smaller territory than South America.

While their development will doubtless have many features in common, and while some of the republics will keep step with each other near the advance-guard of civilization, others will lag far behind. The differences between them will doubtless be accentuated more in the future than in the past. Eventually one or more of these stronger republics may so dominate and overshadow the weaker ones as to absorb their commerce and thus unite them under one flag; but that day is far distant, and doubtless any one of them, even the weakest and poorest, would to-day fight to the bitter end and die in the last ditch rather than haul down its own beloved flag or yield allegiance to any other nation.

FRANCIS E. CLARK.

THE MODERN SHORT STORY.

BY W. J. DAWSON.

I.

THE point at which any true appreciation of the short story begins is the clear perception that it is a distinct form of art; and the reason why the older novelists so rarely succeeded in the short story is that they did not apprehend this. If we bear in mind the three principles, that the short story must be complete in itself, that it is short because it cannot be long, and that it consists of a single incident, we can readily apply a critical test, which, while not infallible, nevertheless affords a valuable means of discrimination. Let us take the test of completeness and apply it to Dickens's exquisite story of "Boots at the Holly Tree Inn." The story as Dickens writes it straggles over a great variety of themes. We have an embittered lover, a detailed description of a mail-coach journey, of a snow-storm, of an inn, of his own ennui, of his own curious imaginings, elaborated in thousands of words, before he reaches the real story which the Boots at the Holly Tree has to tell. No fewer than thirty-seven pages consist of extraneous matter, while the story itself is told in thirteen pages. It is not until the Boots begins to speak that the story begins; up to this point we are engaged in the tedious reflections of Charles Dickens, mixed with a great amount of totally irrelevant detail. Dickens himself must have been conscious of these defects, for when he prepared the story for a public reading he ruthlessly cut away all about the mail-coach, the snow-storm, the struggling horses, and so forth, and came at once to the incident which the Boots repeats with so much humor and pathos. Why, then, did he not write the story in this form? Simply because he had not grasped the principle that a short story must be complete in itself. The moment he

brought his work to the test of oral and dramatic delivery this principle was discovered clearly enough. And it may be added that there is no better test of any story than to read it aloud. When a story is read aloud, the interest of the hearer is in exact proportion to the direct appeal of the story; and the inattention of the hearer is the sure indication of the lack of direct appeal. The hearer of a spoken story resents everything in the nature of excrescence; he finds mere description tedious; he is intent only on the living issue. Dickens discovered this when he submitted his work to an oral test; the true short-story writer will not need such a test to teach him the law of dramatic completeness.

In contrast let us take such a story as Kipling's "Matter of Fact," not because it is his best story, but because here also there is a great amount of description. But with Kipling the description is vital to the story, whereas in Dickens it is not. The story begins abruptly with a rapid sketch of three journalists on a tramp steamer making for Southampton. The dramatic note is instantly struck in the cry of the sweating steersman that something is wrong with the sea, that it is bewitched. To describe this sea, with its oily surface, its sudden inexplicable upheaval and run of gray water, is legitimate art, because it is all necessary to the fearful apparition of the wounded sea-serpent, flung up from the ice-cold depths of ocean by the explosion of a submarine volcano. And although the story ends in London, yet its unity is never violated; and, more wonderful still, although it ends in ridicule and humor, yet its impression of horror is not destroyed. In this case Kipling's powers of description do not hinder his story; they are not felt to be excrescence; and for this reason: that they are vitally necessary to the theme. We do not need the snow-storm and the mail-coach to explain the eloping children in Dickens's story; we do need the horror of the bewitched sea to explain the state of mind in the three journalists. We can cut away three-fourths of Dickens's story, as he himself did when he made it a public reading, without essential loss, and indeed with positive gain; we cannot spare a single sentence of Kipling's without deterioration of the total effect. The one does not obey the law of essential completeness and the other does.

Let us apply the second test, that the short story is short because it cannot be long. A good example of the reverse of this principle may be found in Hardy's great tale of "The Withered

Arm." It is a most dramatic story and may rank among the great achievements of Hardy's genius. It concerns a group of persons, each drawn with vital truth: a farmer who brings home a young and sweet woman as his bride; a wronged woman, who has a son by the farmer, and a wise man or wizard. The bride's arm withers and she loses the love of her husband. The illegitimate son commits arson and is condemned to death. The young wife goes to the gaol that she may put her withered arm on the neck of a man newly hanged, having been told by the wizard that this is an ancient form of cure. The hanged man is her husband's son, and she meets her husband as he stands overwhelmed with grief and contrition beside his son's corpse. Here is a story capable of great elaboration. Considered only as a plot, it is as full of dramatic possibilities as "Tess of the D'Urbervilles." Obviously it might have been treated with the same fulness; all that is needed is an elaboration of incidents, such as Hardy excels in; as, for example, the previous history of the wronged woman, the events leading up to the marriage of the farmer, the character of the outcast son and the general background of country life and manners. So treated, it might have taken rank with the greatest of Hardy's novels; Hardy chose to compress it within the limits of forty pages. But this compression is purely arbitrary. Its result is an abbreviated novel, but not a short story. The single incident of the woman visiting the gaol to find a cure for her disease in a horrible experiment, sanctioned by superstition, might have composed a legitimate short story; as it is the result is a miniature novel, which has all the characteristics of the novel except its length and none of the features of a short story.

If we contrast with this Quiller-Couch's story of "The Drawn Blind," we at once see the difference in method. Here also we have the story of a son who is hanged and the pathetic invulnerable faith of the mother in his innocence. These two persons, in their mutual relations, compose the entire story. The mother is so certain of the acquittal of her son that she has prepared a feast for him on his release; when the fatal verdict is announced, she extinguishes the lights and drops the blind. That is all. There is obviously not enough material here for a novel; but there is just enough for a successful short story. Spread out into a novel the interest could not be sustained; and the incident itself is so dramatic that any additional incidents would weaken the

effect. But as a short story it is perfect. It could be told in no other way. And this we may take as a sufficing test. Of the short story proper, it is always true that it could be nothing else but what it is. If it could just as well have been elaborated into a novel, it is not a short story, but only a novel in miniature.

And this gives sanction to the third principle of the short story—viz., that it consists not of several related incidents, but of one incident. In a sense this is untrue to nature, because in actual life every incident is related to some other incident, of which it is either the cause or the effect. But one can pluck a rose without investigating the secrets of its growth, and it is not necessary to trace that growth through all the series of its vicissitudes in order to be aware of its charm, its color or its fragrance. If art violates nature in giving us the unrelated incident, it is for the sound reason that art leaves much to the imagination. We may know too much as well as too little for a just appreciation of art. The great artist is he who knows how to interest without fatiguing us; who gives us just enough knowledge of his theme to invest with overwhelming significance what he chooses to reveal; who makes one's imagination the confederate with his own by leaving us to supply much which he only suggests.

Thus Dickens fails in the story already described, because he tells us more than we want to know; and many other writers fail by attempting to blend several incidents instead of centralizing the attention on one. Hardy fails for the same reason in "The Withered Arm," considered as a short story; he gives us a series of incidents legitimate enough in a novel, but confusing in a short story. But Kipling succeeds in the best of his stories by his perfect centrality of aim. He has a single situation to depict, and he is not distracted from it for a moment by any side issues. We do not want to know anything more about his three pressmen who see the dying sea-serpent than what he chooses to tell us. The central incident is the sea-serpent, and the central interest is the effect on each man's mind of what he sees. Had he told us how the three men came together, how one had gone in quest of gold to South Africa, and another had fought in a native war, and the third had explored the mountains of the Moon, however vividly he might have written, he would nevertheless have spoiled his story. No amount of fine writing could have atoned for confusion of interest. The finest writing in a

short story is that which takes us quickest to the very heart of the matter in hand.

The most characteristic note of the short story is then *immediacy*. It is of its very essence that it should be dramatic from the start. If it fails to arrest attention with its first paragraph it is likely to fail altogether. It affords no opportunity for that slow building-up of character and situation which is common in the practice of the novelist's art. This method which is perfectly legitimate and even compulsory to the novelist is wholly impossible to the short-story writer. The short story stands related to the novel very much as the vivid impressionist sketch does to the painstaking picture. The picture is built up by months of toil; its final harmony is the result of thousands of little strokes, of much stippling and repainting. But the sketch is achieved with a full brush in a confident hand and conveys its impression instantly. Oscar Wilde once said of Kipling's stories that they were "life seen by flashes of vulgarity." One may ignore the charge of vulgarity, but there is no doubt about the flash. It was by virtue of this incomparable directness, this rapid confident brush-work, that Kipling at once arrested the attention of the public. "His name was Charlie Mears"—so Kipling begins what he calls "The Finest Story in the World" without preface, without preliminary. No wonder the literary scribes and pharisees were offended in him. According to their traditions, all stories should begin by a leisurely approach, and there was something almost brutal in this abruptness. The ancient school of landscape art in the same way had a tradition that there was a certain place in a landscape where a brown tree must appear, and the tradition was held sacred until suddenly Turner startled the world with masses of living color in which no brown tree appeared. From that hour landscape art was revolutionized. And a similar revolution of literary ideals has followed the triumph of the short-story writer. He has taught the novelists themselves the value of immediacy, and, while the novelist of the older school still clings to the law of slow approach, almost all the newer writers have learned how to cut away preliminaries and to get at the heart of their story with a celerity which would have scandalized the writers of an earlier generation.

It must not be assumed, however, that because the short story occupies but a small canvas it is therefore inferior to the novel,

for this would constitute bulk as the standard of value. The entire witness of art, in all its branches, is hostile to such a conclusion. A fine intaglio may be as great a work of art as a Grecian statue; a square foot of Gerald Dow's painting is much more valuable than one of Haydon's interminable yards of canvas; and a lyric of a dozen lines of Burns is much more precious than a hundred epical pages of "The Earthly Paradise." The fact is that it is much more difficult to write a perfect short story than a successful novel. It demands superior gifts of concentration, of ingenuity, of fantasy, of originality, of dramatic intensity, of exquisite craftsmanship. The novel can afford to have its lapses, its relatively dull moments, its pages of reflection; it even gains by them, for they afford a necessary contrast to its dramatic climax. But the short story can afford to have nothing of the kind. The eagerness of its movement must be continuous and sustained. And this is, perhaps, why the regular novelist so rarely succeeds in the short story. His entire training is against him. He is usually too deliberate, too discursive; his touch is not light enough, his method is not sufficiently rapid. He frequently betrays his ignorance of his medium at every turn. He writes condescendingly or reluctantly; he makes us feel that he grudges throwing away a good *motif;* or he adopts some purely mechanical device, such as combining a series of episodes, which are neither in themselves short stories nor in their combination a true novel. The latter method was adopted by Barrie in his "Window in Thrums" and by Ian Maclaren in his "Bonnie Briar Bush." The result is not unpleasant; but the various episodes do not stand by themselves and therefore are not short stories. For no writer will ever succeed in the art of the short story who does not thoroughly understand that it is a form of art wholly separate from any other; and that it is also a form of art which is at once so difficult and delicate that it worthily challenges the highest qualities of genius.

As regards the throwing away of a good *motif,* it is undoubtedly true that a man cannot enter on the career of the short-story writer who is parsimonious in *motifs.* But the extravagance is more apparent than real, for the reason that the *motif* which makes a great short story can rarely be utilized in any other way. It is possible to expand a short story into a novel; Mr. A. E. W. Mason has done it successfully in "The Four Feathers."

It is possible to transform it into a play; Mr. Jerome has done it in the "Passing of the Third Floor Back." But such instances must be ranked with the exceptions. As a rule, the essential factor in a great short story is that it can be expressed in no other way with anything like the same success. Who would attempt to create a novel out of Kipling's sea-serpent story, out of the "Incarnation of Khrisna Mulvaney," out of "The Finest Story in the World"? We recognize at once how impossible such a feat would be. And therein lies both the claim and the justification of the short story. Life consists both of prolonged sequences and of flashing episodes. The first afford the material of the novelist, the second of the short-story writer. And life is so rich in episode to the observant and adventurous that he is much more likely to suffer from embarrassment of material than from poverty. It may be true that all the plots of the novelist have been used before, but that is only because the novelist persists in the use of a certain type of plot. But the episodical wealth of life is inexhaustible. A year's study of a daily newspaper may furnish the short-story writer with more material than he is likely to utilize in a lifetime. A face seen in a crowd, gossip overheard in a tavern, a conversation at a street door, the revelations of hostile eyes in meeting or in parting, the sudden passing of insignificant men and women across the beam of his questing searchlight—these are enough to excite his imagination, to start the wheels of fantasy; and if he will but continue to see vividly the dramatic possibilities of life, and to report truthfully what he sees, he need never lack material for the warp and woof of the stories he can spin.

II.

So long as the three-volume novel reigned supreme and magazines held to the tradition of the long serial, there was neither opportunity nor motive for the British writer to practise the art of short-story writing. But the conditions which repressed the short story in England acted powerfully for its benefit in America.

If we investigate the position of the American writer of fiction of the last century some extremely interesting facts are noticeable. The chief of these facts is that almost all the novels read by the American public were of British origin. There was no international copyright law, and the most that a British novelist could do to secure any reward from America was to sell advance

sheets of his book to an American publisher. Obviously this was a very exiguous device to protect his interests. It broke down the moment his book was pirated, which it invariably was within a few weeks of its publication in London. Not only was it pirated, but sold broadcast at extremely low prices. It is patent that the American novelist had no chance at all in this competition. Who would buy the work of a native author of local fame when he could purchase for a trifle the latest novel of Dickens or Thackeray? The result was that there was a very poor market for native fiction. The pirate publisher of those days did a great deal more than injure the British author by robbing him of his just reward; he injured yet more fatally the American author by robbing him of all chance of successful authorship.

Driven from the field of legitimate fiction by unjust competition, there was but one road to success left open to him—the magazine and the short story. Here, at least, he was free from rivalry, for here was a demand which could not be supplied from British sources. Therefore, it was to the short story that the rising school of American writers of fiction devoted their attention. Among these writers Washington Irving and Hawthorne and Poe stand supreme. Irving excelled in the brief sketch rather than the short story proper. It is only at a certain heat of the creative faculty that he attains pure narrative. Grave, wise, genial, he is apt to write with leisurely ease, in a mood of reflection rather than with directness and intensity. Hawthorne displays the same tendency, though in a much less degree. He is apt to delay his dramatic moment by philosophical observation, to be tediously analytical when the theme demands intensity, to stifle the fire of his imagination under a dull weight of pedantry. It may even be said that Hawthorne's true and fine genius often appears to work in some obstructive medium; at least that is the impression which he frequently produces on the reader. It may have been distrust of his own powers, a kind of intellectual shyness, a native difficulty in speaking out. It may have arisen in large degree from his own inborn habits of introspection and metaphysical analysis. It may have consisted of a constantly changing combination of all these forces. But whatever it was, it was there, a resisting medium which gives the sense of effort to his work. In all his best work he conquers this obstruction. And in the short story he is at his best. His outstanding claim

is that he applies a profound psychology to the art of fiction. He deals not with the surfaces of life, but with the depths. He delights in the exploration of what Arthur Hallam called "the abysmal depths of personality. He has a keen eye for the dramatic moment. His themes are uniformly significant and often of extraordinary fascination. In all that concerns the technique of the short story he is a great master. This technical excellence has been again and again recognized, and by later critics so completely that they have unhesitatingly chosen some of Hawthorne's stories as the perfect models of what a short story ought to be.

But the true creator of the modern short story in American literature is neither Irving nor Hawthorne: that honor belongs to Poe. Poe brought to his task precisely those gifts most essential to achievement: a powerful reason of unusual subtlety, an imagination of extraordinary vividness, a faculty of observation only less extraordinary, and, above all, a mind wholly free, wholly unfettered by tradition and almost insolently scornful of accepted canons. His self-confidence is superb; in a man less singularly gifted it would have been ridiculous. His originality is unquestioned; and the witness to this originality is found in the fact that he was the first man to recognize completely the artistic possibilities of the short story. He found in it a sufficient vehicle for the expression of his genius. He brought to it the highest and rarest genius not only of his age, but of his nation. Both in poetry and in short-story writing Poe stands first in the literature of America.

Poe excelled equally in three kinds of story: the story of ingenuity, the story of adventure and the story of horror. To take the first, what stories have surpassed in ingenuity the "Murders in the Rue Morgue" and the "Purloined Letter"? Here we have in its perfection the method of deduction which Conan Doyle has so successfully copied in his Sherlock Holmes. The same ingenuity, differently applied, distinguishes the great story of "The Gold-Bug." Many writers have since used cryptograms and concealed in them the secrets of hidden treasure, but there is not one who has ever surpassed Poe in this kind of story. The "Descent into the Maelstrom" and the "Adventure of Hans Pfaall" are equally unique examples of the story of adventure. The latter found an imitator in Jules Verne, but

the Frenchman's "Voyage to the Moon" is a dreary pedestrian performance compared with the imaginative daring of Poe's narrative. In the story of horror no one has ever pretended to rival him; and it may be questioned if Stevenson would ever have written "Markheim" had not Poe first written the "Tell-Tale Heart." The mere fact that we can thus trace the influence of Poe among the most recent and the greatest of modern story-writers is conclusive evidence of his profound originality. His was a truly seminal mind fecund with ideas. Without models, without a single counselling voice and without any real recognition or encouragement, he discovered the value of the short story, endowed it with form and method, devoted his rare gifts to its perfection and did each of these things so completely that his own stories have become classic, the value of his method has never been disputed and the form which he gave the short story has become the model of succeeding writers.

Perhaps, however, the chief contribution of Poe to the art of the short story lies not so much in form or method as in fantasy. Thus in the "Murders in the Rue Morgue" he fails in immediacy. Again, in "The Gold-Bug" the interest is wrought to the highest pitch when the treasure is found, and the explanation of the cryptogram, infinitely ingenious as it is, coming *after* the finding of the treasure, has the effect of an anti-climax. Kipling, telling the same story, would probably have commenced with the discovery of the cryptogram and have found a true climax in the finding of the treasure. But this is, after all, to say no more than that the technique of the short story has advanced with the practice of the art. The unique claim of Poe is that he endowed the short story with fantasy. He gave it wings, opened the heavens of imagination to it, made it almost a form of poetry and put it on the highest level of literary art. One fault he had which cannot be excused: he took a morbid delight in the horrible. This is a constant temptation to the short-story writer. It arises from the need to produce an instant and deep impression; and such an impression is most readily produced by an illicit appeal to fear. Stevenson makes this appeal in "Thrawn Janet"; Kipling in many of his stories, notably "The Return of Imray"; Fanu almost always. In going over the vast literature of short stories, it has been a surprise to the writer to discover how many of them are stories of pure terror. That such stories may have

qualities of art is undeniable; yet simply because the appeal to terror is so easily made, it is a kind of appeal which should be very sparingly used. The use which Poe makes of it is constant and therefore illicit. This is his chief fault. Yet against it must be reckoned his extraordinary power of fantasy, and this gift raises his worst theme into the realm of the creative imagination. Poe was essentially a poet, a poet whose genius moved habitually on the darker side of life and was deeply tainted by the morbid and the abnormal. It is because he was so essentially a poet that even an illicit theme is redeemed by the wonderful splendor of the imagination with which he bathes it.

For, after all, technique is not everything, a truth upon which some insistence needs to be laid to-day because its value is often overestimated. Thus, for example, in what must certainly be reckoned as one of the greatest of all Kipling's stories, "The Man Who would be King," there is a wilful disregard of the law of immediacy which he uses in many shorter stories with such superb effect. This story has three distinct episodes. The first concludes on the railway station at Marwar Junction when he delivers Carnehan's enigmatic message to the red-bearded man in the second-class compartment. The second begins in the newspaper office when Carnehan and Dravot unfold their daring plan of becoming Kings and ends with the starting of the Afghan caravan. The third, which contains the real story, occurs three years later, when Carnehan relates the marvellous adventures of himself and Dravot in Kafiristan, and concludes with that noble touch of fantasy when Carnehan stands in the blinding sun singing:

> "The Son of God goes forth to war
> A golden crown to gain,
> His blood-red banner streams afar
> Who follows in His train."

The laws of technique are violated, but surely it would be the merest pedantry to insist that therefore this is not a true short story. The sympathetic reader, thrilled with its pathos and its daring, astonished by its imaginative power, conscious of its Homeric bigness, will at once reply that it is at all events a great story, that it is indeed among the greatest of all stories in the English tongue, and he would be right. No, technique is not everything. It is no more than the servant of the shaping

creative force and must not be allowed to be its master. If it be not elastic enough to serve the end of the creative force, that force will certainly discard and transcend it. By all means let the writer study technique; it is as useful to him as the life class and the art school are to the artist. But let him also recollect that technique alone never yet made a great artist. It is at best but the weapon of success; for while a writer may succeed with an imperfect knowledge of technique, it is certain that he cannot succeed without the creative imagination. To forget this is to magnify the lesser things of the law and to forget the eternal verities.

And this is but to say in plainer language that in all forms of literary art, it is personality that counts for most. Great writing is always the expression of great personality. It is well to be acquainted with the unities of composition, but if that is all we know nothing awaits us but barrenness and failure. When a Shakespeare arises, he pours such floods of flame into the old dramatic forms that they are utterly dissolved, and none regret them but the pedants, with whom form counts for more than spirit. Here, as elsewhere, it is the letter that killeth, it is the spirit that giveth life. The cardinal questions to be addressed to a writer of short stories are these: Has he any vital message to communicate? Has he any sincere experience to impart? Has he seen life for himself, from his own angle of vision, and seen it truthfully and completely? Has he the creative force that makes us see what he sees, feel what he has felt, comprehend what he has comprehended? These are the inexorable questions, and the greatest writers of short stories have been those who could answer them most thoroughly. Such interrogations are not to be evaded on the plea of technique; personality transcends technique. The short story, more than any other form of literature, must have individuality; and to have it it must be impregnated with the personality of the writer. It is from this source that it derives its color, its charm, its power to arrest and please. Poe and Kipling, Stevenson and Hawthorne, write nothing that is not impregnated with personality, and this is the deepest secret of their fame. The most miraculous color in the picture is always that which is derived from the life-blood of the artist.

W. J. Dawson.

SALE OF AMERICAN SECURITIES IN FRANCE.

BY FRANK D. PAVEY.

In connection with a recent negotiation with French bankers I found it necessary to investigate the question of the sale of American securities in France. This question is of interest to American bankers and promoters who have securities or enterprises for sale, and to French bankers and investors who are constantly seeking new channels for the safe and profitable investment of the great savings of the French people. It is estimated that the savings of the French people available for investment amount to $400,000,000 yearly. It is the opinion of men well informed upon the subject that the French market would absorb American securities to the amount of $100,000,000 a year if American bankers and corporations would comply with the requirements of the French law in regard to the sale of foreign securities in France, and if the form and character of the securities were made to conform to the ideas and customs of French bankers and investors.

There are no insuperable legal difficulties in the way of the introduction and sale of American securities in France. This is particularly true in regard to bonds, for reasons which will appear in the course of this article. The payment of the taxes required by law on the issue and sale of securities in France imposes a burden upon the business which must be paid out of the profits. These taxes are as follows:

1. *Droit de timbre.* This is a stamp tax on the issue of securities by a corporation. In the case of a foreign corporation, it is collected only on those securities which the corporation proposes to offer for sale in France. It may be paid in one instalment or by annual payments during the life of the corporation issuing the securities. If paid annually, the tax is 6 centimes on 100

francs of nominal value. This is equivalent to 6 cents on $100 of par value, or $6 upon 100 shares of the par value of the par of $100 each. On an issue of $1,000,000 of securities for sale in France this annual charge is $600. In the case of a French corporation, if the life of the corporation does not exceed ten years, this tax may be paid in one payment of 60 centimes on each 100 francs of nominal value; 60 cents on each $100 of par value. If the life of the corporation exceeds ten years, the tax may be paid in one instalment of 1 franc 20 centimes on each 100 francs of nominal value; $1.20 on each $100 of par value. If a foreign company pays this tax in one instalment, the rate is higher, being two per cent. of the nominal value, or $2 on each $100 of par value. It is the only point in which the taxes on the securities of a foreign corporation are greater than the taxes on the securities of a French corporation.

2. *Impôt sur le revenu.* The dividends on shares and the interest on bonds are subject to an annual tax of four per cent. on the amount of the dividends or interest. This is a tax of four per cent. on incomes derived from the securities of corporations. In the case of a bond of $1,000 paying interest at five per cent., this tax will amount to $2 yearly. The net income will be 4.8 per cent. instead of 5 per cent. This tax is also levied on the annual payments for amortization of the principal by means of a sinking fund.

3. *Droit de transmission.* This is a tax upon the transfer of securities. In the case of securities payable to bearer, this tax is levied not as a tax on each transfer, but as an annual tax on the right of transfer, and amounts to 20 centimes for each 100 francs of value. This is equivalent to 20 cents on each $100 of value—one-fifth of one per cent. of the value of the securities. This value is intended to be the actual value and is based on the average price of the security during the preceding year. If the securities are "*nominatif*"—that is, payable to a person named in the certificate — the tax is levied on the actual transfer and amounts to 50 centimes on each 100 francs (50 cents on each $100) of the value indicated by the last quoted price.

The question whether it is more advantageous for a French investor to have a security payable to bearer or to a person named in the certificate depends on the permanence of his investment. If he knows that he will keep his investment more than two

and a half years, he can afford to have it "*nominatif.*" Most investors do not wish to have securities that they cannot freely sell at any time on a plane of equality with other holders of the same securities. This presents one difficulty to the sale of American shares of stock in France. American corporations issue shares of stock to persons named in the certificates. In the case of the Utah Copper Company and the United States Rubber Company, the French bankers adopted the device of depositing the shares with a Trust Company in New York and issuing certificates of deposit entitling the bearer to all dividends and to the certificates of stock on surrender of the certificates of deposit.

Foreign corporations are required to appoint a responsible representative acceptable to the Minister of Finance who will guarantee the payment annually of all three taxes.

The French Government does not make it difficult for a foreign corporation to sell its securities in France so far as the payment of taxes is concerned. The principal difficulty is the practical one of placing American securities in the hands of French investors after the taxes have been paid and all practical requirements as to the form of securities and legal requirements in regard to the registration of the corporation have been fulfilled.

This practical difficulty in regard to the placing of foreign securities in the hands of actual investors grows out of the organization of the business of investments in France. Formerly there existed throughout France many private bankers through whom individual investors made their purchases of stocks and bonds. Some still exist, but in general these local private bankers have been driven out of business by the organization of large central banks *(Sociétés de Crédit)* with many agencies or branches. This system of organization exists in all the principal cities of France. The following examples will indicate the character of these organizations. The Crédit Lyonnais, with a capital of 250,000,000 francs, has its principal office and forty-four agencies in Paris and nine agencies in the suburbs of Paris. The Comptoir National d'Escompte de Paris, with a capital of 200,000,000 francs, has its principal office and thirty-four agencies in Paris and thirteen agencies in the suburbs of Paris. The Société Générale, with a capital of 300,000,000 francs, has its principal office and fifty-four agencies in Paris and thirty-three agencies

in the suburbs of Paris. Each has one or more agencies at Bordeaux, Lille, Lyon, Marseilles, Nantes, Toulouse and elsewhere.

The organization of these great banks has had the advantage of giving to the French people the benefits of greater conservatism in the recommendation of securities to French investors. This advantage has been purchased, however, at the cost of a disadvantage. It has had the double effect of reducing the income received by French investors in stocks and bonds and of depriving enterprising Frenchmen of the use of French capital for the establishment of new and small industries. Formerly the local private bankers could and would make a personal investigation of a new or small industry and recommend to their clients to take a share in such an enterprise if they deemed it worthy of their approval. Among such enterprises there will be always many failures due to bad judgment or bad direction. These failures impose losses upon the investors who purchase shares of the enterprises which fail. Investors in those which are successful receive much larger returns on their investments. The rates of interest and dividends in such enterprises are very much larger than those paid by the bonds and stocks sold to their customers by the great banking companies which have absorbed the business of these local private bankers. The manager of a branch of a great bank can be entrusted with the responsibility of discounting commercial paper and making loans upon securities which have been approved by the central office. The Board of Directors will not in general entrust to the manager of a branch the discretion of making investments in new and small enterprises. The business is not large enough to command the attention of the central office. The result is that the small French industries get little assistance from the great French banks.

In order, therefore, to effect the immediate sale of any very large amount of foreign securities to French investors, it is necessary to secure the co-operation of one or more of these great banking institutions or of one or more of the large business banks *(banques d'affaires)* which follow the general leadership of the great institutions so far as their business permits. Smaller issues of securities may be sold through the medium of smaller business banks or private bankers. The process is slower, but the business is on the increase. The higher rate of interest obtainable in such securities appeals to the thrift, but excites the fear, of investors.

Another difficulty which confronts the foreign corporation seeking to sell securities in France is the question of the admission of the securities to quotation on an exchange. The French investor may intend to keep his securities, but he likes to know that he can sell them and at what price.

Some banking institutions maintain an arbitrary rule that they will not offer for sale to their clients securities which do not secure the privilege of official quotation on the Bourse. Others are less strict in their requirements and are willing to offer for sale securities which have been admitted to quotation on the "Coulisse." This calls for an explanation of the character of the Bourse and the "Coulisse," and of the objections which are made to the admission of American securities to quotation in the French market.

The Bourse is an official organization. It was originally created in 1724. The members of the Bourse are designated as "*agents de change*" and are "ministerial officers." The number is limited to seventy at the present time. They elect each year a board of management *(chambre syndicale)* of seven members. The Minister of Finance has by law the right to prohibit the admission of any securities to official quotation on the Bourse. In practice the result is that no securities are admitted to sale and quotation on the "parquet" or floor of the Bourse without the approval of the Minister of Finance.

The market in the "Coulisse," or lobby, had an origin much similar to that of the market "on the curb" in New York. It grew, however, in importance and dignity until it has now a complete and perfect organization under the title of the "*Marché en Banque*" and transactions on the "Coulisse" are recognized by law. The new "Coulisse" is organized in three groups: (1) the market for Government bonds *(Marché de la Rente);* (2) the market for the sale of securities on time *(Marché des Valeurs à Terme);* (3) the market for the sale of securities for cash *(Marché au Comptant).* Each of these separate markets is under the direction of a separate committee or syndicate of bankers *(chambre syndicale).* A security may be admitted to quotation in one market without being admitted to the other.

Admission to quotation on the "Coulisse" does not require the official sanction of the Minister of Finance. The practice exists of ascertaining unofficially whether there is any reason of a fiscal or diplomatic character which leads the Minister of Finance

to object to the admission of a foreign security. His unofficial disapproval would probably lead to the refusal of admission of the security to quotation, although that fact might not be given as the reason.

The reasons which may lead a Minister of Finance to withhold his approval relate to questions which are difficult of general application to foreign securities. They may vary greatly at different times and in regard to different countries or different securities. They may relate to the character of the security. The Minister of Finance may consider them of too speculative a character to put before the French people with the stamp of his approval. They may relate to international commerce, international finance or diplomacy. The approval of a large volume of securities proposed from one country might be withheld because the Government of France for reasons of diplomacy wished to assist another Government in placing a large loan among French investors. The suggestion is made that at the present time it would be difficult to secure the approval of the Minister of Finance to the admission of any American securities to quotation on the Bourse by reason of the disturbance caused to French commerce and industry by the recent American tariff law. The character of these reasons is such that they cannot be anticipated from time to time and may suddenly change without reference to the intrinsic merits of the securities.

There are, however, objections to the admission of American securities to quotation on the Bourse and on the *Marché des Valeurs à Terme* of the "Coulisse" which are of a more permanent character:

1. Transactions on the Bourse in Paris commence at noon and close at three. There is a difference of five hours and ten minutes in time between Paris and New York. When the Bourse closes at three o'clock in the afternoon, it is ten minutes to ten o'clock in the forenoon at New York. The Stock Exchange in New York opens at ten and closes at three by New York time. In French time transactions in American securities on the Stock Exchange at New York commence at ten minutes past three and close at ten minutes past eight. In the event of a sudden rise or fall in the prices of American securities on the New York Stock Exchange, a considerable number of French brokers or speculators in American securities on the Bourse who happily closed their

business at three o'clock might find themselves insolvent at ten minutes past eight, having had no opportunity in the mean time to protect themselves by covering their contracts in their own market. The "*Agents de Change*" and their customers who are engaged in active speculation do not wish to subject themselves to this risk. Nominally, the same difficulty exists between London and New York. Practically the danger does not exist by reason of the custom in London of trading in American securities "in the Street" after the close of the Stock Exchange. Formerly there existed in Paris the "*Petite Bourse du Soir*" ("Little Bourse of the Evening"), but it was suppressed in 1892 in the process of the organization of the "Coulisse" in its modern form.

2. Another difficulty of a similar character is due to the practice of monthly or bimonthly settlements or "liquidations" on the Bourse and on the "Coulisse." The right to daily settlements between brokers and their customers does not exist in Paris. When a broker has given credit to another broker or customer by accepting and executing his order for the purchase or sale of securities, he must continue to extend his credit until settlement day. The customer may have two weeks or a month, as the case may be, in which to become insolvent before his creditor can make a test of his solvency by requiring a settlement. The French brokers and bankers regard American securities as subject to violent fluctuation. If these securities are admitted to sale on the Bourse and "Coulisse" they will be objects of speculation. The French bankers and brokers do not wish to take the risk of extending credit to customers who are speculating in securities of this highly inflammable character.

These two objections do not apply to the admission of securities to quotation on the *Marché au Comptant* (market for cash) of the "Coulisse."

3. Some large international banking-houses, having transactions both in New York and in Paris, are opposed to the general introduction of American securities to quotation on the Bourse or the "Coulisse." Their reason for this is that it introduces an additional element of fluctuation into the French market. At the present time the French market is mainly influenced by European conditions or considerations. If American securities were generally quoted on the Bourse a violent decline in the American market might cause a sympathetic decline in European

securities at a time when it would not otherwise occur. On the contrary, a decline in European securities due to European complications might and probably would be accompanied by an appreciation in the value of American securities due to the increased value of American agricultural and industrial products. As long as the two markets are kept separate, each constitutes an insurance against accidents in the other in favor of banking-houses having transactions in both.

It is difficult to make practical suggestions of a general character which will aid bankers and promoters in finding entrance to the French market. Each case will present new features. There are few precedents for the admission of American securities to quotation, either on the Bourse or the "Coulisse." The only American securities quoted on the Bourse are the Pennsylvania three-and-one-half-per-cent. bonds and the New York, New Haven & Hartford four-per-cent. bonds. The only American securities admitted to quotation on the "Coulisse" are the certificates of deposit of shares of the United States Rubber Company and the Utah Copper Company. It is reported by cable that the St. Louis and San Francisco general-lien five-per-cent. bonds have been approved for quotation on the "Coulisse."

In the case of new issues, bankers and promoters who wish to offer securities for sale in the French market will do well to lay the foundation for that purpose by the insertion of suitable clauses in the bonds and mortgage which will anticipate some of the difficulties.

FRANK D. PAVEY.

THE TYRANNY OF THE PILL.

BY ELIZABETH BISLAND.

FIFTY years ago one of the dearest possessions of every well-nurtured, properly mounted home was the "Family Pill." There was also, of course, a well-stocked medicine-closet containing all the simpler drugs and a pair of druggist's scales, and the doctor was called in only for extreme exigencies. If one had an ear-ache a teaspoonful of sweet-oil was warmed over the flame of a candle, three drops of laudanum added—which mamma blended with a convenient hair-pin—the whole mess was decanted into the distressed member, a pledget of cotton batting corked it into place, and that was the end of it. If one was "chilling," cholagogue was administered by the ample tablespoonful, or quinine in powders was got down by the aid of jam. For an unidentified pain in one's little insides which refused to yield to the soothings of a bag of hot salt, the scales weighed out an eighth of a grain of morphine; and castor-oil, "blue-mass" and paregoric were set on the track of most of the flesh's ills and chased each other, and incidentally the ailment, all about one's helpless nineteenth-century interior. But the family pill was the specific relied upon for nine out of ten maladies. It was usually some simple compound, such as calomel, rhubarb and Dover's powders, put together by the booted, hard-riding family doctor to save himself from useless night calls, and each household could produce irrefragable evidence of the almost miraculous potency of its own particular combination.

It may be noted in passing that the family pill was an hereditary treasure and always descended in the female line. Its establishment in a new household was after this fashion: Of course *his* mamma supplied the bridegroom with his due equipment of the compound of his own ancestors and solemnly warned him

to take no other; and equally of course the bride included *her* mamma's medicament among her bridal furnishings. It was in the days that wives vowed to obey, and when Angelina knew her first discomfort she meekly submitted to being dosed with the pill-in-law, piously murmuring that her existence was of so little real moment it hardly mattered if she jeopardized it by using the wrong medicines. But when Edward came down with a cold, or suffered from over-eating, she rose in her might, like a lioness defending her whelps, and declared that, while *she* might palter with her health to please her mother-in-law, Edward's darling existence should be defended by the extremest resources of medical science; her own family pill-box was called into use, and thereafter it dominated the new household without further question. For fifty years ago was a period of slack water. The power of the priest was just about to ebb, and the rising tide of the influence of the physician was hardly yet observed. Since then one has seen very nearly a complete substitution of the domination over the minds of the public of the healer of the body, displacing the shepherd of souls.

One of the odd mediæval survivals of the Catholic Church has been the recent placing upon the Index Expurgatorius of the works of Charles Henry Lea. Mr. Lea has devoted a long, laborious life to writing a record and analysis of the Inquisition, and the curious feature of the episode is that the Church does not perceive that any candid student of Mr. Lea's books must arise from them with a new tolerance and understanding of the origin of the Holy Office, realizing for the first time that the Inquisition had not its origin in mere cruelty and bigotry. The Protestant world has considered that institution heretofore as an almost incredible example of human baseness masquerading in the garments of religion. But the wise student of the history of mankind grows to realize, as the fruit of a faithful study of human behavior, that man in all generations is sincere in his efforts to do right, no matter how hideous and crooked, how blind and mistaken, may have been his fumblings toward his ideals of truth and justice. That the Inquisition was no exception to this rule is the new point of view which Mr. Lea's patient examination demonstrates.

The greatest preoccupation of Europe — once the theory of Christian dogma was generally accepted — was with the health

and salvation of souls, and the organized Church became the official guardian of this way of salvation. As always with official bodies its tendency was inevitably to solidify its power, to organize into a rigid system and to reprobate all opposition to its decrees. It would seem to be impossible for any hierarchy to remain flexible to expansion and growth in its own organism; to yield without a struggle to fresh conceptions of its treasured tenets, and the Christian Church proved no exception to this rule. When the revival of classic letters woke a moral unrest in Europe and aroused questions in thoughtful minds as to the finality of their previous intellectual and ethical decisions, the Church set itself obstinately in opposition to all readjustments. Had it recognized the inevitableness of some change to allow for the play of new needs and new growth, it might have led and directed the readjustment and spared Europe floods of tears and blood. But for the Church to have seen the wisdom of such a course would have been to prove the infallibility it claimed; this being a counsel of perfection to which no priesthood has yet arisen.

On its behalf, however, Mr. Lea shows as its excuse that the moral and mental flux resultant from the inflow of new ideas had upon many the intoxication of madness. No experiment was too fantastic to be tried. Sects sprang up like mushrooms, each outdoing the last in the eccentricity of its creed in the endeavor to find some solution of the new moral and political problems—some clothing large enough for the growing spirit. Unaccustomed liberty of thought led some of these sects so far astray as to threaten the whole fabric of society. The Inquisition in Germany had its origin in the endeavor of the Government to control one of these new religions which professed a complete anarchy, the members displaying the faith that was in them by refusing to wear any clothes at all. It was one of the many pathetic human efforts to return to that mythical state of natural innocence and freedom. The members of the sect firmly resisted all restraints of either love or limbs, and no persuasion inducing them to observe any demands of public decency, the Government seized these literal-minded pre-Adamites and delivered them to the Church to be disciplined.

Looking back upon it now, it is easy to see how proper and reasonable those first attempts to restrain anarchical license seemed to the Church, and how inevitably the power delegated

to it degenerated into the horrors of the later Inquisition. Intoxicated in its turn, it became unable to see that Luther, Erasmus and Calvin were not anarchists, but wise, far-seeing men, who if encouraged instead of persecuted would, far from founding schisms, have slowly pruned off abuses and enlarged the garments of a creed grown too narrow for such thinkers as Bruno and Galileo.

In the latter half of the nineteenth century the world had grown to be only mildly interested in its soul, and to be considerably more concerned about the health of its body. Gradually the power and influence of the priesthood has drifted into the hands of the doctors. For the tyranny of the crozier has been substituted the tyranny of the pill, not that naïve, independent little family bolus of yore which even a layman might administer, but the whole great system of medicine which has become more and more specialized into the hands of the medical hierarchy, who, as the priests did before them, more and more force the laity to receive salvation only through their hands and frown upon individual judgment. The doctors receive more real and more intimate confessions than are made in church, and the average layman is more dominated by his medical director than by his spiritual pastor. While the churches cry aloud for frequenters and go to the highways and hedges to compel congregations to come in, with inducements of instruction, amusement and alms as a bribe to fill empty fanes, the offices of the doctors are besieged all the days of the week. Hospitals and sanitariums command millions for their ever-growing demands, while the Ladies' Aid Societies take in sewing to pay off mortgages on the churches. The priests starve, while the medical specialists make fortunes. A new serum or a new bacteriological discovery is announced in big head-lines on the front page of the newspapers as pre-eminently important news, and great physicians sit in the councils of Government and dictate laws, as did bishops and cardinals in the Middle Ages. The doctor and his devoted acolyte, the trained nurse, officiate more and more absolutely between the laity and the sources of bodily salvation. One hardly dares put on a bit of court-plaster for one's self, and the mind of the world, obsessed by a universal hypochondria, is as concerned with the subtleties of hygiene and diet as was the mind of the past with the mysteries of grace and free will.

Just as in the past the physicians of the soul set up a barrier between the layman and the fount of spiritual healing, demanding that all approach to the deity should be made through their official agency, so the doctors assume that it is better that one should perish under official auspices than recover by heretical means. For though they are supposedly the leaders of progress and scientific thought, the temptations of great power are as potent to them as to the ecclesiastic, and obstinacy and bigotry set the same pitfalls for their feet. They are as prone as were the bishops to feel that all advance emanating from outside of their hierarchy is dangerous, and they yield as reluctantly to new ways of reaching the old ends.

As the Renaissance awoke doubt and unrest in matters spiritual, so in matters of bodily health the world is now seething with revolt and heresy. Mankind will not allow any hierarchy wholly to dominate its search for salvation. No doubt the majority of the medical faculty are skilful and high-minded men, as it is safe to believe the bulk of the ecclesiastics were virtuous and pious at the period of the Reformation, yet undeniable abuses crept into the Church as a result of unbridled domination, and the Reformation was needed to correct them. The Church, in answer to its critics, could point to its thousands of humble parish priests, pious, charitable, virtuous; as medicine can suggest its multitude of kind, honest, helpful country doctors. It could, like the doctors, speak of its multitudes of doles to the poor, and recall its brave missionary martyrs who died in exile for the faith, as missionary doctors die martyrs in exploring the uncharted lands of new remedies. Yet all this was not enough in the Church, nor is it enough in medicine, and the reformation must certainly come, though the medical faculty see the need of it no more than the priests did. Then, as now, the outward conformity was almost complete, and the priest never appeared more powerful and secure. He saw no more menace in the cynical proverbs current among the people than the doctor does in the many bitter sayings among the laymen, such as the oft-quoted, "The operation was a brilliant success, though, of course, the patient died"; nor did he attribute any more importance than the doctor does to the stories that pass *sotto voce* from lip to lip in bitter but smothered indignation. Stories of ignorance, of carelessness, of medical dishonesty or obstinacy, of reckless experi-

mentation upon patients, and more than all of the professional etiquette that for "the honor of the profession" covers up unpardonable mistakes. The medical profession, as a whole, is so justly powerful and respected that it is difficult to find a public opportunity to point out that it, no more than lawyers or clergymen, should be above criticism; and the profession itself is as impatient of any question, any lésé-medicine, as were the pre-Reformation priests.

But, after all, the world at large is concerned not nearly so much with the reputation of a class of men as with the safety of its own health and life, and it is demonstrating in many ways that it will seek its own good regardless of all professions. It has not forgotten that both Harvey and Jenner felt the weight of medical opposition, and that almost every attempt to find new paths of escape from disease has met the combined opposition of the doctors until the public forced an acceptance. Homeopathy still remains a schism, though it is owing to its tenets that the old *régime* of cupping, bleeding, blistering, drenching and purging has been profoundly ameliorated and modified. Fifty years ago a young Southern doctor was driven from New York into obscurity by the united violence of medical disapproval, because he was experimenting with a system of rubbings in certain cases, and thereafter he only dared practise his theories in secret. Yet to-day massage is accepted as a valuable adjunct to surgery and drugs.

The heresy of Christian Science has flourished so exceedingly that the Church is beginning to adopt it as a new claim upon the reluctant multitude, and medicine, bullied out of its blind opposition by the public, is at last undertaking to cut away the superstitions and avail itself of the valuable elements of the mental therapy that lie at the core of it. The old magnetic healer now has his rival in the regular school of medicine, who finds that hypnotism is a powerful addition to drugs in some cases, and even the Fletcher system of diet and mastication has forced itself upon the doctor's notice. The bitterest fight of all has been made against the osteopaths, who, in spite of the road having been contested inch by inch, have induced more than half the States to legalize their practice, to examine them through the same State Medical Boards which examine the regular physicians ere permitting them to practise, and to place osteopaths be-

fore the law in an equal position with the "regular" school. This has been dictated to the legislators, in spite of the furious opposition of the doctors, by the public, convinced by demonstration of the value of this new therapy. Yet the regular physicians still decline to recognize the osteopaths, refuse to permit them to practise in any hospital, or to call any trained nurse who attends an osteopathic patient, in spite of which the schools of this new system cannot train its practitioners rapidly enough to supply the demand.

That the Holy Office of medical prejudice has had its uses in suppressing fantastic quacks, as wrong-headed and dangerous as the religious fanatics of the Middle Ages, only proves the above-mentioned contention that men usually begin with a desire to seek truth and justice, but that, given great power, the temptation to tyranny is well-nigh unescapable. More candid, more open-minded, less given to hierarchical solidity and bigotry, the physicians would avoid the errors of the Church's example and avail themselves of what was sane and valuable in these new discoveries, instead of forcing continual schisms by reckless opposition to all advance and change not inaugurated under their own auspices.

ELIZABETH BISLAND.

SAINT-GAUDENS

BY ROBERT UNDERWOOD JOHNSON.

I.

Uplands of Cornish! Ye, that yesterday
Were only beauteous, now are consecrate.
Exalted are your humble slopes, to mate
Proud Settignano and Fiesole,
For here new-born is Italy's new birth of Art.
In your belovèd precincts of repose
Now is the laurel lovelier than the rose.
Henceforth there shall be seen
An unaccustomed glory in the sheen
Of yonder lingering river, overleant with green,
Whose fountains hither happily shall start,
Like eager Umbrian rills, that kiss and part,
For that their course will run
One to the Tiber, to the Arno one.

O hills of Cornish! chalice of our spilled wine,
Ye shall become a shrine,
For now our Donatello is no more!
He who could pour
His spirit into clay, has lost the clay he wore,
And Death, again, at last,
Has robbed the Future to enrich the Past.
He, who so often stood
At joyous worship in your Sacred Wood,

He shall be missed
As autumn meadows miss the lark,
Where Summer and Song were wont to keep melodious tryst.
His fellows of the triple guild shall hark
For his least whisper in the starry dark.
Here, in his memory, Youth shall dedicate
Laborious years to that unfolding which is Fate.
By Beauty's faintest gleams
She shall be followed over glades and streams.
And all that is shall be forgot
For what is not;
And every common path shall lead to dreams.

II.

Poet of Cornish, comrade of his days:
When late we met,
With his remembrance how thine eyes were wet!
Thy faltering voice his praise
More eloquently did rehearse
Than on his festal day thy liquid verse.
Since once to love is never to forget,
Let us defer our plaint of private sorrow
Till some less unethereal to-morrow.
To-day is not the poet's shame
But the dull world's; not yet
Shall it be kindled at the living flame
Whose treasured embers
Ever the world remembers.
Not so the sculptor—his immediate bays
No hostile climate withers or delays.
Let us forego the debt of friendly duty;
A nation newly is bereft of beauty.
Sing with me now his undeferrèd fame,—
For Time impatient is to set
This jewel in his country's coronet.
When all men with new accent speak his name,
And all are blended in a vast regret,
There is no place for grief of thee or me:
One reckons not the rivers in the sea.
Sing not to-day the hearth despoiled of fire:

Ours be the trumpet, not the lyre.
Death makes the great
The treasure and the sorrow of the State.
Nor is it less bereaved
By what is unachieved.
Oh, what a miracle is Fame!
We carve some lately unfamiliar name
Upon an outer wall, as challenge to the sun;
And half its claim
Is deathless work undone.
Although the story of our art is brief,
Thrice in the record, at a fadeless leaf,
Falls an unfinished chapter; thrice the flower
Closed ere the noonday glory drank its dew;
Thrice have we lost of promise and of power—
The torch extinguished at its brightest hour—
His comrades all, for whom he twined the rue.
But though they stand authentic and apart
This is in our new land the first great grief of Art.

III.

Yet, sound for him the trumpet, not the lyre—
Him of the ardent, not the smouldering, fire:
Whose boyhood knew full streets of martial song
When the slow purpose of the throng
Flamed to a new religion, and a soul.
He knew the lure of flags; caught first the far drums' roll;
Thrilled with the flash that runs
Along the slanted guns;
Kept time to the determined feet
That ominously beat
Upon the city's floor
The firm, mad rhythm of war.
With envious enterprise
He saw the serried eyes
That, level to the hour's demand,
Looked straight toward Duty's promised land.
Then to be boy was to be prisoned fast
With the great world of battle sweeping past
While every hill and hollow

Heard the heart-melting music, calling "Follow!"
The day o'erbrimmed with longing, and the night
With beckoning dreams of many a dauntless fight,
As though doomed heroes summoned us to see
Thermopylæs and Marathons.
—Ah, had he known who was to be
Their laureate in bronze!

But who can read To-morrow in To-day?
Fame makes no bargain with us, will not say
Do thus, and thou shalt gain, or thus and lose;
Nay, will not let us for another choose
The trodden and the lighted way.
She burns the accepted pattern, breaks the mould,
Prefers the novel to the old,
Revels in secrets and surprise;
And while the wise
Seek knowledge at the sages' gate
The schoolboy by a truant path keeps rendezvous with Fate.

IV.

This is the honey in the lion's jaws:
That from the reverberant roar
And wrack of savage war
Art saves a sweet repose, by mystic laws
Not by long labor learned
But by keen love discerned;
For this it bears the palm:
To show the storms of life in terms of calm.
Not what he knew, but what he felt,
Gave secret power to this Celt.
Master of harmony, his sense could find
A bond of likeness among things diverse,
And could their forms in beauty so immerse
That, to the enchanted mind,
Ideal and real seem a single kind.

Behold our gaunt Crusader, grimly brave,
The swooping eagle in his face,
The very genius of command,

And her not less, with her imperious hand,—
The herald Victory holding equal pace.
Not trulier in the blast
Moves prow with mast;
Line mates with flowing line, as wave with following wave—
Rider and homely horse
Intent upon their course
As though she went not with them. Near or far
One is their import: she the dream, the star—
And he the prose, the iron thrust—of War.

V.

So, on the travelled verge
Of storied Boston's green acropolis
That sculptured music, that immortal dirge
That better than towering shaft
Has fitly epitaphed
The hated ranks men did not dare to hiss!
When Duty makes her clarion call to Ease
Let her repair and point to this:
Why seek another clime?
Why seek another place?
We have no Parthenon, but a nobler frieze,—
Since sacrifice than worship nobler is.
It sings—the anthem of a rescued race;
It moves—the epic of a patriot time,
And each heroic figure makes a martial rhyme.
How like ten thousand treads that little band,
Fit for the van of armies! What command
Sits in that saddle! What renouncing will!
What portent grave of firm-confronted ill!
And as a cloud doth hover over sea,
Born from its waters and returning there,
Fame, sprung from thoughts of mortals, swims the air
And gives them back her memories, deathlessly.

VI.

I wept by Lincoln's pall when children's tears,
That saddest of the nation's years,
Were reckoned in the census of her grief;

And, flooding every eye,
Of low estate or high,
The crystal sign of sorrow made men peers.
The rain-drop on the April leaf
Was not more unashamed. Hand spoke to hand
A universal language; and whene'er
The hopeful met 'twas but to mingle their despair.
Our yesterday's war-widowed land
To-day was orphaned. Its victorious voice
Lost memory of the power to rejoice.
For he whom all had learned to love was prone.
The weak had slain the mighty; by a whim
The ordered edifice was overthrown
And lay in futile ruin, mute and dim.

O Death, thou sculptor without art,
What didst thou to the Lincoln of our heart?
Where was the manly eye
That conquered enmity?
Where was the gentle smile
So innocent of guile—
The message of good-will
To all men, whether good or ill?
Where shall we trace
Those treasured lines, half humor and half pain,
That made him doubly brother to the race?
For these, O Death, we search thy mask in vain!

Yet shall the Future be not all bereft:
Not without witness shall its eyes be left.
The soul, again, is visible through Art,
Servant of God and Man. The immortal part
Lives in the miracle of a kindred mind,
That found itself in seeking for its kind.
The humble by the humble is discerned;
And he whose melancholy broke in sunny wit
Could be no stranger unto him who turned
From sad to gay, as though in jest he learned
Some mystery of sorrow. It was writ:
The hand that shapes us Lincoln must be strong

As his that righted our bequeathèd wrong;
The heart that shows us Lincoln must be brave,
An equal comrade unto king or slave;
The mind that gives us Lincoln must be clear
As that of seer
To fathom deeps of faith abiding under tides of fear.
What wonder Fame, impatient, will not wait
To call the sculptor great
Who keeps for us in bronze the soul that saved the State!

VII.

Most fair his dreams and visions when he dwelt
His spirit's comrade. Meagre was his speech
Of things celestial, save in line and mould;
But sudden cloud-rift may reveal a star
As surely as the unimpeded sky.
The deer has its deep forest of retreat:
Shall the shy spirit have none? Be, then,
The covert unprofaned wherein withdrew
The soul that 'neath his pondering ardor lay?
Find the last frontier—Man is still unknown ground.

Things true and beautiful made a heaven for him.
Childhood, the sunrise of the spirit world,
Yielded its limpid secrets to his eye.
He gave his art to Friendship with a zest—
Wax to receive and metal to endure.
Looking upon his warriors facing death,
Heroes seem human, such as all might be—
Yet not without the consecrating will!
Age is serener by his honoring;
And when he sought the temple's inmost fane
The angels of his Adoration lent
Old hopes new glory, and his reverent hand
Wrought like Beato at the face of Christ.

But what is this that, neither Hope nor Doom,
Waits with eternal patience at a tomb?
A brooding spirit without name or date,
Or race, or nation, or belief;

Beyond the reach of joy or grief,
Above the plane of wrong or right;
A riddle only to the sorrowless; the mate
Of all the elements in calm—still winter night,
Sea after tempest, time-scarred mountain height;
Passive as Buddha, single as the Sphynx,—
Yet neither that sweet god that seems to smile
On mortal good and guile,
Nor wide-eyed monster that into Egypt sinks
And Beast and Nature links;
But something human, with an inward sense
Profound, but nevermore intense;
And though it doth not stoop to teach,
It will with each
Attuned to beauty hold a muted speech;
In its Madonna-lidded meditation
Not more a mystery than a revelation;
Listen! It doth to Man the Universe relate;
If this be Fate, is it not still *our* Fate?

Let us no further venture—sacred be
That secret of the Ages, which not he
That wrought it knew, nor yet how great
His Sentinel before the Future's Gate.
For those who have not lived, but must breathe on
Prisoners of this prosaic age—
Ah, who for them shall read that page
Since wingèd Shelley and wise Emerson are gone?

* * * * * *

Across our Western world without surcease
How many a column sounds the name of Greece!
The sun loath-lingering on the crest of Rome,
Finds here how many an imitative dome!
O classic quarries of our modern thought,
What blasphemies in stone from you are wrought!
For though to Law, Religion, or the State,
These stones to Beauty first are dedicate,
Yet to what purpose, if we but revere
The temple, not the goddess?—if whene'er

The magic of her deep obsession seem
To master any soul, we call it dream?
Come, let us live with Beauty!
Her name is ever on our lips; but who
Holds Beauty as the fairest bride to woo?
The gods oft wedded mortals: now alone
May man the Chief Immortal make his own.
To Time each day adds increment of age
But Beauty ne'er grows old. There is no gauge
To count the glories of the counted hours.
Flowers die, but not the ecstasy of flowers.
Come, let us live with Beauty!
What infinite treasure hers! and what small need
Of our cramped natures, whose misguided greed,
Houndlike, pursues false trails of Luxury
Or sodden Comfort! Who shall call us free—
Content if but some casual wafture come
From fields Elysian, where the valleys bloom
With life delectable? Such happy air
Should be the light we live in; unaware
It should be breathed, till man retrieves the joy
Philosophy has wrested from the boy.
Come, let us live with Beauty!

Who shall put limit to her sovereignty?
Who shall her loveliness define?
Think you the Graces only three?—
The Muses only nine?
Beyond our star-sown deep of space
Where, as for solace, huddles world with world
(A human instinct in the primal wrack),
Mayhap there is a dark and desert place
Of deeper awe
With but one outer star, there hurled
By cataclysm and there held in leash by law:
If lonely be that star, 'tis not for Beauty's lack.
She was ere there was any need of Truth,
She was ere there was any stir of Love;
And when Man came, and made her world uncouth

With sin, and cities, and the gash of hills
And forests, and a thousand brutish ills,
Regardless of his ruth
She hid her wounds and gave him, from above,
The magic all his happiness is fashioned of.

VIII.

Knights of the five arts that our sculptor prized:
How shall ye honor him and, in his place,
Those others of the Old and Happy Race
Who lived for beauty, and the golden lure despised?
* * * * * *
Painter of music, Architect of song,
Sculptor in color, Poet in clay and bronze,
And thou whose unsubstantial fancy builds
Abiding symphonies from stone and space!
Mount ye to large horizons: ever be
As avid of other beauty as your own.
As nations greater are than all their states,
More than the sum of all the arts is Art.
High are their clear commands, but Art herself
Makes holier summons. Ever open stand
The doors of her free temple. At her shrine
In service of the world, whose hurt she heals,
Ye, too, physicians of the mind and heart—
Shall ye not take the Hippocratic oath?
Have ye not heard the voices of the night
Call you from kindred, comfort, sloth and praise,
To lead unto the light the willing feet
That grope for order, harmony and joy?—
To reach full hands of bounty unto those
Who starve for beauty in our glut of gold?

How shall we honor him whom we revere—
Lover of all the arts and of his land?
How, but to cherish Beauty's every flower?—
How, but to live with Beauty, and so be
Apostles of Rejoicing to mankind?

ROBERT UNDERWOOD JOHNSON.

NEW BOOKS REVIEWED.

Mr. James is never concerned to give us a plot or an ending. He gives us the careful analysis of emotion and there we are—if we are not satisfied, we ought to be. He shows us here* Miss Julia Bride in all her transcendent prettiness and he analyzes her till we know every nook and corner of her mind and soul, every detail of her unsheltered, rather sordid life, every hope and ambition of her somewhat smudged but aspiring spirit. Then brusquely, having bared her completely, for our view, having showed up her background and her helplessness in the greedy hands of her associates, the great author leaves her face downwards, weeping in her pillows.

It is a piece out of life, wonderfully done, with no single detail slurred. We should know any one of these people if we met them again in the street. We have seen them so plainly going their ways, pursuing their ends; we know the very lines their weakness or slackness have drawn in their faces and figures. If we are not bigger and better for so much human data added to our knowledge, that is our fault and not the author's.

The story falls into what might be called Mr. James's middle manner. It is close-woven and erudite without having a sentence structure so involved as to necessitate a half-dozen readings in order to get all the delicate *nuances* and folds upon folds of significance. Mr. James knows more, feels more delicately, notes more finely than other writers and has a verbal process to match the mental method.

Here comes a new master swimming into our ken. "The Five Towns" was the advance herald, but in "Old Wives' Tale" Mr. Bennett has arrived. It is a great novel.†

* "Julia Bride." By Henry James. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1909.

† "Old Wives' Tale." By Arnold Bennett. New York: Hodder and Stoughton, 1909.

Mr. Bennett is one more novelist down on his knees to life. He looks at life and wonders at its strangeness, its pathos, its moments of beauty. Without artificial gloss, without flourishes or conventions, he tells us all about life, the rising and the passing of the generations of men, their blind groping after happiness, their acquiescence and still absorption in the little details of comfort and then the end. No one is a hero or a heroine here. The most heroic figure, and the most absurd and pathetic, is Samuel Povey, introduced with the toothache and ending with a great cause and pneumonia. Constance, Sophia and their mother we might meet any day, and the novel closes with a division headed: "What life is." Closing it, one feels that one has been caught and held still awhile from the everlasting diverting activities of life and one has looked long and quietly into the eyes of the Sphinx herself.

Both style and power of description match sincerity and truth in this novel and make it a real addition to the great tradition of the English novel.

We have said before in these columns that Mr. Wells is a great novelist. He is, too, a great novelist without being a great writer. He is not like the late Mr. Meredith, great by reason of a profound, far-glancing culture, or like Mr. James by reason of a subtle, psychological gift, or like Joseph Conrad because he is an extraordinary artist in words, but he is great by reason of his searching, frank, straightforward, unhampered outlook upon life. In "Tono-Bungay" (a very great novel, by the bye) he showed us the decaying institutions of old England as they affected a young man of the lower middle class. In Ann Veronica* he takes a handsome, athletic, keen-minded, bold-spirited girl from the professional classes and depicts her life with the same penetration and precision he devoted to the man. With Bernard Shaw, Mr. Wells evidently believes in the "new woman." Ann Veronica would have been a startling revelation of the possibilities of progress to one of Miss Austen's heroines. Of traditional maidenliness there is no whit left, and Ann Veronica, with her course in jiu-jitsu, her advanced work in a biological laboratory,

* "Ann Veronica." By H. G. Wells. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1909.

is well able to look after herself, choose her mate and defy the world. "We're hard stuff, we're hard stuff," she says to her husband at the close. Mr. Wells shows his entire belief in his heroine by letting her win out in the end, and we see her settling down into the happy ever-after stage of life.

The book has a good deal of scathing social satire and keen observation. Mr. Wells is no stylist; it is not literature or beauty he is after, but a plain picture of life, and in giving this he is entirely successful.

Here comes Mr. Hewlett,* the poet again, with no mercy on our emotions and no tenderness for his own characters, so long as he has free scope, through his mouthpiece, Mr. John Senhouse, the philosopher (whom we take to be a near reative of Mr. Edward Carpenter) to discuss his theories of life, art and literature. Mr. Senhouse's earlier love-affair is given here, but it hardly counts compared with the beautiful theories of the rational life with nature, the necessity of poetry to life, the picture of the ideal woman. Other pictures eminently well observed are those of Sancie's numerous family. As to Sanchia herself, we feel much as Burne-Jones did about Tess when he declared that nothing would induce him "to read about nice girls getting hanged." There are women and women, and while we read unmoved of Ann Veronica's advanced theories and methods without a qualm, knowing, as she said that she was "hard stuff" and would win out, we rebel against the fate of Sanchia. She was exquisite, thoughtful, pliable and open-minded, lovely and should somehow have been saved from suffering.

We do not, however, read Mr. Hewlett for the story, but for beauty, and this is in the book in generous measure.

A GIFT book is usually a book that no one would have except as a present, but here is a costly volume† of worth incalculable. It is more than historical, it is profound, in its interpretation of Asian art. It is full of strangeness and charm and wisdom. It

* "Open Country." By Maurice Hewlett. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909.

† "Paintings in the Far East." By Laurence Binyon. London: Edward Arnold. New York: Longmans, Green & Co.

deals with the spirit and with the life of man and with the essence of beauty. It is literally the only book of its kind in English. And by way of supererogation, it is a brilliant piece of printing, delightful to eye and touch, and furnished with thirty superb reproductions of ageless masterpieces. This is a work to study by heart and come back to often, of works on art (and the word is said advisedly) the most important in the last decade, and the most enchanting of more than half that time.

Mr. Howells lays more stress on his age than any one else would like to. Sometimes, especially in the closing essay,* he allows himself the wise saws as well as the modern instances; oftener he just gently sighs for the youthful hose. There is no one living, perhaps, to whom life has been so kindly as to him, softening, mellowing, enriching bringing the great wheel of a man's mortal years around in so ample and complete a circle. The early records of travel, those impressions of Italy recorded, as he reminds us, forty years ago, were quicker and more poignant, but these are blander, serener. The delicate architectural drawings which adorn them are rather like the soft low relief of the style itself. Is the book Mr. Howells's little revenge, his Quip Modest, for "The American Scene"?

The collection† of Mr. Keppel is a Paradise of dainty devices, a mine of priceless and imperishable delights. He has gleaned afar and offers with both hands out of the stores of his profound connoisseurship—from exquisite French manuscript illuminations, from delicate Italian engravings and from matchless German and Dutch prints. His personal influence has unlocked foreign treasures, and the brilliant examples they yield are beautiful still in reproduction. His personal charm carries off with a grace the tenuous thread of essay. Those who buy it to give away will be tempted to keep it for themselves.

* "Seven English Cities." By W. D. Howells. New York and London: Harper & Brothers, 1909.

† "Christmas in Art: The Nativity as Depicted by Artists of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries." By Frederick Keppel. New York: Duffield & Co., 1909.

The "Wanderer in Paris"* is a bit dull and insular and perfunctory and compares not well with, for instance, the "Walks" of M. Georges Cain. Why should any one quote Carlyle when he is short of matter? The "French Revolution," as a whole, may be epical, but scraps of it are simply noisy. The "thirty-two reproductions from works of art" announced on the title-page are just thirty too many, for they are entirely banal. Mr. Dexter's delicate color prints, on the other hand, are, most of them, lovely and alluring. One reason for ill-content with the book, as a whole, lies in the half-dozen staring misprints that violate the names of persons and pictures and give to Mona Lisa "hanging lineaments." Another is its nondescript nature, not precisely guide and not precisely reminiscence, and too much of each for the good of the other. The gravest is that Mr. Lucas's taste goes bad unexpectedly, and he admires the wrong things, or, if the right, then for the wrong reason. Yet since all criticism is only comparison, the book will please many and justly.

In the elaborate and luxurious volume† by Mr. Schauffler the pictures are very German and very good, but one regrets the absence of architectural interiors, just the precise aspect that photographs could not supply. They are all show-pieces, not tender or interpretative. But the book itself is an engaging work written from the heart. It stirs one to resolve to see the cities therein celebrated, Danzig and Brunswick before all others, and what more could any book accomplish?

Why cannot an American write such books?‡ Mrs. Gastling is a private gentlewoman in England, a physician's wife; but she knows her Bretons, their temperament and their folk-lore, more than a little. She is tremendously up, speaking generally, on anthropology and folk-lore, and her suggestions and interpretations are illuminating. Her photographs are far more interesting

* "A Wanderer in Paris." By E. V. Lucas. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1909.

† "Romantic Germany." By Robert Haven Schauffler, with illustrations by Hans Herrmann, Alfred Scherres, Karl O'Lynch von Town, Gertrude Wurmb, Charles Vetter and Otto F. Probst. New York: The Century Company, 1909.

‡ "The Bretons at Home." By Frances M. Gastling, with an introduction by Anatole le Braz. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. London: Methuen & Co., 1909.

than the color prints by Gaston Fanty Lescure. He has done, and done well, the conventional, atelier picturesque: she has done landscape of great charm and architecture and sculpture better than the best professional work. As for the simple record of a month's travel—it, too, is better than the best professional work. It appeals and allures. A good book this to read by the Christmas fire; but let none try it, at his peril, in February when the sap stirs in the bough, for then he must go to Brittany or break his heart.

Mr. Mempes's work, which began as Whistler—and—water, is by now so watered down as to afford of the other element rarely a trace. Sir Henry Blake, who supplies the text for this year's "China,"* would undoubtedly be very interesting in conversation, but he cannot impart his first-hand knowledge or impose his valuable opinions, because simply he does not know the trick of writing. A real regret touches the reader. That he should speak so wisely, though so ineffectually, on social conditions, the opium problem and the status of women. Yet, after all, he says but little. The pictures are pretty.

The oddest pickings lie side by side in the annual issue of the little Thumb-nail books. Plainly the series† expresses somebody's individual taste, which is no small virtue. The "Hymns" this year make a fitting mate for the "Pascal and Aurelius" of other seasons, a volume altogether satisfying, good to have in hand for long country walks or on a journey or in sickness. The introductory essay is unusual and very significant, in its grave clarity, its quiet and unpedantic competence, its cool and reticent appreciation. It is like morning wind or full daylight, and its quality is rare in this time of unction and effusion and smoky piety. The few paragraphs say so much that should be said and escape so much that is better unsaid. If it is typical of the American spirit, we cannot be too soon or too completely American.

* "China." By Mortimer Mempes. Text by Sir Henry Arthur Blake, G.C.M.G. London: Adam and Charles Black. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1909.

† "Great Hymns of the Middle Ages." Compiled by Eveline Warner Brainerd. New York: The Century Company, 1909.

For unknown reasons, no photograph has ever communicated the sense of a church interior, and few photographs have even essayed to present the life of streets and squares. Mr. Pennell, now with pen and now with brush, has recorded both, has done imperishable work in this great and beautiful volume on the French Cathedrals.* Mrs. Pennell's proper grace, the familiar charm of her sweetness and sincerity, make a fit setting, and more—a positive enhancement of the precious moment caught and fixed in black and white eternally. The *magnum opus,* perhaps, of the life of this exquisite draughtsman, it has certainly covered a big piece of his life, being eighteen years a-making, and recording between its ample covers all his experiments in many media and with many methods. And his blacks are so luminous, his lights so golden, his distances so enchanted!

Not new but so important an addition to the child's literature is this toy theatre† of Miss King's, with its instructions for making the marionettes and the theatre, its three rollicking comedies, two legends and two pantomimes, that no critic has a right to speak of the children's books without calling attention to it. The illustrations by Anna R. Giles are full of life, vivacity, fine fun, and the text has wit and literary grace unmatched by any book for children since Andersen himself talked to the children. It is nowise a book of the moment; it belongs to the history of children's literature.

This volume‡ likewise is one of the permanent contributions to the child's library. Now that the saints are no longer a sectarian monopoly, all little children may linger with delight on these charming rhymes of a whole alphabet of saints from Antony, Benedict, Christopher and Dominic down to Wilfred, Xystus, Yves and Zita. The make-up of the book is simplicity itself,

* "French Cathedrals, Monasteries and Abbeys and Sacred Sites of France." By Elizabeth Robins Pennell, illustrated by Joseph Pennell. New York: The Century Company, 1909.

† "Comedies and Legends for Marionettes." By Georgiana Goddard King. New York: The Macmillan Company.

‡ "An Alphabet of Saints." By Father Robert Hugh Benson, Reginald Balfour and S. C. Ritchie. Drawings by L. D. Symington. New York: Benziger Brothers.

and the drawings match the rhymes in grace and charm. The book serves the double purpose of illustrating the beauty of holiness and the events, insignia and times of the various saints.

This book* is by all odds the most beautiful child's book of the season. It is uniform in make-up with Stevenson's "Child's Garden of Verse," illustrated by Jessie Willcox and Eugene Field's "Poems of Childhood," illustrated by Mr. Parrish. No better or more imaginative illustrator could be found for the stories, it goes without saying, and with three exceptions the pictures are equal to those in the Eugene Field book. Cassim in the Cave, the Fisherman watching the smoke rise from the base, and the wonderful golden lady burning perfume are inspiring food for the childish imagination. We could have wished that the English had been as impeccable as the make-up and illustrations of the book.

This† is an exquisite and touching tale of the love of a lonely man for a dog and of the dog for a lonely man, told by a great friend of dogs. It is, in its truth of feeling and gentle pathos, a real bit of literature, and few who read it will ever forget the touching prayer of old Jonathan beginning: "Lord, I haven't got anything but this dog."

These enchanting classics‡ require no introduction, now that they have become a part of the necessary education of every well-brought-up child. No child living can afford to grow up without knowing them any more than he could grow up without knowing "Mother Goose," Edward Lear's "Book of Nonsense" and Andersen's "Fairy-Tales." Binding and pictures are the most adequate of any edition we have seen, and the color prints by Maria L. Kirk are full of imagination and understanding.

* "The Arabian Nights." By Kate Douglas Wiggin and Nora A. Smith, with illustrations by Maxfield Parrish. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909.

† "Jonathan and David." By Elizabeth Stuart Phelps. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1909.

‡ "The Princess and the Goblin," "The Princess and Curdie," "At the Back of the North Wind." By George Macdonald. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott.

It is a truism that nobody's anthology suits anybody else, but the present one* comes very near covering the ground for a Christmas anthology. Mr. Mabie's introduction has all the grace and geniality we have learned to look to him for. We should like to know more of W. P. R. from whom some beautiful selections are taken. We much regret the absence of George Macdonald's—

"They all were looking for a king"

and the most exquisite of the early Christmas poems:

"He cam al so still."

The woodcuts are quaint and fitting, but photographs as illustrations to books are always hopelessly vulgar. Should there be a second edition, we should enter a plea to have these omitted as not only ugly in kind, but commonplace in choice and robbing the book of any touch of distinction.

The world and not the back yard is the playground of the modern child, and in this well-chosen collection we have stories from Scandinavia, China, Wales, Ireland, India, Dalmatia, Germany, Spain, France, Russia, Portugal, Japan.† They are not, we need hardly say, drawn from original sources, but are gathered together from accessible books and give in small space a wide range of literature. In the main they are well chosen and hold close to the simple, natural folk-tale. There are no illustrations, but the binding is exceedingly pretty.

Miss Brown has always felt great sympathy for the animals, wild and domestic, and made many years ago a charming book of "Saints and Friendly Beasts." The present volume‡ is a romantic and very interesting tale of a boy stolen in babyhood and brought up as a tumbler. He finds his way alone to a hermit in the woods who has tamed all the wild animals, and a charming description is given of his life in the forest with a large family consisting of a dog, a wolf, a bear, a cat and her kittens, a doe and all the birds. There is, too, an exciting plot and plenty of adventure

* "The Book of Christmas." With an introduction by Hamilton Wright Mabie. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1909.

† "Tales of Wonder." Edited by Kate Douglas Wiggin and Nora Archibald Smith. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1909.

‡ "John of the Woods." By Abbie Farwell Brown. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1909.

when the king comes a-hunting. This is one of the best of the new books for children.

The yearly reappearance of our old friend* in new clothes might well serve as text for a sermon to publishers who firmly believe that nothing good will sell. Here is a good book full of heavy theological doctrine, human character, ingenious device, a mine of information on manners, morals, life, which no boy will turn from if it is offered between the ages of seven and twelve. Scott, with his learning and detail, may pall, but Robinson Crusoe is as alive to-day as ever he was. The pictures are eminently good.

The daughter of Walter Crane,† who translated for her father's pictures so many of the Grimm tales, has here made a selection of the thirteen of the tales for very little children. The pictures are far enough from being like those of Walter Crane, but they are better than average, and the binding is perfectly right for the book. It is an ideal volume for the youngest group in the nursery.

A new edition of this fresh and delightful classic‡ cannot but be hailed with joy. Nowhere else in the realm of child literature are there such enchanting creatures as Paul and Fiammetta. Mrs. Harker adds a few new chapters to this edition, and the old ones retain all the vitality and charm of the "real thing" in the repeated reading. We wonder whether the little plot-like excitement in the last two chapters was, perhaps, added at the suggestion of the publisher. We will not say that it gives a touch of the commonplace, but it does detract just a little from the high and rare distinction of Mrs. Harker's most exquisite writing. A publisher's advice is invaluable to the manufacturers of "best sellers," but let the maker of literature always regard him as a terrifying jabberwock!

* "Robinson Crusoe." By Daniel Defoe. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1909.

† "Grimm's Animal Stories." Translated by Lucy Crane with pictures by John Rae. New York: Duffield & Co., 1909.

‡ "A Romance of the Nursery." By L. Allen Harker. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909.

WORLD-POLITICS.

LONDON: ATHENS.

LONDON, *November, 1909.*

ON November 4th the Budget passed its third reading in the House of Commons by a majority of 230. Thus ended the most prolonged and the most arduous struggle in which the Lower Chamber has engaged in our time. Between the date of its introduction and the final vote on its third reading the Budget had held the centre of the political stage for rather over six months; it had engrossed no fewer than seventy-three days of Parliamentary time; it had been responsible for over five hundred and fifty divisions; and though the principles on which it was based still stand, there is scarcely a clause, scarcely even a line, in its provisions that has not been radically changed. The Opposition, though a pitiful minority in the House, fought it unflinchingly from first to last with brilliant desperation. The Government, anxious above all things to avoid a too drastic use of the closure and to disarm all reasonable objections, wisely allowed the debates to drag on to unexampled lengths, and wisely modified or sacrificed innumerable details of its Bill to meet the criticisms of its opponents. The thoroughness with which the measure has been discussed, the alterations it has undergone, the time it has consumed and the extraordinary ability with which it has been defended and attacked, together make up a record in Parliamentary annals. Not the least remarkable feature of its history was the impressive majority by which it was finally passed. The Liberal Party has never been famous for its discipline and cohesion. It represents, and must always represent, an infinitely wider range and variety of interests and opinions than the Conservatives; and nobody would have been surprised if the introduction of so vast, novel and controversial a Bill had driven the less progressive elements into revolt. Nothing of the kind hap-

pened. There were Liberal critics in plenty on this point and on that, but when it came to the ultimate decision the party polled what was practically its full strength. No measure of such a scope and character has ever emerged from the ordeal of debate with so little loss to the party proposing it. The Irish Nationalists, it is true, declined to vote for it, but they did not vote against it, and their leader, Mr. Redmond, made it clear that if the Budget were to become an issue between Lords and Commons, he and his followers would side with the latter.

Under ordinary circumstances the passage of the Budget through the House of Commons would mean the end of the long and vehement contest it has provoked. Under the actual circumstances of to-day, however, it may prove the prelude to an even longer and more vehement struggle. On November 8th it went up to the House of Lords and was there read a first time. On November 22nd the crucial debate on the second reading will begin. This letter, therefore, is written under considerable difficulties. Before it appears in print the fate of the Budget in the Upper Chamber will in all probability have been decided, and the whole world will know of it. But here in London, on the very edge of a crisis unique in British history, nobody can definitely say what line the Lords will take. From the mass of rumors and counterrumors, however, I gather a deepening impression that they will assume the responsibility of rejecting the Budget. That is the almost universal expectation. It is one that, with a respectful confidence in the political sanity of the Upper Chamber, I have myself long refused to entertain. But I confess that as the supreme moment draws near my confidence is slipping from me. The preponderance of opinion is heavily on the side of the view that the Lords will not accept the Budget—and anything short of a full and unqualified acceptance, I need hardly say, is the equivalent of rejection. A dispassionate observer may still retain his doubts, may still reflect that the King has yet to be heard from, may still hope that even at the eleventh hour the Lords will shrink from so perilous a course, a course that not only violates the settled practice of the Constitution, but is fraught with real and formidable risks to the powers and privileges of their own House. At the same time, however, if his business is to chronicle and explain the development of English affairs with impartiality, he will admit that the foundations

of his optimism grow daily more precarious. I propose, therefore, in this letter to treat as an accomplished fact what at the moment of writing is no more than a probability, and to assume that by the time the December number of this REVIEW is published the Lords will have thrown out the Budget.

The influences that will have urged them to a step which is essentially a revolution are many and various. Mr. Lloyd George's slashing and not over-tactful or over-tasteful attacks on the land-owing aristocracy are undoubtedly one of them. The ceaseless repetition by Liberal speakers and writers that the Lords "will never dare" reject the Finance Bill is another. It has operated on the minds of many Peers as a challenge which they feel they owe it to their order to take up. Again, while it is realized that the rejection of the Budget must precipitate the Constitutional crisis, it is also realized that its acceptance will not avert it. Alogether apart from the Finance Bill circumstances have been working during the last four years to elevate the House of Lords into the position of the master-question of English politics. The issue, argues more than one Peer, will have to be joined sooner or later. Why not meet it boldly and at once by throwing out the Finance Bill? It is clear that, whatever the fate of the Budget, there will be a General Election in January and that the House of Lords will in any case be a leading issue in that election. Matters cannot be made worse, they may be bettered, if the question of the Lords is made to turn on their action in throwing out the Budget. For the Budget has undoubtedly offended many powerful interests that may be trusted to rally to the side of the Lords; the ground, therefore, will be not unfavorably chosen, and the reaction which sets in against every Government after a few years of office will tell against the Liberals and in favor of the Lords.

Such are some of the arguments one hears among the anti-Budget stalwarts in the Upper House. To a great many Peers the Budget is synonymous with a something they call Socialism and throwing it out is justified as a patriotic and religious duty. At the least, they claim that it embodies principles that are wholly novel in the fiscal history of Great Britain, and that before it is passed into law the people ought to be given an opportunity of pronouncing judgment. But stronger, perhaps, than any of these arguments is the conviction that if the Budget becomes law, it will

prove so productive, it will so overwhelmingly demonstrate the efficacy of Free-Trade finance to provide for all the national needs as to make Tariff Reform not merely superfluous, but ridiculous. Finally the belief is gathering strength that the Budget is by no means so popular as it seemed to be two or three months ago, that the people would welcome its rejection, and that the result of the Bermondsey election—where, in one of the poorest constituencies in London, a Tariff Reform and anti-Budget candidate slipped in between a Liberal and a Socialist—is an invitation to the Lords to act decisively. Most of the Conservative papers in the metropolis and in the provinces clamor for the destruction of the Budget, and even sober and independent journals like the "Spectator" urge the Lords only to pass the land and liquor clauses on condition that they are ratified by a referendum of the people.

But let there be no mistake about it. If the Lords, in obedience to these various forces and considerations, reject the Budget, they will be committing what is hardly less than an act of usurpation, they will be upsetting the recognized balance of Constitutional power, they will be taking a step which, whether with or without their strict legal and theoretical competence, is as plainly revolutionary as though the King were to refuse his assent to a Bill that had been passed by both Houses of Parliament. If, moreover, their act is condoned by the electorate, it will mean that henceforward no Government will be able to remain in power which does not control the Upper Chamber; it will mean that England, hitherto a supposedly democratic country, is really under the thumb of an oligarchy; it will mean that the Lords are the supreme power in the Constitution, able to dissolve Parliaments and upset Governments as they please; it will mean that the old principle that taxation and representation should go together has been destroyed; it will mean that no Liberal Ministry can ever again hold its own except on sufferance, and that it will be liable at any moment to find its financial provisions for the year rejected and itself deprived of the means to carry on the King's Government. If, on the other hand, the claim of the Lords to have an equal or superior right to that of the Commons to control the national finances is not endorsed by the nation, if the Lords reject the Budget only to find that the people insist on its being passed, then in that case, too, equally serious results must ensue. To prevent any such disturbance of the normal

Constitutional procedure in the future would at once become not merely a prime object, but a prime necessity of Liberal policy. No Liberal Government would again take office without stringent guarantees that the Lords should keep their hands off finance altogether and that their power of veto in other directions should be sensibly curtailed. How those guarantees could be obtained and what form they should take are matters that very soon may be the leading issues of English politics.

There is another point that ought to be touched upon. The uncertainty as to what the Lords will do with the Budget has already had a serious effect on trade. But the rejection of the Budget will mean nothing less than financial and administrative chaos. This will become clear from a glance at the British system of collecting revenue. When new taxes are imposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, or existing taxes are raised, the collection of the tax is authorized by a Resolution of the House of Commons. This Resolution is passed by the House within an hour or two after the Chancellor has brought in his Budget. It is then telegraphed to the customs-houses at the different ports, and on the following day the collection of the new taxes begins. These Resolutions of the House are accorded the force of law—a fact which strikingly emphasizes the predominance of the Commons in matters of finance. Although the new taxes have not themselves been adopted by the House of Commons or authorized by statute or even discussed in the Lords, yet their collection is permitted on the strength of the Resolutions. Mr. Lloyd George introduced his Budget on April 29th. On the following morning his imposts began to be levied on spirits, tobacco, incomes, estates, and so on, and they are being levied at this moment. Millions upon millions of pounds have thus passed into the Exchequer within the last six months on the presumption that the Resolutions possess the validity of law—a presumption which in its turn rests on the presumption that the Finance Bill will become law. But what if the Finance Bill does not become law? What is then the status of the Resolutions? Would not every penny collected by the authorities have been illegally collected? Would not every taxpayer have a right to recover from the Government the amount he has paid during the past six months? Such are a few of the practical problems involved in the fate of the Budget at the hands of the House of Lords.

ATHENS, *November, 1909.*

THE Greek race, which is among the most gifted of the globe, is also the most unfortunate. The individual Greek, sober, hard-working, good-natured, almost always wins the day in the struggle for existence, while the nation, whimsical as a woman, unreasonable as a child, lacks the political, military and naval equipment for holding its own under the new conditions. And it will soon have to bear the painful consequences. Indeed, some of them have begun to make themselves felt already, and it is doubtful whether anything now feasible can shield it from the worst. Forty-six years ago when George I grasped the sceptre the future of the race was in his hands, and a twofold task was set him worthy to tempt the most generous ambition—the political training of his subjects and the fusion into one Empire of the six million Greeks now scattered over Asia Minor. But King George, like the nobleman's servant in the Gospel, hid his talent in a napkin. Whether it was in him to accomplish the feat, had he tried earnestly, there is now no means of knowing. What is certain is that the King is endowed with more than average powers, and in mental structure and capacity is not inferior either to King Charles of Roumania or to the late Prince Alexander of Battenberg. Yet the sovereign of the former country may be truly said to have regenerated his subjects, so wonderfully have they developed from a horde of semi-barbarians into a progressive nation under his wise rule.

To blame King George and him alone for this disastrous failure would be a gross injustice. The prostration of Greece is the inevitable effect of many causes, of which his attitude was certainly one. But it is commonly believed to have been the decisive one Those who know the King best assert what facts would appear to confirm, that he is firmly opposed to the maintenance of a formidable army and navy, that he relies upon the great Powers for results which Bulgaria and Roumania win by dint of military superiority, and that he implicitly carried out the alleged behests of Russia and Great Britain to eschew close relations with the other Balkan states. If this be, indeed, a fair presentment of the King's policy there is something to be said in support of it—theoretically. But in practice it has broken down. The fortunes of the Greek race were never at a lower ebb. Even Crete has been snatched away by Young Turkey.

The language recently used by the Porte in its communications with King George's Government was not merely haughty, it was insulting. The biggest schoolboy in the class might address such language to the newcomer with whom he was minded to pick a quarrel. And Greece, without army, navy or helpful friends among the Powers, had to bend her neck low, comply with Turkey's demands and smile sweetly the while.

Those two events—the loss of Crete and the insulting notes of the Porte—came to the army as a dire revelation. Greece resembled Lazarus at the rich man's door, but without any hope of ever reaching Abraham's bosom. Theretofore the officers, like the rest of the nation, had been living in a visionary world where, if there were storm clouds and rain showers, it was only in order that the frequent sunshine might be all the more enjoyable. True, there had been an ominous revelation long before. The war of 1897 which King George materially contributed to bring on in the delusion that Russia and Great Britain would veto hostilities in the nick of time had culminated in disaster. The army which had marched only for show had fled before the Turks like a flock of sheep. The royal princes had been sent to the front on the understanding that they were not to be exposed to danger, and the elaborate precautions taken to keep them out of harm's way in Thessaly had thwarted the strategic plans of Smolensky and others. Athwart these symptoms a statesman would have descried the writing on the wall. But the Greeks are not far-seeing, have short memories and live on roseate hopes. When disaster was upon them, they formed strong resolutions to reorganize the army, to make it an efficient weapon of defence, and to eliminate from its direction the princes whose qualities were decidedly not martial. But a few years later the nation had forgotten its misfortunes and the responsible politicians were chanting not the *Dies iræ dies illa,* but *Ca ira.* The most typical man of this class, M. Theotokis, the personification of graceful indolence and inane eloquence, blithely undertook to inaugurate a new era of prosperity by substituting for army reform the creation of the post of commander-in-chief of the forces and conferring it upon the unwarlike young Crown Prince.

If the foregoing errors of Greek Cabinets were mischievous, this blunder of M. Theotokis was fatal. For it rendered the state helpless at the critical moment of all others in its history

when it ought to have been strong in will, fixed in aim and ready to incur heavy risks for vital interests and secular aspirations. The island of Crete, often promised to Greece by the Powers, came well within her grasp during this period of collapse, but she lacked the strength to take a firm grip and it dropped from her nerveless fingers. Powerful neighbors rose up around her, waxing in strength, growing in extent and setting themselves aims which ran directly counter to hers. Turkey obtained a new lease of power; Roumania established claims to recompense which will one day be honored; Bulgaria gathered strength enough to stand forth as a candidate for the hegemony of the Balkans. But Greece remains prostrate. And she has so little chance of ever recovering the lost ground that King George's contention—that an army is a needless luxury—from the political heresy which it was some years ago is become a self-evident axiom to-day.

None of these national and racial reverses caused their authors a moment's misgiving. M. Theotokis's notion of the duties of a Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs was akin to his royal master's ideal of a Greek army. The King held that the Powers who had created the Hellenic State would also protect it. His favorite Prime Minister maintained that England and Russia should dictate Greece's foreign policy while King George should appoint her diplomatists,* one of whom is known as his *âme damnée*. And that summary programme was conscientiously carried out during the period of Theotokist quiescence at the cost of heavy sacrifices, ethical as well as patriotic. A few years ago, for example, King George broke faith with King Charles of Roumania and precipitated a costly quarrel which is still acute. The Austrian Government, desirous of bringing about a closer agreement between the two states, had arranged for the two monarchs to meet at Abbazia. They accordingly came together and struck an agreement which was distasteful to Russia and might have become unpleasant for Bulgaria. But King George, in deference to the Tsar's Government, declined to carry it out, and the result was a serious rupture between the two states which has not yet been healed.

Meanwhile the Crown Prince played havoc with the army.

* On one occasion the King induced a brother sovereign to interfere with the appointment of Hellenic diplomatists under circumstances which throw an unpleasant light on the transaction.

The new post of commander-in-chief carried with it the powers of a dictator and the King's heir used them to the fullest. The young Prince, and he alone, was competent to promote officers or pass them over without check or question. And he made it clear from the first that personal like or dislike was the sole standard he would acknowledge. The Cabinet was nominally responsible for the efficacy of the troops, which an impetuous and irresponsible young man had it in his power to reduce to a state of disorganization and mutiny by arbitrary and unjust measures. And Prince Constantine's acts were superlatively arbitrary and unjust. The very best officers, including Smolensky, Tsorbas and Konstantinidi, were decently or indecently buried. Boon companions of the pleasure-hunting princes were promoted over their heads for accomplishments which needed orgies, not military manœuvres, as their proper setting. Money was spent for everything but the nation's defences. When Prince George went out in his private yacht for his private pleasure, it was coaled at the nation's expense.

This undoing of the nation is set currently down as the handiwork of M. Theotokis, the Crown Prince and the King. And none of the three seems to have been upset by it. On the contrary, the Prime Minister must have looked upon it as a title to admiration when he exclaimed that the Chamber was no place for any deputy who fancied that the country could be governed otherwise than he had been governing it.

The army alone was stirred to its depths. Some officers were moved by purely personal aims, others by purely patriotic motives, and a third contingent by a mixture of both. The chiefs met in secret conclave, formed a military league and resolved to be no longer a silent party to their country's shame. They would ask the Chamber to employ the machinery of the Constitution, first to sweep away the obstacles to reform, then to reorganize the land and sea defences and finally to abandon once for all the ruinous game of parliamentary shuttlecock and conduct the affairs of state for the welfare of the nation and not in the interests of a party. Before this programme had been formulated M. Theotokis, fearing the anger of the masses, resigned his place to M. Rhallis, from whom I received the whole story.

One of the Opposition leaders in the Chamber, M. Mavromichalis, had long advocated a series of measures which was

well-nigh identical with the officers' programme. And to him the King now appealed to form a Cabinet and to parley with the military mutineers. M. Mavromichalis, from whose lips I have received this part of the narrative, undertook the task with the alacrity of a patriot, but with the misgivings of a man whose sight is sharp enough to reveal to him the difficulties with which it bristled. Happily the chief of the Officers' League, Colonel Tsorbas, is a most moderate officer. It was he who had been passed over for eight years by the Crown Prince, while youthful carpet knights with downy cheeks who took virtue by storm and gained promotion by favor were being pitchforked over his head. It was he, too, whom M. Rhallis counselled the King to summon as head of the Government, but the sovereign shrank from the suggestion in horror on the ground that Colonel Tsorbas, to be revenged on the crown, might take it into his head to imprison the King and the royal princes. "Had any less level-headed man than Colonel Tsorbas been at the head of the league," M. Mavromichalis recently said to me, "the negotiations would have broken down and the last effort to restrict the revolution within constitutional bounds would have been a failure. Colonel Tsorbas has merited well of the country." So, too, did the present premier, M. Mavromichalis, who passed through an agonizing ordeal before he had struck up an understanding between himself and the Military League which the crown was willing to accept. The main terms on which the three parties finally agreed were an anmesty for the mutineers, the abolition of the post of commander-in-chief of the forces and of the general staff, and the exclusion of the royal princes from the army.

There was one other condition laid down by the league which to an outsider appears ungenerous as well as impolitic. It was to the effect that the five officers who, having held aloof from the mutineers, remained faithful to the King and risked their lives for him should be indicted for these "offences" and dismissed from the army. In reality they were heroes. The risk they incurred was described to me by the chief of the league, Colonel Tsorbas himself, who twice saved them from death. "I was in the camp outside the city when Colonel Metaxas came. We were all highly excited, as men may well be who are playing *va banque* not only for their lives, but for the life of the nation. And this officer was come out to undo our work just when success

was about to crown it. He called upon his soldiers to quit us and go back with him. What happened then is hard to describe. There was a wild scene of confusion in which bayonets, daggers and butt-ends of rifles menaced his life. I ran forward and hugged him tight. I was helped by some comrades who surrounded him, and we got him off to a place of safety. After this a proposal was made to send him before a field court martial. Had this been done, he would have been sentenced to death. I again interposed, and I finally carried my point and had him sent for trial before a military council which did not meet until passion was no longer at white-heat. His sentence has been only dismissal from the army. And even from this he may appeal later on." This plea is undoubtedly strong, though it leaves one point unanswered: Why did the league obtain an amnesty for its own members while depriving the five officers who had taken the King's part of the benefit of it? To this query there is a tentative reply. Hitherto in Greece nothing, it is urged, has ever been taken seriously. There is no hell or heaven, no angel or devil, no inexplicable sin. Political life has been a battle of shadows as in Walhalla. If, therefore, the league were to dissolve to-day the old order of things would revive to-morrow. And the officers are bent on remedying this fatal deficiency.

The officers' part in all this hardly calls for justification. But the part played by the King in this matter of the faithful officers cannot be disposed of so easily. It has provoked heated discussions and called forth scathing comments. At first he refused to ratify the sentence of expulsion from the army passed upon the officers Metaxas and Kalinsky. For their sole "offence" was an act which every officer ought to commit and every monarch ought to reward. Later on his Majesty yielded to the insistence of the league and affixed his signature to the decree. It is no exaggeration to say that no such humiliation has been inflicted upon any monarch in modern times. Even Abdul Hamid, after his absolute power was broken, was not subjected to such a crushing ordeal.

NOTE.—Since the despatch of this letter an abortive naval mutiny took place at Salamis. Naval Lieutenant Typaldos was chosen as the head of a secret association of junior officers in the navy. At the head of some 300 officers and sailors the flotilla of destroyers raised the flag of revolt, seized the arsenal in Salamis and engaged the battleship "Hydra." They were soon overpowered by the latter, aided by artillery from the mainland opposite, and the arsenal was speedily recovered.—EDITOR.

ESPERANTO NOTES.

Now that it is definitely settled that the Sixth International Esperanto Congress is to be held in Washington, D. C., next summer, it is to be hoped that every American Esperantist will help to make the congress a success. The Washington Chamber of Commerce has undertaken to do all that is possible for the congress. No city could be better suited for the purpose. Aside from the fact, by no means unimportant in this connection, that it is the capital of the country, Washington is particularly suitable for the entertainment of visiting Europeans. And that many Europeans will attend the congress is our hope if not our expectation. Already Mr. Edwin C. Reed, Secretary of the Esperanto Association of North America, has opened an office at the Chamber of Commerce at Washington, and he will no doubt be glad to answer all queries relative to the coming congress.

We print below some notes of interest to Esperantists:

"*Parizo.*—La 17-an oktobro, ĉirkaŭ 200 samideanoj, inter kiuj S-roj Ĝeneralo Sebert, Bourlet, de Coppet, Chavet, Aizière, el Charenton, Méras, el Tours, kaj kelkaj nefrancoj, sub konduko de S-ro Ernest Archdeacon, la fama pioniro de l'aerveturado nun fervora propagandisto de l'Esperanto, vizitis la 'Aeronaŭtikan Ekspozicion.' Sinsekve ili haltis antaŭ la ĉefaj aparatoj, kies sistemon kaj funkciadon klarigis S-roj Archdeacon aŭ Carlo Bourlet. Tiel ili konatiĝis kun la aeroplanoj de Santos-Dumont, Farman, Voisin, kaj tiuj de Vavasseur (Antoinette) kaj Blériot, kiujn la transflugado de l' Francangla Markolo famigis. Sed la plej interesplena parto de la promenado estis la vizito al tre rimarkindaj projektoj de flugmaŝinoj elpensitaj de du samideanoj parizaj. Ĉiu el ili donis klarigojn *en esperanto:* S-ro Emmanuel Aimé pri sia 'aŭtoplano,' vera aera veturilo, en kiu la radojn anstataŭas kvar helicoj, kaj S-ro Bouché, pri sia aparato, en kiu ekvilibron kaj direktadon liveras la du flugiloj. Fine oni aliris la starejon de la speciala ĵurnalo 'Avion,' kies direktoro, D-ro Loisel, ĵus varbita al Esperanto, faris paroladeton tute

favoran al nia afero kaj sciigis, ke jam lia gazeto enhavas kaj daŭrigos enhavi ĉiusemajne rubrikon specialan por Esperanto. Varme gratulis kaj dankis lin S-ro Bourlet, dum aplaŭdadis la tuta ĉeestantaro esperantista, ĉirkaŭita de scivolema publiko. Oni efektive devas rimarki, ke multaj personoj, aŭdinte la vorton 'Esperanto,' sekvis le promenadon, kaj kompreneble ricevis multenombrajn sciigojn kaj propagandilojn. Favore raportis la ĵurnaloj pri tiu vizito, kiu espereble bone efikos.

"*Antverpeno.*—La 24-an de Junio, S-ro K. Weyler, direktoro da la Urba Instituto N-ro 2, faris tre sukcesintan paroladon pri Esperanto antaŭ S-ro D-ro V. Desguin, Skabeno de la Publika Instruado kaj la perfektiga konsilantaro de la unuagrado Instruado. La parolinto proponis enkonduki Esperanton en la superajn klasojn de la Urbaj Institutoj (lernejoj por pagantaj lernantoj) kaj lia propono ricevis tiasence bonan akcepton, ke ĝi estis sendata al speciala komisio.

"Ni sciigas ke tiu ĉi komisio favore raportis pri la propono de S-ro Weyler, kaj unuvoĉe decidis ĝin apogi ĉe la Urbestraro.

"Tiu ĉi fakto ankoraŭ solvas la demandon, sed ĝi pruvas kiom la Antverpena instruistaro sin interesas pri nia kara lingvo. Ni esperu ke iliaj klopodoj sukcesos, kaj ke baldaŭ ni povos saluti la Antverpenan urbestraron kiel la unuan, kiu enkondukis Esperanton en la publikan instruadon."

ESPERANTO NOTES.

THE report of the Fourth Universal Esperanto Congress, held last summer at Dresden, has just reached us, and from it we shall print below a few lines of Dr. Zamenhof's opening address. The unimportant splutter created by malcontents who have some other language to advocate is very sanely dealt with by the author of Esperanto. "The one danger they held for us," said Dr. Zamenhof, "is that of the secret plotting of their attack from our own ranks." He concludes:

"Ĝi estas historio, pri kiu mi ne volas paroli. Nun mi volas nur diri jenon: ni ĉiuj estas reprezentantoj de la ideo de lingvo internacia, ni faru kun ĝi, kion ni volas, sed ni agu honeste kaj ni memoru, ke pri niaj agoj la estonteco severe nin juĝos. Memoru, ke Esperanto estas nenies proprajo, ke la esperantistoj havas plenan rajton fari kun ĝi ĉion, kion ili volas, se ili nur faros ĝin singarde, lojale kaj interkonsente. Nur por gardi nian lingvon kontraŭ anarĥio de la flanko de apartaj personoj, nia lingvo havas sian plej senpartie elektitan kaj el plej kompetentaj personoj konsistantan kaj konsistontan Lingvan Komitaton, kiu, dependante de neniu mastro, havas plenan rajton kaj plenan povon esplori kaj prezenti al la sankcio de la esperantistaro ĉion, kion ĝi volos. La Bulonja Deklaracio malpermesas nur, ke apartaj personoj rompu la lingvon *arbitre*, ĝi estas kreita nur por gardi la ekstreme necesan *kontinuecon* en nia lingvo. Se iu el vi trovas, ke ni devas fari tion aŭ alian, prezentu vian deziron al la Lingva Komitato. Se tiu Komitato ŝajnos al vi tro konservativa, tiam memoru, ke ĝi ekzistas ne por la plenumado de diversaj personaj kapricoj, sed por la gardado de la interesoj de la tuta esperantistaro; ke pli bone estas, ke la Komitato faru tro malmulte, ol ke ĝi facilanime faru ian paŝon, kiu povus malutili al nia tuta afero. Ĉar vi ĉiuj konfesas, ke la esenco de nia lingvo estas ĝusta kaj oni povas disputi nur pri detaloj, tial ĉio bona kaj ĉio efektive necesa povas facile esti farata en ĝi per vojo lojala, en harmonio kaj paco.

"La personoj, kiuj volas altrudi al la tuta esparantistaro siajn dezirojn,

diras ordinare, ke ili havas la plej bonajn ideojn, kiujn la plimulto da esperantistoj certe aprobus, sed iaj ĉefoj ne volas ilin aŭskulti kaj ne permesas al ili prezenti siajn ideojn por esplorado. Tio estas ne vera. Vi scias, ke laŭ la nova ordo, kiun per komuna voĉdonado akceptis por si nia Lingva Komitato, ĉiu homo ne sole havas la rajton prezenti al la Komitato siajn proponojn, sed se la propono havas eĉ nur plej malgrandan ŝajnon de seriozeco, se inter la cent membroj de la Komitato la propono akiris por si eĉ nur la aprobon de *kvin* personoj, tio jam sufiĉas, ke la Lingva Komitato estu *devigata* esplori tiun proponon. Vi vidas sekve, ke neniu povas plendi, ke oni lin ne aŭskultas aŭ ke iaj ĉefoj prezentas al voĉdonado nur tion, kion *ili* deziras.

"Se iu diras al vi, ke oni devas ĉion krude rompi, se oni per ĉiuj fortoj kaj per ĉiuj eblaj rimedoj penas malkontentigi vin; se de la vojo de severa unueco, de tiu sola vojo, kiu povas konduki nin al nia celo, oni penas forlogi vin,—tiam gardu vin! tiam sciu, ke tio kondukas al malordigo de ĉio, kion multaj miloj da personoj atingis por la granda ĉiuhoma ideo per multejara pacienca laborado.

"Mi finis. Pardonu al mi la malagrablan temon, kiun mi elektis. Ĝi estas la unua kaj espereble ankaŭ la lasta fojo en la historio de niaj kongresoj. Kaj nun ni ĉion forgesu; ni komencu la grandan feston, por kiu ni ĉiuj kunvenis el la diversaj landoj de la mondo; ni ĝoje pasigu nian grandan ĉiujaran semajnon de la pure homara festo. Ni memoru pri tio, ke niaj kongresoj estas ekzercanta kaj edukanta antaŭparolo por la historio de la estonta interfratigita homara. Por ni estas grava ne iaj bagatelaj eksteraj detaloj de nia lingvo, sed ĝia esenco, ĝia ideo kaj celo, tial ni antaŭ ĉio devas zorgi pri ĝia seninterrompa *vivado*, pri ĝia senhalta *kreskado*. Granda estas la diferenco inter homoinfano kaj homoviro; granda eble estos la diferenco inter la nuna Esperanto kaj la evoluciinta Esperanto de post multaj jarcentoj; sed dank' al nia diligenta gardado, la lingvo fortike vivos, malgraŭ ĉiuj atencoj, ĝia spirito fortiĝos, ĝia celo estos atingita, kaj niaj nepoj benos nian paciencon."

ESPERANTO NOTES.

For the benefit of those of our American Esperantists who are planning to be present at the Fifth International Esperanto Congress, Barcelona (September 5-11), we take pleasure in printing the very cordial invitation of our Spanish friends. This Congress affords to Americans an unusual opportunity of visiting Spain under warmer and more friendly relations than has been possible of late years. We trust many Americans are now bound for Barcelona. The invitation reads:

ALVOKO.

"Karaj Gesamideanoj,—Barcelono estas la urbo simbole elektita de Cervantes por revenigi Don Kiĥoton—tiun grandan frenezulon!—en la realan vivon. Vojoj polvoplenaj, gastejoj malpuraj, montoj senherbaj, senhomaj ebenaĵoj estas la arenoj, la turnirejoj de la freneza kavaliro; sendankaj kaptitoj, paŝtantaj brutaroj, muelilaj aloj, procesiantaj religiuloj estas liaj malamikoj kaj kontraŭstarantoj. La kastelo de fantaziaĵoj devis ruiniĝi en Barcelono, kie la sento de la realaĵo estas granda, kaj kie la entuziasmo ŝveligas la korojn, sed ne suprenflugigas ilin kiel aerostatojn. Sur sablaro, hodiaŭ al la maro rabita de la pligrandiĝo de la urbo, Don Kiĥoto falis venkita de la kavaliro de la Blanka Luno, kaj senarmigita, neniigita, malĝoja, li revenis sur la vojo de la resaniĝo al la fina resaniĝo de sia malsana cerbo. Li forportis kun si la memoron de la presejoj, riĉaĵoj, belegaĵoj, gastameco de la grafa urbo, kaj ekkriis, pri Barcelono parolante: 'Barcelono, arĥivo de la ĝentileco, rifuĝejo de la fremduloj, hospitalo de la malriĉuloj, patrolando de la kuraĝuloj, venĝo de la ofenditoj, afabla korespondado de amikecoj firmaj, kaj senegala pri sidejo kaj beleco' (Ĉap. LXXII, II-a parto).

"Nun, en la nuna ora refratiga tempo, Barcelono estas denove elektita, kiel scenejo de simila fakto. Trakuras la Homaron, ne nur unu sola kavaliro, sed armeo de frenezaj kavaliroj, kiuj ĉie nur vidas malamikojn kaj kontraŭstarantojn. Nur kiel malamikojn, ili rigardas la fratojn pacemajn, laboremajn, trankvilajn, kies nura peko estas: esti malfeliĉaj. La grandaj konstruaĵoj de la moderna kulturo, de la ĉiama kulturo estas por tiaj frenezuloj, nur ensorĉitaj kasteloj, kie—laŭ ili—homo laboradas venĝojn kaj malbonon. La movon de la brakoj, kiuj tra

montoj kaj limoj volas sin ĉirkaŭpreni, la frenezaj kavaliroj vidas nur, kiel minacon. Kaj ili, kiuj per siaj timoj ĉion malaranĝas, ili paradas, kiel repacigantoj de la paco, kiel rebonigantoj de la bono, kiel venĝintoj de tio, kion neniu eĉ pensis venĝi.

"Estas necese revenigi tiajn frenezulojn en la realan vivon, montri al ili, ke ni ĉiuj estas amikoj, ke la tiel laŭte proklamita de ili diferenco kaj kontraŭsenteco de la homoj, estas falsa; ke ne estas alia sorĉo, ol la sorĉo de la amo, kaj ne alia malamo, ol la malamo al ili mem. Tio ĉi estos proklamata, kantata, kriegata antaŭ la tutmonda Kiĥotaro, ne, certe, de la Kavaliro de la Blanka Luno, sed ja de la kavaliro de la Verda Stelo, en niaj placoj kaj stratoj, teatroj kaj kunvenejoj. Kiu el vi, karaj gesamideanoj, ne volos ĉeesti tiun gravan modernan batalon? Kiu el vi, frataj sambatalantoj, ne volos partopreni en la rondo, kiun ni faros ĉirkaŭ ambaŭ batalantoj: la malnova, tradicia, erara, atavisma spirito — kaj la nova, frata, ama spirito de Esperanto? Kiu el vi ne volos alporti la bruon de siaj aplaŭdoj al la senarmiligo de la tutmonda Kiĥotaro? Mi estas certa, ke ĉiuj vi, fidelaj masonistoj de homara konstruaĵo, ne rifuzos ĝui tiun grandan ĝojon; kaj en la batalo kontraŭ la veraj frenezuloj—ĉar ne ni, sed ili estas vere tiaj—vi pardonos, ke mi parolas el la reala vivo kaj invitas vin al aliĝo, al alporto de viaj monfortoj en nian organizon, al antaŭvido de ĉiu detalo, lasante nenion por la lastaj momentoj.

"Plenigu do la aliĝilon, mendante kongreskartojn; faciligu nian loĝadan laboradon. Sciigante nin jam de nun — vi estos plej bone servitaj! — Mendu la eldonaĵojn de nia komitato — vi akiros belajn eldonaĵojn, kaj samtempe vi helpos nian kason.—Propagandu, disvastigu, varbu, kaj ne timu ĝeni nin, petante ĉian informon kaj starigante ĉian demandon.

"Gefiloj de ĉiu lando! venu Barcelonon restarigi la grandan rondon familian!

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"FRED. PUJULA Y VALLES."

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"I-e.—Belega luksa Kongreslibro estos senpage donacita *nur* al tiuj, kiuj sin enskribigos kaj pagos sian kotizon *aŭtaŭ la 1-a de Aŭgusto.*

"Post tiu dato la libro kostos *3 frankojn.*

"2-e.—Por reklamo dum la Kongreso estus tre utile, se ĉiu kongresano elpendigus ĉe sia fenestro unu standardon Esperantan kaj unu standardon montrantan *lian naciecon.*

"La loka organiza komitato povos liveri al la kongresanoj je *tre malalta prezo* standardojn, sed por ilin ricevi, oni devas ilin *antaŭmendi.*

"Ni tre forte instigas la samideanojn, ke ili faru tian mendon, uzante la mendilon en ĉi tiu numero.

"3-e.—La *teatrajn biletojn,* kiuj estos tre malkaraj, oni aĉetos en Barcelono; sed singardeme estus antaŭaĉeti kaj zorge antaŭlegi la tekston de la dramo de S-ro Gual. Oni do mendu ĝin ankaŭ."

ESPERANTO NOTES.

WHAT the attitude of European educators is growing to be toward Esperanto is particularly well illustrated by the following synopsis of an address recently delivered to the students of the famous French school, Lycée Henri IV, by Professor René Pichon. M. Pichon, as will be seen, finds in Esperanto a powerful instrument not only to facilitate education, but to extend the more subtle influences of culture as well.

"Estas al mi tute nova plezuro, kaj tre agrabla, paroli je la ombro de tiu bela verda standardo, kiun ĵus portadis tiel fiere via prezidanto.

"Post ia tempo, sinjoroj, eble kelkaj el vi okupiĝos pri arĥeologio, epigrafio, aŭ literatura historio, aliaj pri matematikaj aŭ fizikaj sciencoj. Tiam vi estos devigataj koni la eksterlandanajn verkojn, kiujn oni ne povas traduki en ĉiujn lingvojn, kompreneble. Sciante la germanan kaj la anglan lingvojn, vi povos legi parton el ili. Sed por ke la alian parton, ne malpli gravan, vi profitu, estos al vi sciindaj la hispana kaj la itala, baldaŭ la rusa kaj la sveda. Kaj eĉ, vi komprenos la sencon nur proksimume kaj ofte tute necerte. Esperanto anstataŭe donos al vi sencon klaran kaj tuj kompreneblan.

"Forlasante tiun pure sciencan vidpunkton, ni povos en Esperanto vidadi mirindan ilon de beletristika disvastigado, kiu dank' al kurioza fenomeno, sekvadas la tradukitan lingvon, klarigas ĝin al ĉiu eksterlandulo kaj konservas ĝiajn ecojn, fortigante ĉiujn idiotismojn. De tio ekzemplon mi provas doni al vi: antaŭ nelonge, mi tralegis la 'Literaturan Almanakon' de 'Lingvo Internacia.' En ĝi mi eklegis kun ia timo,—ĉar neniu aŭtoro estas pli subtila kaj delikata ol nia Sully-Prudhomme—mi eklegis 'Le Vase brisé.' Nu! sinjoroj, tiu mirinda traduko de Grabowski sekvadis kun stranga fideleco ne nur la esprimojn de Sully-Prudhomme, sed ankaŭ iujn eljetojn, iujn versaranĝojn, sen ia perdo de ilia tiel granda ĉarmo.

"Tiel mi montris al vi la ecojn de flekseblecо kaj de klareco, kiuj karakterizas Esperanton kaj igas ĝin vera literatura lingvo. Kion

signifas tiu riproĉo de artefariteco, se vi ekpensas, ke la literatura lingvo latina estis fabrikita je ĉiuj pecoj?

"La logikeco ankaŭ ne devas esti danĝera iluzia vidaĵo. Ofte sian kapon oni disrompas ĝin sekvadante. Esperanton nun uzadas centmiloj da anoj, kiuj bonege sin komprenas. Gardu ĝin kiel nun estantan: Plibono estas malamiko de bono!"

"RENÉ PICHON,
"Professeur de 1re supérieure
au Lycée Henri IV."

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In this department the Financial Editor can answer only a limited number of questions bearing on investments of general interest. Other questions will be answered by letter. We cannot undertake to act as a rating agency, but we shall be glad to be helpful in every way possible. All letters must be signed. Address Queries Department, NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, *New York.*

J. A. C.—*Q.* I should like, if possible, to get some information concerning Amalgamated Copper—its prospects and possibilities, as well as what I can learn concerning the copper outlook generally.

A. Suggestions of a decidedly brightening outlook in the copper industry have appeared several times on this page in recent months, a view which present developments seem fully to be bearing out. At the time of writing, Amalgamated Copper is selling at the best price since the panic, and sentiment on the general outlook for the "coppers," which has been pretty pessimistic right along, appears to be undergoing a decided change.

Production of copper continues on an enormous scale, but increased general business activity has brought consumption of the metal up to a point where all copper produced is being taken care of. There remains, of course, a great supply of the metal accumulated during the time when the mining interests persistently kept on turning out more copper than there was any demand for; but with the actual undertaking of the immense contemplated electrification projects in every part of the country, this supply will readily enough be worked off.

Copper has been the conspicuous laggard in the general industrial recovery, but after its long halt seems to be showing signs of falling into line.

F. A. B.—*Q.* Would you advise me to invest in United States Express? I am looking for a conservative investment.

A. United States Express is a security little traded in in Wall Street, but is certainly a conservative investment. The semi-annual dividend having recently been raised from 2 to 3 per cent., the stock at present prices nets very nearly 6 per cent. to the buyer.

A. T. A.—*Q.* American Smelter Preferred, I notice, never seems to be much above 112, yet, if I mistake not, it pays a 7 per cent. dividend. May I ask would you advise it as an investment, and why it does not sell higher?

A. Of the industrial preferred stocks, American Smelting-Refining appears to be one of the most attractive. On account of the long period of depression in the copper industry, the smelting stocks have all been under a cloud for some time past, but with the brightening copper outlook seem to be making a more successful bid for popular favor. Of the stability of the dividend on "Smelters Preferred" there is no question, and bought at present prices the stock gives a high income yield.

N. A. H.—*Q.* Can you tell me what the prospects are of a dividend on Rock Island Preferred? In other words, would you advise me to purchase Rock Island Preferred as a sound speculation.

A. Wall Street is talking of a 5 per cent. dividend for Rock Island Preferred in January, but if the dividend is resumed at that time it will be a surprise to many friends of the property. Whatever Rock Island may be earning now, it must not be lost sight of that it is only just a year ago that the road was, to put it mildly, in a very cramped position for ready cash, and that a suitable amount of working capital can hardly have been accumulated since then.

Of the fact that a continuation of present excellent business conditions in Rock Island's territory is bound to result in putting the road squarely on its feet and the Preferred stock back on a dividend basis, there is no doubt at all. The question of a dividend, indeed, is not one of whether so much as of when. The new alliance with the Hawley system, by which the Gulf-bound Rock Island freight will be routed over the Missouri-Kansas & Texas, is almost bound to result in largely increased earnings for Rock Island, but the influences of such traffic realizements take some time to make themselves felt, and it will be well along in 1910 before the full benefit is realized. A dividend on the Preferred before the end of next year is a strong possibility.

R. O. B.—*Q.* I should be grateful for any information you could give me about Interborough Metropolitan, Common and Preferred stock. The recent rise in that stock seems to make it more attractive for the purchaser. Would you advise its purchase?

A. From a speculative standpoint the purchase of Interborough Preferred and Common might prove profitable, but as an investment proposition the company's 4½ per cent. bonds look more attractive. They are secured by deposit of the original Subway stock, the earning power of which has been fully demonstrated.

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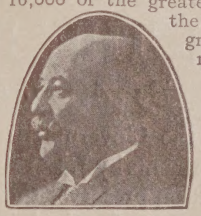

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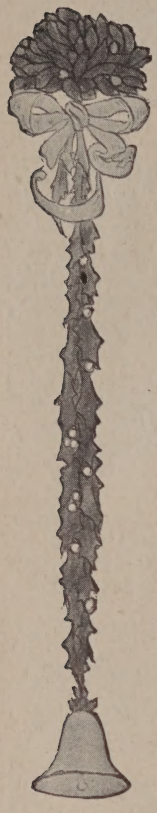

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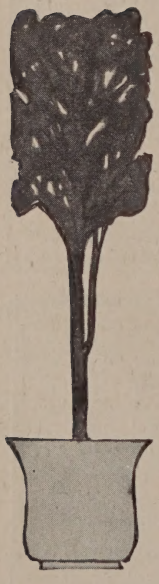

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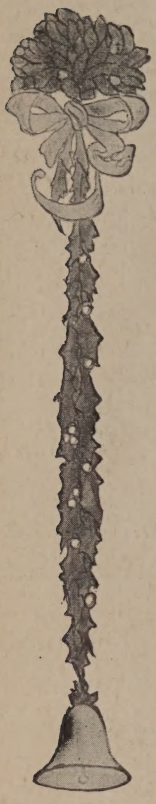

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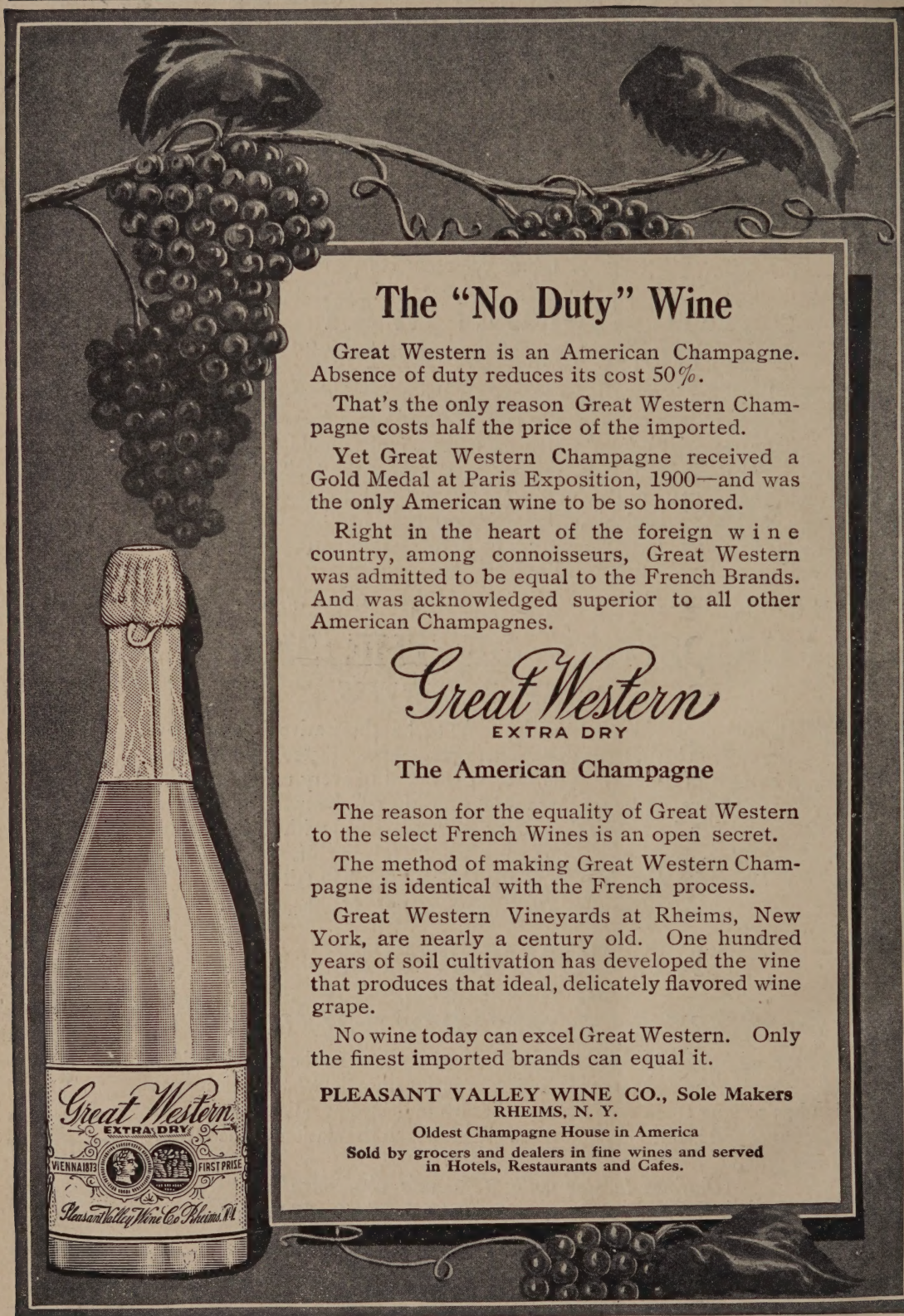

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